SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

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To

N. M. S.

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

OF

ASSISTANCE

ENCOURAGEMENT

INSPIRATION

FOREWORD

THERE are three popular beliefs which rise like mountain chains across the trail of progress. The first is the belief that things are sacred because they are old, or, conversely, that things are dangerous because they are new. The second is the belief that the submerged class wants to be submerged; that it enjoys dark rooms and revels in filthy alleys; that it gloats over insanitary plumbing and thrives upon malnutrition. The third, no less preposterous, is the belief that the submerged class is poverty-stricken because it is degenerate; that those who wish can rise; and that the fact of their remaining submerged is proof conclusive that they are innately incapable of improvement.

This book marks, I hope, one step in the advance of scientific truth that is being directed against these mountain chains of misbelief. In the course of the work I have attempted to make seven points:—

1. That maladjustment exists in numerous virulent forms, in many parts of the United States.
2. That maladjustment is (1) due to economic causes, (2) involving social cost, and (3) remediable through social action.

3. That maladjustment can be, and in many instances is being, eliminated by efficient education plus wise remedial legislation.
4. That the vast majority of children are born normal and are made abnormal, degenerate, and diseased by their defective environment.
5. That recent investigations demonstrate conclusively that the proportion of genius, mediocrity, and defect does not vary materially from one social class to another, and hence all are capable of the same uplift.
6. That progress is impossible so long as society maintains the fatalistic viewpoint which condemns men because of the sins of the fathers and is blind to the transgressions of the brothers.
7. And finally, that it is through the promulgation of the new view of the universality of human capacity, the remediability of maladjustment, and the advantages of universalized opportunity, that maladjustment will eventually be eliminated and adjustment secured.

Could this book succeed but a little in showing that old things are often old only because they are traditional, or, conversely, that in the evolution of new things lies social salvation; that the "submerged tenth" is submerged because of ignorance and low

wages; and that the community abounds in latent ability which awaits the opportunity for development, — it will accomplish an office of untold value, turning men forever away from outgrown creeds, and leading them to a vision of social coöperation and adjustment.

SCOTT NEARING.

ARDEN, DELAWARE,
October, 1910.

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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

I. *The Purpose of Adjustment*

ADJUSTMENT is an approximation to the normal.

Through all nature adjustment is continuous. A river, for example, adjusts itself to the changes in earth formation. If a mountain range is thrown up, the river wears down its bed until, flowing at a normal gradient, it has created a cañon of the Colorado. But the river is not content; it continues its work, cutting away the surrounding hills until it flows through a great plain like the Mississippi Valley, with its vast alluvial deposits and its broad, slow-moving stream. The river is seeking to establish a normal gradient, and before this attempt to secure adjustment, even the hills, "rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun," must succumb. Society, like the river, seeks to adjust itself to the changing contour of the environment by wearing it away and smoothing it

down until a normal relation is established between men and their surroundings. Were society as consistent and as constant as the river, even those obstacles to progress which like the hills are "rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun" would be removed. Cascades, whirlpools, rapids, and eddys are abnormal in rivers, and the river seeks constantly to eliminate them and secure a regular, uniform bed. Untimely death, malnutrition, vice, overwork, and poverty are abnormal in society, and a dynamic group seeks constantly to eliminate them and secure a more perfect adjustment to the normal life. The river works blindly, — naturally, to secure its end; men work intelligently, — consciously, to secure theirs. Could the river employ guncotton and electrical power, how much more effective would be its work! The river accomplishes its purpose by means of many particles of water, all flowing in the same direction, — coöperating, wearing away the stones. Society accomplishes its purpose by means of many men and women, all aiming at the same goal, — coöperating, removing, one by one, the obstacles to progress. The river seeks adjustment to the normal through the laws of nature; man seeks adjustment to the normal by combining nature's laws and adding to them a touch of human genius. The work of the river is wonderful; the efforts of man are sublime.

II. *The Tradition of Adjustment*

Dreams of social adjustment are as old as tradition. No group of men exists which has not or did not have at some point in history a dream of adjustment. The American Indians looked forward to the Happy Hunting Grounds; the Christians speak of Paradise. Each religion has its after-life — a dream of adjustment which may come only with death. Perfect harmony with environing conditions is not for this world, nor for men, but for the future, the hereafter when man, spiritualized, will harmonize with his environment. The Christians go still farther and prophesy concerning a millennium, — a heaven on earth.

Many attempts have been made to realize adjustment. Owen and Fourier, early in the nineteenth century, started movements for the foundation of colonies, in which the people, self-supporting and efficient, would live normal, adjusted lives. The same idea has pervaded every effort to remodel social institutions or to improve men and women for their work in life. An ideal of adjustment has been the hope of religion, the refrain of poets, the dream of philosophers, the basis of all movements for social regeneration.

The vast majority of the adjustments were, however, to take place at some time in the distant future.

Their devotees regarded adjustment as an unattainable ideal, or an ideal attainable only after great efforts, many privations, and a considerable lapse of time. These early theories called upon men to die in order to secure perfect adjustment; the new view, on the contrary, calls upon men to secure perfect adjustment here and now, by living efficient lives.

III. *The Modern View of Adjustment*

The modern world has discovered a form of social adjustment which is immediately practical and attainable. The dream of philosophers and the hope of religionists is regarded as neither a dream nor a hope, but a practical, attainable condition. Modern society looks upon adjustment as normal, and upon the lack of adjustment as abnormal or subnormal.

The difference in viewpoint of the primitive dreamer and the modern worker for social improvement is based on the fact that the society in which the primitive dreamer lived was a society of deficit. There were rarely enough economic goods to supply regularly all of the members of a group, — in fact, many must do without. The primitive society lacked an adequate supply of the bare necessities of life, but modern society has replaced this old time deficit by a surplus of economic goods. Not only are there

enough goods to provide all of the members of modern society with the necessaries of life, but there is a vast amount left over, a social surplus, employed in the form of capital to increase production. The world of to-day has enough and to spare. Men no longer struggle desperately with the fear of pestilence and famine ever before them; their problem involves an equitable distribution of the abundant wealth produced by coöperative industry. The ancient world of deficit has given way to a world of surplus, and surplus is potential adjustment.

A group suffering from constant deficit could not hope to realize their heaven on earth because of the lack of economic goods to provide leisure, and because of the lack of control over the environment. The surplus society of to-day can provide the leisure and control the environment. Adjustment to primitive society was a dream of the future: to modern civilization it is a possibility that may be immediately realized.

IV. *Ideal and Normal*

One generation creates an ideal: the evolution of the succeeding age makes this ideal the normal. Thus the ideal of one age becomes the normal of the age that follows. The Christian ideal is leisure in the future world, — leisure to play harps and sing songs;

modern industry has for the first time made leisure possible here on earth. The ideal of each age is unattainable to that age, it exists only in the brains of dreamers; but the succeeding age converts these dreams into realities and creates out of the ideal of the past a new normal.

Social adjustment is in any age an approximation to the normal; but with invention and progress, education and evolution, the potentiality of each age is one step in advance of the normal of the past age. As possibilities increase the normal standard of society moves forward. Each age must, to complete its adjustment, realize all of these possibilities, and when the normal possibilities of any age are realized, its adjustment is complete.

The early Christians dreamed of a time in the distant future when men should not have to toil nor to spin, but with a harp and crown could occupy themselves forever in leisure employment. Such was the ideal. The modern world has realized this ideal, — the possibility of universal leisure — universal opportunity for growth and development.

Plato dreamed of a time when machinery should replace slaves. This was merely an ideal, unattainable in Plato's age. But machinery has come, and with it has come a surplus of wealth undreamed of in an earlier epoch. The potentiality of civilization, the

normal of adjustment, has advanced since Plato wrote; and machinery has brought with it potential development which must be consummated before adjustment is complete. The test of modern adjustment is not the narrow, slave-supported possibilities of two thousand years ago, but the widespread, machine-made opportunities of to-day.

The possibility of immediate action is inspiring and quickening. The earlier people found work burdensome and disheartening while waiting a thousand years in order to realize a promised millennium, — an anticipated adjustment. The modern enthusiast has but to work consistently and efficiently in order to see at least part of his dream of adjustment realized. The worker to-day is filled with the great satisfaction that comes through realization. "Influencing our choice of ends for which to work, giving us a new and fine inspiration, and affording a test of the value of our results, the principle that our goal is a normal community has greater significance than has yet been appreciated." [1]

The community is awakening to its possibilities, realizing the attainable in the normal, and putting forth every effort for the consummation of a program looking to adjustment.

[1] "Social Forces," Edward T. Devine, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909, p. 61.

V. *The Measure of Adjustment*

Adjustment is approximation to the normal, — the realization of full potentiality under a given group of circumstances. In terms of men and women, adjustment is not complete until the fullest possible opportunity has been afforded for the development of human capacity. The realization of full potentiality, — of complete adjustment, — through the development of capacity, is conditioned by opportunity. Afford opportunity and capacity will develop: deny opportunity and capacity will be submerged. The test of adjustment in any community is therefore the relation between the possibilities for opportunity, and the actual opportunity afforded for the development of human capacity.

The inhabitants of the United States in 1710 had no great possibilities for the development of opportunity. Capital was scarce; living was precarious, and in order to insure even the bare necessities of life, men, women, and children were forced to work hard and continually. Overwork was a necessity, — a condition precedent to survival. The inhabitants of the United States in 1910 have abundant capital and a marvelously developed system of wealth production. The bare necessities of life, and some of the comforts as well, can be supplied in an eight-hour workday

for adults, while the children attend school. Overwork is no longer necessary; leisure is possible for all. The possibilities for opportunity were limited in 1710, and capacity might develop as best it could with the limited opportunity which the age afforded. The possibilities for opportunity have increased a hundredfold in 1910, hence unless this increase is distributed and utilized by the members of the social group, adjustment is not complete.

VI. *The Possibility of Adjustment*

Adjustment may be secured either by changing men to suit the demands of the environment, or by changing the environment to suit the needs of men. Primitive society proposed to change men, — to eliminate sin, to purge men of evil thoughts, to purify them, and thus to secure adjustment. While recognizing the desirability of purity in thought and action, modern society demands that the environment be changed also in order to afford universal opportunity for the purifying of thought and action. Men's thoughts must be elevated and their ideals established, but this can be done with difficulty in the presence of filth, overcrowding, vice, overwork, and malnutrition. Men need regeneration, but so does the environment. The only effective way of securing the regeneration

of humanity is to provide a wholesome environment for the children of each generation.

Only recently have men come to look upon adjustment as universally attainable. Under the old, hopeless view of the human race, some men were depraved, sinful, wicked; others were shiftless, lazy, inefficient, and poor. These conditions were regarded as natural — as the results of God's efforts to purge the human race; men were being rewarded according to their deserts. If they were sick and poor, it was because they deserved it; if they were shiftless, it was because they were worthless; and if they were vicious, it was because they were naturally depraved.

The development of modern thought has created an essentially different attitude. Men were formerly regarded as naturally inefficient or vicious or lazy. Modern discoveries have clearly demonstrated the fallacy of this view, by showing that energy, efficiency, and adjustment are normal, while laziness, inefficiency, and maladjustment are subnormal.

Dr. Devine very forcibly states the contrast between the old and the new view in its bearing upon crime and education: "It was the old view that crime is a constant factor in society resulting from natural depravity or from persistent personal causes. It is the new view that political, economic, and social institu-

tions . . . have much to do with the amount and kind of crime.

"It is the old view that education is the training in letters of a select class. . . . It is the new view that education is for all men and women one of the permanent interests of human life. . . . It is the old view that truancy, backwardness, and incorrigibility were to be corrected by the rod. . . . It is the new view that a physical examination will often reveal the cause of backwardness. . . . Incorrigibility is not so much a verdict against the child as a confession of the limitations of the parent or teacher or environment." [1]

The old view was hopeless and led to despondent resignation to the divine will. The new view is full of inspiration and promise. It results directly in vigorous, well-directed efforts to so alter the environment that men may have abundant opportunity and thus escape the damnation of bad environment. The old view was static, requiring men to accept what came, and "therewith to be content": the new view is dynamic, insisting that men shall be masters of the environment as well as of their souls. Under the old view men were all but fatalists: the new view makes them enthusiastic workers.

[1] "Social Forces," Edward T. Devine, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909, pp. 8–10.

VII. *The Theory of Universal Human Capacity*

The old view classified men as inefficient or efficient according to their birth. Modern science has clearly demonstrated that men are born approximately normal, and that environment and opportunity are the chief factors which determine whether efficiency or inefficiency is to dominate a life.

In the past years of uncertainty, when it was believed that depravity and inefficiency were hereditary, that "the sins of the fathers are visited upon the third and fourth generation," a thinker occasionally arose and proclaimed the equal distribution of human capacity. Such men talked of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and asserted that all men are created free and equal. They maintained that every man has a soul, that men are inherently just and virtuous, and that, under normal conditions, men would act wisely and justly. According to this view men differed not because they were differently constituted, but because they were afforded varying opportunities. Equalize opportunity, proclaimed these "free and equal" thinkers, and, to a great extent, you equalize achievement.

These visionaries were numerous in the last century, their writings cover every field of thought, and yet perhaps no one of them has better expressed the con-

cept of the essential equality of men than Victor Hugo, whose social philosophy, evolved half a century ago, pictures human capacity in very much the same light in which it is regarded to-day.

Victor Hugo lived and wrote in the middle nineteenth century. His boyhood was surrounded by the stirring events of the Napoleonic Wars, and his early life was spent amid the troublous times that culminated in the widespread revolution of 1848. With none of the benefits of modern discovery, lacking the facts on which to base his belief, Hugo painted a picture of human possibilities which has never been excelled for brightness, and which, as later discoveries have shown, was accurate in a remarkable degree.

Hugo believed in men. Indeed, the philosophy underlying all of his work is that if men be given opportunity, they will develop manhood and capacity. His leading characters reflect this idea. Jean Valjean, peasant, galley slave, philanthropist; Fantine, the ignorant, unfortunate sewing girl of Paris; Gavroche, the gamin and patriot; Quasimodo, hideous, savage, virtuous — the Hunchback of Notre Dame; Gwynplaine, the laughing man and lover; and Ursus, the mendicant philosopher, — where opportunity offered, all of these characters expressed what from outward appearances they could not possibly possess, — virtue and manhood.

It is the lack of opportunity that debases. "The sole social evil is darkness; humanity is identity, for all men are of the same clay, . . . but ignorance mixed with the human paste, blackens it, and this incurable blackness enters man and becomes evil there." [1] It is not man but the environment which is at fault. "This soul is full of darkness, and sin is committed, but the guilty person is not the man who commits the sin, but he who produces the darkness." [2]

Bad qualities are induced by bad surroundings. After describing the savage meditations of a convict, Jean Valjean, Hugo says: "Is man thus utterly transformed? Can man, who is created good by God, be made bad by man? Can the soul be entirely remade by destiny, and become evil if the destiny be evil? . . . Is there not in every human soul, was there not in Jean Valjean especially, a primary spark, a divine element, incorruptible in this world, and immortal for the other, which good can develop, illumine, and cause to glisten splendidly, and which evil can never entirely extinguish?" [3] Describing himself later on, Jean Valjean says: "The galleys make the convict. . . . Before I went to Toulon, I was a poor peasant, with but little intelligence, and almost a

[1] "Les Miserables," Victor Hugo, Pt. 3, Ch. 159, p. 176.
[2] *Supra*, Vol. I, Ch. 4, p. 24.
[3] *Supra*, Vol. I, Ch. 31, pp. 135–136.

peasant, but the galleys changed me. I was stupid and became wicked; I was a log and became a brand."[1]

Environing circumstances shape the man. The galleys shaped the criminal. Men are at bottom capable of infinite possibilities: when opportunity offers, they always are ready to meet it. "Progress is an honest man, and the ideal and the absolute do not steal pocket handkerchiefs. By whom were the carriages containing the wealth of the Tuileries escorted in 1848? By the rag pickers of the Faubourg St. Antoine. Rags mounted guard over the treasure, and virtue rendered these mendicants splendid. In these carts, in barely closed chests — some indeed, still opened — there was, amid a hundred dazzling cases, that old crown of France, all made of diamonds, surmounted by the royal carbuncle and the Regent diamonds, worth thirty millions of francs; they guarded this crown with bare feet."[2] Thus men are noble and good, and they depart from this standard of nobility and goodness only because their position in life has deprived them of opportunity for normal development.

Hugo was a dreamer. He believed that the normal man was the efficient, virtuous man; that the normal society was a society with abundant opportunity for

[1] *Supra*, Vol. I, Ch. 59, p. 393.
[2] *Supra*, Pt. 4, Ch. 204, p. 214.

the development of efficiency and virtue, and that the adjustment to such a society was possible and attainable. Hugo was a Utopist, — one who builds an ideal not immediately attainable. But the Utopia of yesterday is the normal of to-day, and the Utopian dreams of Hugo have been verified and substantiated by the discoveries of modern science. There is an innate human capacity, undeveloped because of the lack of opportunity, consequently the social economist, basing his demands upon this fact, and upon the lack of opportunity in modern society, urges the social necessity of universalized opportunity, not as a Utopist, but as a scientist.

VIII. *Universal Capacity an Established Fact*

The dreams of Hugo are inspiring, and they lead to renewed efforts, but the case for human capacity rests on a far more scientific basis than that upon which Hugo was able to establish it. Hugo's dream, his Utopia, his ideal, is now a demonstrable real. The possibilities which he presented have been realized and expressed in modern scientific literature. In his study of misery, Dr. Devine says: "We believe in men. In spite of all individual failures and incomplete lives, in spite of war and crime, in spite of suffering and disease, in spite of accident and premature death, even in spite of poverty and dependence, we

believe in the inherent nobility and the latent tendency towards the good in the human soul. The failure is accidental, partial, temporary. The desire for right living and rational conduct is universal, natural, and in the end dominant." [1] The same thought is reiterated and emphasized by Dr. Devine in his "Social Forces," and forms the basis of "Product and Climax" and "The New Basis of Civilization," — the two most recent books of Professor Simon N. Patten.

The modern social economist bases his belief in man's ultimate capacity on the investigations which show clearly that incapacity is the outcome of a bad environment. The dream of the nineteenth century Utopist is an established fact to the twentieth century scientist.

The doctrine of human capacity is nowhere better expressed than in Lester F. Ward's great scientific affirmation of the fundamental potentiality of all mankind. Beginning with "Dynamic Sociology" and "Pure Sociology," Ward finally contributed to the world his "Applied Sociology," — which contained an unanswerable demonstration of the universality of capacity.

The apparent, obvious things of nature are easily seen and commented upon. It is the obscure, "latent

[1] "Social Forces," Edward T. Devine, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909, p. 222.

energies" that attract no attention. Such energies "are only suspected by exceptional, ingenious, inquiring minds." After an analysis of the relative effects of "nature" and "nurture" in the production of ability, Ward points to the significant fact that genius and ability are due to a group of environmental factors, not generally emphasized. "These factors are (1) centers of population containing special intellectual stimuli and facilities; (2) ample material means insuring freedom from care, economic security, leisure, and the wherewithal to supply the apparatus of research; (3) a social position such as is capable of producing a sense of self-respect, dignity, and reserve power which alone can inspire confidence in one's worth and in one's rights to enter the lists for the great prizes of life; (4) careful and prolonged intellectual training during youth, whereby all the fields of achievement become familiar and a choice of them possible in harmony with intellectual proclivities and tastes." [1]

In all grades of society men are potentially equal. Hereditary influences give to each grade approximately the same gifts. Environments, however, differ, and it is to these environmental differences that the absence or presence of genius may be traced.

[1] "Applied Sociology," Lester F. Ward, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1906, p. 224.

The environmental factors play a great, a conclusive part in curtailing ability and achievement. In the cities of France thirteen times as much ability is produced, in proportion to the population, as is produced in rural districts, while in Paris the proportion of genius is thirty-five times that of the rural districts. In the cities, and in Paris especially, there is opportunity for stimulus. "But even Paris does not furnish the absolute maximum. To find this we must go to the chateaux, where the rate per 100,000 occupants may be as high as 200. If the average rate is about two, this shows that the actual resources of society in effective working power are capable of being increased a hundredfold." [1]

Where opportunity shows itself genius springs into life, while a dearth of opportunity means inevitably a dearth of genius. An adverse environment smothers genius, while the elimination of maladjustment would enormously increase social achievement.

"This again indicates the true resources (the unworked mines) that society possesses. Only 10 per cent of these resources have been developed. Another 10 per cent are somewhat developed. There remain 80 per cent as yet almost wholly undeveloped. The task of applied sociology is to show how this latent

[1] *Supra*, pp. 227–228.

four fifths of mankind can be turned to account in the work of civilization." [1]

Continuing, Ward shows that really self-made men are rare or nonexistent, and that in every case "all who have succeeded have done so by virtue of some form of opportunity." Turning to the other side of the picture, he shows that wealth and achievement, achievement and wealth, have been coexistent.

"Looking over the long list of the great contributors to human progress, it becomes clear at once that with the few exceptions that have been enumerated, and a few more that might be added, all the truly great men of history have belonged to this class, and have never had to give a moment's thought to the material concerns of existence." [2]

Ward summarizes his philosophy by pointing out that talent is widespread, that maladjustment is fatal, and that only as opportunity is offered can achievement be guaranteed.

"There is no need to search for talent. It exists already and everywhere. The thing that is rare is opportunity, not ability. The fact that many do struggle up out of obscurity does not so much show that they possess superiority as that they happen to be

[1] "Applied Sociology," Lester F. Ward, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1906, p. 229.

[2] *Supra*, p. 261.

less inextricably bound down than others by the conventional bonds of society. And those who have succeeded in bursting these bonds have usually done so at such an immense cost in energy that their future work is rendered crude and well-nigh valueless." [1]

Opportunity must be socialized and equalized. "I called the equalization of opportunity education, but surely the whole trend, drift, and logic of this and the preceding chapter have been to pile up the evidence that all influences, all environments, and all opportunities converge to this one final point, resolve themselves into and constitute education." [2]

Society is full of capacity, — latent, unused, — because of the lack of opportunity for its development. This capacity is needed, and its development, a social responsibility, is intimately dependent upon the socializing of opportunity. "There can be no equality and no justice, not to speak of equity, so long as society is composed of members, equally endowed by nature, a few of whom only possess the social heritage of truth and ideas resulting from the laborious investigations and profound meditations of all past ages, while the great mass are shut out from all the light that human achievement has shed upon the world." [3]

[1] *Supra*, p. 264. [2] *Supra*, p. 280. [3] *Supra*, p. 281.

The painstaking analyses in "Applied Sociology" will be conclusive and final until some more conclusive analyses are made. Meanwhile it is necessary to accept the statement of the universality of capacity, to look upon the dreams of earlier Utopists as established realities, and to so shape and normalize the environment that opportunity may be as universal as is latent ability.

IX. *The New Basis for Opportunity*

An overwhelming majority of people are normal at birth, and, if given an opportunity, will lead normal, happy lives. Were opportunity provided, adjustment would be assured. Congestion, low standards of food and clothing, overwork, — none of these things can crush out of the future generation the capacity for development. Too long has it been assumed that "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge." Even among the Hebrew prophets this saying was discredited, for Ezekiel says: "What mean ye, that ye use this proverb in the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of

the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth it shall die. But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right . . . he shall surely live, saith the Lord God." [1]

The modern view of heredity does not tolerate such an interpretation of the facts as is implied in the proverb which declares that "the children's teeth are set on edge." A few defects such as feeble-mindedness and epilepsy are hereditary; certain diseases like alcoholism and syphilis may act as prenatal influences, but the great mass of bad environing conditions has little or no result upon the offspring. Each generation starts anew, with normal capacity, — lacking only the opportunity for normal development.

The indignant protest of Ezekiel to the Hebrews may well be repeated in America to-day: "What mean ye, that ye use this proverb in the land of opportunity? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in America. Behold, all souls are mine. If a man be just and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live;" [1] and this implies that he shall have a living income. The protest of the modern social reformer is even more poignant than that of the Hebrew prophet, because it

[1] "Social Forces," Edward T. Devine, *The Survey*, Feb. 19, 1910, Vol. 23, p. 753.

is based upon a scientifically established fact, the potential equality of men.

An acceptance of the old doctrine maintained society in a static condition. "Here is a thief, the son of a thief. His children should be and will be thieves. Yonder is a drunkard. His son will surely be intemperate." The new basis of reasoning overthrows such a theory and establishes the possibility of improvement. "Here is a thief, the son of a thief. If his children have an opportunity to live normal, healthy lives, the probability is that they will be normal men and women. Yonder is a drunkard, yet if his son be conceived during a period of sobriety, he may well grow up to be a sober man."

The old philosophy was hopeless. "The poor ye have with you always." No matter what efforts were made, they would still be there. The new philosophy reads further and finds that Jesus added, "When ye will ye may do them good." The activity of individuals may, after all, be effective. The old philosophy held society static: the new philosophy makes society dynamic; the old philosophy consigned men to damnation because they were unfortunately born: the new philosophy saves them by a proper rearing; the old philosophy dealt with heredity, — a factor largely beyond the control of men: the new philosophy

deals with environment and the possibility of creating normality by providing for every boy and girl a decent opportunity to live and enjoy.

X. *Opportunity and Adjustment*

Capacity is latent everywhere. Adjustment aims to provide an opportunity which will convert the latent capacity of humanity into positive achievement.

There are three objects which the worker for social adjustment seeks to attain: normal work and achievement; a wise use of leisure time; and a minimum standard of efficiency. It is not enough that some families enjoy all of these things. It is not enough to say that some families have normal work and achievement, some leisure and some a minimum standard of efficiency. Effort must never flag until every man, woman, and child has rights, privileges, and opportunities equal to those of every other man, woman, and child. Achievement will vary, but opportunity must be universal and unvarying. The provision of such opportunity is the object of adjustment.

Normal work is work for a reasonable number of hours under healthful, pleasant working conditions. Normal work ceases before exhaustion commences

and leaves a margin of surplus time that will permit the worker to completely regain the energy and vitality present after the previous period of rest. Normal work is not wholly monotonous and mechanical, but is educative and developing. Normal work provides opportunity for the development of ability.

Leisure is a universal right in a society which boasts an economic surplus. The great things of the world are done in leisure time. Leisure is not idleness, but opportunity to follow personal desire, unrestricted by any exigency or routine requirement. Leisure affords the opportunity for that spontaneous expression which exemplifies personal development. It is in leisure time that men think. The great leaders of thought and those who have insured and directed progress have in most cases been men with abundant leisure.

Normal work and a wise use of universal leisure are based on one other requirement, — a minimum standard of efficiency. Normality and malnutrition cannot exist together. Normal work and wisely directed leisure presuppose a sufficient quantity of nourishing, well-prepared food; a good shelter; sanitary and hygienic accommodations and conveniences; proper and sufficient clothing; a minimum of education; and opportunity for normal recreation.

The minimum standard of life must be universalized before universal opportunity can be assured. But if adjustment is to be attained, with its universalization must inevitably go the universalization of normal work and normal leisure.

CHAPTER II

MALADJUSTMENT AND SOCIAL COST

I. *Maladjustment*

ADJUSTMENT is possible; the normal is attainable; yet men have failed to attain the normal and secure adjustment. This failure is apparent on every side; its extent is appalling, and the result of its presence on the development of human capacity has been deadening.

The failure to attain normality and harmony with the environment is described as maladjustment. The measure of the maladjustment is the extent of the failure to attain normality and to harmonize with the environment. This book is written to prove: first, that maladjustment is prevalent in many forms; second, that in each of these forms it is remediable; and third, that adjustment is attainable only after maladjustment has been eliminated.

Society surrounds men with an essentially artificial environment. The life of the savage is lived in contact with nature; the life of the civilized man

is lived in contact with a man-made environment in the form of social institutions. The savage comes into contact with forests, plains, mountains, and rivers as natural objects, but only the crudest implements and the most primitive institutions as man-made or socially evolved objects. Modern life has removed, to a great extent, the possibility of contact with the natural surroundings of the savage and has substituted for them a group of socially evolved institutions which form the boundaries of life activity. Industry is the chief of these institutions which limit the horizon and direct the activities of practically every person in present-day society, while others are the school and the home.

The institutions of society, humanly created, determine the activities of men, but do not insure adjustment between men and social institutions. Indeed, whole groups of persons are at times out of harmony with these man-made institutions, and as a consequence of the lack of opportunity incident to this inharmony, the members of the group fail to develop their full capacity. Such cases of lack of adjustment between men and the institutional environment which they have created, are termed social maladjustments.

Maladjustment is the result of misdirected or undirected human activity, and may be due either to the

faulty construction of social institutions or to the inability of individuals to conform to institutional requirements. Illustrations of the presence of maladjustment may be found everywhere. For example, a factory involves every week the loss of a life, and every day several serious injuries, all of which could be prevented were the factory constructed in a scientific manner, with proper guards for gear wheels, cranes, and belting. Lives are nevertheless being lost, and accidents which result in temporary or permanent disability are constantly occurring. Here is an institution, humanly created, with which men are not in complete harmony, and as a result of this lack of harmony, they are suffering from maladjustment. Men, women, and children are struck down in the prime of life, and the training and education with which society has equipped them are wholly lost. A factory operated, as some of them are, under such conditions furnishes an example of the maladjustment arising out of the failure of a social institution to harmonize with human needs. The manufacture of machinery that permits children to be taken from school and fitted into the institution of industry likewise involves a maladjustment. For not only do the children miss an opportunity for education, but they are unable to secure the amount of recreation requisite for normal growth, and at the same time their bodies are stunted

by monotonous factory toil. Child labor means the curtailment of opportunity and the suppression of latent capacity, hence the manufacture of machinery which permits children to be employed involves maladjustment, — the failure of men to approximate to the normal status of their age. Again, because of their inability to defend themselves through trade-union action, and because of their lack of skill, women are paid wages below a level which will maintain a standard of decency. This involves a lack of harmony with an institution, and constitutes a social maladjustment. From these illustrations it is apparent that the institution of modern industry which men have created has not been fully organized in accord with human needs, and as men are not in complete harmony with its workings they suffer from the resulting maladjustment.

II. *Classification of Maladjustment*

For convenience of discussion, the maladjustments treated in this study will be grouped as follows: —

1. Maladjustments which are remediable through the awakening of the social conscience: —

Uniformity in Education.

Low Wages and Standards.

Congestion of Population.

Dependence of Women.

Menace of Large Families.

Decadence of the Home.

Duration of the Working Life.

2. Maladjustments regarding which the social conscience has already been awakened, and which are immediately remediable by legislation.

Under this heading the following topics will be discussed: —

Overwork.

Dangerous Trades.

Industrial Accidents.

Child Labor.

Unemployment.

Until recently it has been customary to effect changes in the industrial or social structure by an appeal to legislation. Those things against which the government could not legislate were regarded as private matters subject only to individual judgment or caprice. The phenomenon of the last two centuries, government by public opinion, is a thing undreamed of in more primitive society. While it is true that the field of government activity has been greatly expanded to meet the expanding requirements of industrial development and changing social organization, at the same time, in addition to this increased field of government activity, public opinion furnishes a phase of social control which is entirely new and which is the

longest step ever taken toward a popular form of government.

During the last few years, it has become customary for the President of the United States, in order to secure this or that action in Congress, to appeal through the newspapers direct to the people, who, by the expressions of their sentiment on the subjects in question, agree and force Congress to act, or disagree and leave the President to fight out his battle unaided by public sentiment. This force of public opinion has proved a most effectual check in preventing undesirable action by legislative bodies and executive officials, and in some instances it has proved equally efficacious in securing reforms which were obviously necessary.

The development of public opinion has resulted in a strong social sanction for certain acts. For example, it is becoming a dangerous thing to graft, — not because the grafter is in danger of a jail sentence, for such a conclusion of his career is as improbable as ever, — but because the social group to which he belongs is beginning to look with contempt and abhorrence upon the man who grafts. The grafter, caught red-handed, is faced, not with the danger of a jail sentence, but with the far more terrible menace of social ostracism.

There are some maladjustments like uniformity in education, low wages and standards, congestion,

and the dependence of women, upon which no public sentiment has as yet been developed. Legislation regarding them would at best be ineffective, and at worst positively harmful. Public opinion must be focussed on these maladjustments before they can be eliminated by the passage and enforcement of legislation. On the other hand, there are a group of maladjustments, such as bad working conditions, industrial accidents, and unemployment, regarding which public sentiment has already been developed and in some instances strongly expressed. In these cases it is only necessary to crystallize public sentiment in the form of legislation, or to secure the enforcement of existing legislation in conformity with the expression of public opinion.

The greater portion of this study will concern itself with a discussion of these two groups of maladjustments — first, those which must be brought to public attention; and second, those which are ripe for legislation. The maladjustments which will be analyzed in detail are taken as instances of the two general groups. But they by no means exhaust the possibilities, for there are many examples of maladjustment, falling in each group, which are not even hinted at in this work. The instances of maladjustment chosen for discussion are those most patent, most destructive, and most easily remedied.

III. *Maladjustment and Adjustment*

The first step toward adjustment is the elimination of maladjustment, and a program of adjustment must meet, as its first obstacle, the maladjustments of modern society. The adjustment program must, however, go further, and evolve a positive as well as a negative side. On the negative side this program must contain provisions for removing the unjust and disastrous burdens which maladjustment now imposes upon a portion of society: on the positive side, it must contain provisions for building up a social structure compatible with the needs and possibilities of modern society. Destructive criticism is not sufficient, nor is a constructive element alone adequate to remove social burdens. A program, to be effective, must contain a strong, persistent, constructive element, which expresses itself through the actual rebuilding of the social structure. If society were being completely remade from bottom to top, a constructive program alone would be adequate, but as the social structure is already erected, and as society is already a "going concern," a constructive policy alone is inadequate. The débris of the old régime must be removed before the foundations of the new régime can be laid. The criticisms of Carlisle were ineffective because they were almost wholly destructive; while

the proposals of Ruskin were ineffective because they failed to recognize the necessity for partially destroying the old order before building up the new. The bridge must be built while the trains are running. Society cannot stop pending a reconstruction. Destruction and construction must go on side by side, the construction taking place at the same time that the destruction is being carried forward, and when the new structure is completed it must be so designed as to fully replace the old.

A program for the removal of social burdens, such as overwork, bad sanitation, ignorance, unemployment, and the like, must therefore provide — first, for the elimination of the conditions which impose these burdens; and second, for the erection of a group of social institutions like the school, the playground, and the sanitary home, which replace the original institutions that involved maladjustment.

IV. *Social Cost*

The burdens of maladjustment which are at present borne by a part of society and which men seek to eliminate result in: —

1. An enormous loss of potential ability, — the suppression of the "mute, inglorious Miltons," who exist unrecognized in every social group.

2. The destruction through disease, accident, and death of developing and developed ability.

3. Expenditures of social energy and vitality for which there is no adequate return.

"Social cost" has no relation to money. The term is used to indicate the losses to society which are incident to a defective social organization. Ability is undeveloped, or destroyed in the making; society is expending great funds of energy in unproductive directions. This expenditure of social vitality and the compensation for the expenditure are wholly independent of financial considerations.

In the performance of every activity, society is forced to expend energy. And the energy so expended is the vital element in social progress, provided that as a result of its expenditure, some social product can be shown which is more than equal in social value to the energy expended. The important question, therefore, is not whether social energy or vitality is being expended, but whether its expenditure is resulting in a proportional product. Thus the energy which is involved in the maintenance of the public school system, the energy of the school director, superintendent, principal, teacher, and all other persons connected with the school system, is expended in a social way and can be described as social energy. This much is clear; but does the school system develop

the latent ability of the scholars, and is the expenditure of social energy involved in the maintenance of the school system resulting in a proportional return in the form of social efficiency? That question can be answered only by determining whether, as a result of the school system, the return in efficiency and preparation for life on the side of the children is of greater value to the community than the energy which the administrative and educational leaders of the schools have expended in instructing and training the children. If the amount of capacity developed in the child as a result of the public school system is greater than the amount of vitality or energy which was involved in his training, then society is a net gainer. If, on the other hand, the increased amount of efficiency in the children is of less value to society than the amount of vitality which was expended in their training, the educational system is involving a social cost.

The net return in vitality from any social institution determines whether or not that institution is involving a social cost. If the vitality received from the institution is less than the vitality expended upon it, it is persisting at a net loss and involving social cost.

Social vitality determines the capacity to live in work time, leisure time, and the time involved in performing the necessary functions of life. A group which

is dominated by institutions that are constantly involving social cost is each year less able to live; that is, it is each year less able to maintain itself in work, or in leisure, or to perform the necessary activities involved in maintaining life. It is not essential that all of the institutions of a group involve social cost; in fact, such a condition would be almost inconceivable, as it would result in a short time in a complete extinction of the group. The test of social cost cannot be applied to all of the institutions of a group and an answer given as to its presence or absence, but each institution can and must be tested separately and an answer given to the question, "Does it involve social cost?"

There are in the United States at the present time a group of institutions which are involving removable social cost. Any institution which shows an inadequately compensated expenditure of social vitality, which is failing to develop the latent capacity of the individual members of society, must of necessity be remodeled, and such a change can be made only through the effective expression of a feeling of social responsibility.

V. *Social Responsibility*

Two thousand years ago, Jesus commanded men to love their neighbors by serving them in their hour of

need; and when questioned as to the meaning of the word, he defined "neighbor" as a person needing help. The teachings of Jesus, based as they are upon the thought that each person is responsible for the welfare of his fellow, were merely a summary of the exhortations of the Hebrew prophets. For centuries this same thought had been evolving in Jewish literature. Long before Jesus' time, Cain raised the issue by asking, "Am I my brother's keeper?" And the answer stands out in all the subsequent teachings of the Jewish prophets, "You are." The care of the poor and the distressed, individual obedience to God as a method of preserving the nation, — these concepts of social responsibility are emphasized repeatedly throughout the Old as well as the New Testament.

This emphasis on social responsibility is not confined to the writings of the Hebrews. Studies of primitive races everywhere show a tendency to hold the individual responsible for any act that may injure the group. The member of the clan who was guilty of treason, or who in any way offended the gods of the clan, was severely punished, because by his indiscretion he was endangering the welfare of all. The offense of one individual might, by angering the gods, lead to the destruction of the entire clan, and it therefore behooved the clan to require exemplary individual conduct.

Even during the Middle Ages the concept of social responsibility existed, though emphasized in a somewhat different manner. The lord of the manor was responsible for those dependent upon him: they lived on his land, were supplied by his bounty, and in turn worked for him and gave him most of the product of their toil. Each member of the group was responsible for the group welfare, while the lord was particularly bound to see that his retainers were provided with the necessaries of life.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the other hand, show a shifting of the emphasis from the group to the individual, from social responsibility to individual initiative, — a change which was caused by two factors.

1. The substitution of competitive industry for the monopoly held for centuries by the medieval guilds.

2. The growth of a moral and political philosophy which emphasized the individual rather than the group.

These two interacting forces removed the economic basis for social responsibility, and for it substituted the idea of individual contract. Every man must be free, the philosophy decreed, to contract as he chose. The maxim which underlay his actions was, moreover, "every man for himself." If the preacher

were talking, epitomizing the philosophy, he would add, "and God for us all." If the practical man were talking, epitomizing the philosophy, he would add, "and the devil take the hindermost." In either case, however, the prime requisite was that each man must stand or fall on his individual capacity.

This idea of individual contract and individual initiative underlies practically all of America's political and industrial institutions. They originated at a time when the individualistic schools in politics, morality, and industry dominated the field of thought, and they reflect faithfully this domination by providing in every way, irrespective of the men or means involved or sacrificed, for the individual to make his mark.

Contrasted with this individualistic attitude, developed through an era of competition in industry and freedom in politics, is the revived social attitude, developed with modern industry, and based upon a reincarnation in modern social philosophy of the emphasis formerly laid on the solidarity of social interest, — the responsibility of the individual to the social group.

That portion of modern industry which has evolved through small scale to larger scale production, and which has at the same time ceased to be competitive and become coöperative or monopolistic, forms the

basis of modern social thought and action. While industry was competitive, the interests of the individual were dominant, but since industry has become coöperative, emphasis must be laid on the interest of the coöperating group. The coöperative spirit thus developed in industry has been extended to social life. Coöperation has evolved a great steel industry; why will it not produce a great society? The question is asked inevitably, and the obvious answer leads to a reëmphasis on social responsibility.

Thus, once again, the old feeling of social responsibility reveals itself. It is no longer based upon a fear of the anger of the gods nor upon the necessity of coöperating in order to maintain a successful defense against enemies, but upon a recognition of the fact that through industrial and social coöperation the highest welfare of the individual can be conserved.

Specifically, this feeling of social responsibility has expressed itself in many ways. During the entire nineteenth century, particularly during the last forty years, organizations of all kinds have been established whose avowed purpose is the protection of society through the defense of its weaker members. This is the confessed underlying cause of the organization of the coöperative societies which have been so successful in England; of the development of building loan associations which have reached their highest perfection in

the United States; of the organization on a large basis of charitable societies, children's aid societies, and other similar institutions. All of these organizations have aimed at the protection of society by organizing and directing the spirit of social responsibility which has been developing throughout the nineteenth century.

Factory and sweatshop legislation is the outcome of the same feeling of social responsibility. This legislation found its origin in the feeling on the part of the trade-unions that the excessively long hours and insanitary conditions under which work was done injured, not only the participants in the immediate work, but also all others working in like industries, by lowering their standard of wages and increasing the length of their working day. During the last half century, however, the unions have ceased to be the sole champions of this type of legislation. Associations have sprung up on all sides, similar in many respects to those previously mentioned, which have for their specific object the passage of legislation to regulate work in sweatshops, to prevent child labor, and to ameliorate working conditions. Examples of such associations are found in the Consumer's League, in the child labor committees, in civic associations, and associations organized for the purpose of securing improved social legislation.

The women of the country have played a leading rôle in the development of the feeling of social responsibility by organizing women's clubs, home and school clubs, parents' associations, and women's civic societies, which have for their general purpose the elimination of the maladjustments of modern industrial and social life. No more striking illustration could be instanced of the prevalence of a feeling of social responsibility than the extensive organization of women for the avowed purpose of removing maladjustment.

Perhaps the best indication, however, of the prevalence of a feeling of social responsibility is furnished by the increasing number of gifts for philanthropic purposes. Each year millions of dollars are provided by direct gift or bequest for all conceivable forms of philanthropy, — from the founding of professorships of social science, to the maintenance of soup kitchens. Colleges are established; libraries donated; homes, hospitals, and the like institutions are endowed. In many ways the surplus wealth of the American people is seeking an outlet, an opportunity for social service, through this voluntary expenditure. Most of the gifts are the direct outcome of a desire to use acquired or inherited wealth for the promotion of social welfare; for, ill-advised as some of these gifts undoubtedly are, they indicate nevertheless an attitude which is clearly an outcome of a strong feeling of social responsibility.

Organized charity, factory legislation, the growth of women's clubs, the movement for better education, — all are indications of a general social upheaval based on the same underlying principle. The individual is recognizing his social duty and is seeking to perform it for the welfare of society. The struggle of individual competition has in a measure ceased because of the obvious connection between the welfare of each individual and that of his neighbor. The outcome of this recognition is the development and expression of a consciousness of social responsibility.

Maladjustment, social cost, and social responsibility form a triune of concepts which are rapidly impressing themselves upon the thinking world. Maladjustment involves social cost, the presence of social cost awakens a feeling of social responsibility, and this feeling of social responsibility, directed against the foundation of social cost, leads men to aim at the elimination of maladjustment.

The succeeding chapters will deal specifically with a number of the most serious of modern maladjustments, and in each case an attempt will be made to show that the maladjustment under consideration is: (1) due to economic causes; (2) responsible for social cost; and (3) remediable. The maladjustments will be classified in the two groups already indicated, — the first consisting of maladjustments which can

be remedied only by awakening the social conscience to the necessity of passing and enforcing adequate legislation; and the second consisting of maladjustments for which the remedy can be applied immediately in the form of legislation.

Any failure to attain normality due to economic causes, resulting in social cost and plainly remediable, falls within the scope of this discussion, and while all of such maladjustments cannot be dealt with in so short a space, the significance of the two groups can be indicated.

CHAPTER III

UNIFORMITY IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

I. *The Early Basis of Education*

THE Public School System of the United States is a social institution to which every American points with pride, and its prominence in American life and thought entitles it to a first place in this discussion. Herbert Spencer holds, and does so very justly, that the object of education is complete living. If this definition be accepted, the question will justly be asked, "In how far does the American System of Education prepare for complete living?"

With the evolution of the public school has come a change in education of the most radical character. In its old form education was wholly classical. Its purpose was, primarily, to train men for the ministry or priesthood, and secondly, to give them a knowledge of the rudiments of language and mathematics. When these two functions had been fulfilled education was considered complete. In modern times discoveries and inventions have placed in the hands of educators an almost unlimited store of material which can

be used to enrich the curriculum and to give to the students a form of education based upon the experience and practice of modern life. In some of the city school systems the curriculum has been changed in response to these new discoveries and inventions, and education has been put on a reasonably modern basis by the establishment of manual training schools, trade schools, and courses dealing with various forms of applied education. But even in the most advanced cities the evolution in the curriculum has not been completed.

This progress in certain city school systems serves as a painful contrast with the conditions in many of the small industrial towns and country districts. While the city school curriculum has been broadening, the curriculum in the average small town and country school still deals with the time-honored topics that have been handed down from the era of classical education. Reading, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, together with many other abstract questions, constitute the material of which these curricula are composed; yet none of these topics is calculated to fit the children for the parts which they are supposed to play in modern life. The demand of the modern world is for specialists. Industry has been changing and evolving. In engineering, banking, architecture, and railroading, men are in request

who know intimately some phase of the industry under discussion. One hundred years ago industry demanded, not specialists, but men trained along all lines, who could come up through the ranks and take the leading positions in the factory or the business. Modern industry is asking for men with special training, men who will come from college prepared to perform efficiently the work assigned them in some particular branch of a great department.

II. *The New Basis of Education*

Apprenticeship has vanished from modern industry, except in a few of the old hand trades, such as plumbing, glass blowing, and the like, where individual personal skill is still a prime factor and where the individual workman creates a completed product. Generally speaking, however, the demand of industry is for specialists.

To-day there are a thousand trades, and each trade has its specialties, so that the business world presents many thousands of openings to the boy who is going out to earn a living. As a means of preparation for these thousands of different pursuits, the school system in most cases holds out merely a traditional form of classical education which gives him a rudimentary knowledge of reading, writing, and figuring, but which

fails to give him any ground work for the special line of industry in which he is to spend his work-life.

An extreme contrast exists between the specialization of modern industry and the uniformity of modern education. Of that fact there can be no question. It is sufficient merely to call attention to its presence. The questions which are of particular interest, however, in the present discussion are: first, the cause of uniformity in education; second, its social effect; and third, the remedy for it, if there be any.

III. *Educational Uniformity and Modern Industry*

Uniformity in education is the outcome of economic causes.

The old education was calculated to prepare men and women for life in an average community where there is no particular specialization in industry. Such a community was the typical one in the United States fifty years ago. Under these circumstances the results of such a system of education were eminently satisfactory. It was difficult, if not impossible, to provide any training in the school which would assist directly in the pursuits of the boys after they left the school, as each trade contained in itself a thorough education in the form of apprenticeship. Fifty years ago it was not considered necessary to give girls much education; all of the training neces-

sary for the performance of their housework could be secured in the household, for there were still many household trades in 1860 which have since found their way into the factory. Both boys and girls received a thorough apprenticed training for their life work; neither needed specialized education.

During the last fifty years a complete change has taken place in economic conditions. In the first place, industry has removed from the home to the factory. The bread which was baked, the stockings which were knit, and the oat meal which was cooked then in the home are now prepared in factories under a system infinitely specialized. Each worker is a small unit in a great machine, with little idea of his relation to his fellow-workers or to the machine as a whole.

Modern industry has thus created a new basis for education, — a basis of specialization as opposed to the basis of uniformity and apprenticeship of the domestic system and the early factory system. The basis for education has been completely changed while the education itself has remained, to a great extent, unaltered.

IV. *The Measure of the School System's Failure*

An educational system organized on the basis of an old economic régime involves social cost when applied to a new régime. The modern system of uni-

form education, applied to many communities in the United States, fails to develop the latent ability of the people; fails to prepare them to live efficient lives; fails to secure to the community a return in increased energy and capacity proportionate to the energy and capacity devoted to the organization of the school system, and therefore fails to maintain the approximation to the normal which is involved in social adjustment.

The extent of the maladjustment due to the failure of the public school to provide a form of training that will effectually prepare children to live completely is difficult to measure accurately, but it may be very approximately estimated by: (1) the extent of illiteracy; (2) the extent of elementary school mortality; (3) child labor; (4) lack of preparedness for life. The existence of each one of these four forces brands the public school system of the United States with failure. How prevalent are these forces, and where do they exist?

V. *Illiteracy*

The census of 1900 enumerated 223,208 white children, 10 to 14 years of age, born in the United States, who could neither read nor write.[1] The statement is quite startling, particularly for the complacent citizen

[1] Census Bulletin 26, Washington, 1905, p. 33.

who has been paying his school tax with the assurance that the children of the United States were safe in school, provided with the best education that unlimited funds could procure.

This quarter of a million illiterates of school age is the most specific, direct charge which can be brought against the public school system. To be sure, most of the children were in the Southern states, but 7799[1] of them were in the North Atlantic states, while 21,132[1] of them were in the North Central states.

A total of 577,649[2] children between 10 and 14 years of age were reported by the census of 1900 as wholly illiterate. This represented 71 children in every 1000. Among the native white children of native parents, the proportion of illiterates was 44 per 1000 children.[2] In the great states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, there were respectively 4740, 6326, and 4044 children between 10 and 14 who could neither read nor write.[2]

The showing of child illiteracy in the United States is astonishing to the civilized foreigner. "Illiteracy is almost a negligible quantity in the German Empire, in France, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and even in Japan. As I was preparing this address I had the pleasure of a call from Dr. Koht, professor of

[1] Census Bulletin 26, Washington, 1905, p. 33.
[2] *Supra*, p. 21.

modern history in the University of Christianna. I asked him how many children there were in the Scandinavian countries, ten years old, who could neither read nor write. He said *not any*. He seemed surprised at the question. In the state of New York there are fifty-five in a thousand and in Illinois forty-two in a thousand." [1]

The number of illiterates of all ages in the United States is appalling. "Somewhat more than one tenth (106.6 per 1000) of the population at least 10 years of age is illiterate." [2] The importance of this statement becomes particularly significant when a comparison is made between the illiteracy in the United States and in European countries. In Germany, Norway, and Sweden, 1 in 1000 are illiterate, in Switzerland 3, in Denmark 5, in Finland 16, in France 49, and in England 58.[3]

An analysis of the figures of illiteracy by Leonard P. Ayres is followed by this statement: "This pretty conclusively answers our first question, 'Do the schools reach all the children?' They do not." [4]

Undoubtedly the public school system reaches

[1] "Conserving Childhood," Andrew S. Draper, pp. 3, 4, Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Child Labor, 1909.

[2] Census Bulletin 26, Washington, 1905, p. 8.

[3] *Supra*, p. 9.

[4] "Laggards in Our Schools," Leonard P. Ayres, Sage Foundation, 1909, p. 105.

many pupils, and its benefits to them are unquestioned. At the same time, an army of more than half a million illiterate children in the foreground, and more than six million illiterate adults in the background, squarely challenges the efficiency and thoroughness of the system. Through every state spreads this army of illiterates, presenting an unanswerable indictment of the American schools, which have fallen far below the schools of advanced Europe in that they have failed to universalize the fundamentals of education.

VI. *School Mortality*

The people of the United States are illiterate because some of the children do not go to school, and because many of those who do go cannot advance in the school work. As a consequence of their failure to do the work they drop out of an early grade and this "school mortality" clearly explains the prevalent illiteracy.

Children leave the elementary schools in great numbers, particularly after the fifth year. In 1907 there were 2,421,888 children in the schools of 386 principal cities of the United States. For each 1000 of these children in the first year, there were 723 in the second year, 552 in the fifth year, 368 in the seventh, and 263 in the eighth,—the last year in the elementary schools. Of the 1000 pupils in the first year, 263

reach the high school, and 56 remain in the high school until the fourth year.[1] In the city school systems of the United States, ninety-four children in each one hundred never complete the full twelve years of educational activity from the first grade to the end of the high school, and seventy-three in each hundred never complete the course in the elementary schools.

The public school system is undoubtedly intended to prepare the children of the nation for life and usefulness, yet less than one child in seventeen in the cities of the United States ever completes the full public school course.

The figures for towns and rural districts are unsatisfactory because of the lack of proper grading, but the few studies which have been made show that in all probability a larger percentage of children go to the higher grades in the city than in the country schools. If such be the case, the country districts would show an even more alarming educational mortality.

The public schools do not hold the children. Each year shows a progressive decrease in the proportion of children attending, until in the high school the number approaches the vanishing point. No sharper indictment of the public school system could be drawn

[1] "Laggards in Our Schools," Leonard P. Ayres, Sage Foundation, 1909, p. 13.

than that presented by the statistics of American city school systems, — 1000 children in the first year, 56 in the twelfth. No clearer explanation of the prevalence of illiteracy could be given than that contained in the school mortality in the early elementary classes.

VII. *Child Labor*

"The most potent reason, in my opinion, why the children are in the factory, is our school system." [1] This statement, made by the factory inspector of Louisiana, voices the opinion of those workers with the child labor problem who are pointing more and more determinedly to the schools as a leading cause of child labor.

It is rare to find a child laborer who wishes to go back to school. Street life he would enjoy, freedom from all restraint he longs for, but when the choice between the discipline of school and the monotony of work is presented to him, the average child of 13, 14, or 15 unhesitatingly chooses work. A study made in New York of 666 children who left school during 1908 points to the conclusion that: "The reasons assigned [for leaving school] show that the children are not in harmony with the present school environment." [2]

[1] "Why Children are in the Factory," Miss Jean M. Gordon, p. 67, Proceedings Fourth Annual Meeting National Child Labor Committee, 1908.

[2] "A Plea for Vocational Training," Mary Flexner, *Survey*, Aug. 7, 1909, p. 651.

"There is nothing in the school for the average boy after he reaches the age of twelve," said the principal of schools in an industrial town of Pennsylvania. Again and again this statement was repeated and reëmphasized by school officials and school teachers. The elementary school, as at present organized, does not appeal to the average child.

Low wages play a part in child labor. Greed, ignorance, and indifference are factors in the problem, but the failure of the schools to attract and hold the child stands out clearly as one of the most active, if not the most active, cause operating to send children to work.

The school fails to hold the interest and attention of the average child, particularly of the average boy, because the school training has so little relation to the world in which the average man and woman are called upon to live and work. It is the deliberate opinion of social students and social workers that the school plays a leading part in sending children into the factory.[1]

VIII. *Lack of Preparedness for Life*

Children leave school and go to work, because the School System fails to prepare its pupils for the life of the world. While the school is thus responsible for the work of the children, it is equally responsible

[1] For further discussion see chapter on Child Labor.

for the ultimate inefficiency of men and women. The vast majority of the boys and girls who attend the schools will work with their hands in after life, but, "Our elementary schools train for no industrial employments. They lead to nothing but the secondary school, which in turn leads to the college." [1]

Seven eighths of the school children of the United States never enter the high school,[2] yet "one who goes out of the school system before the end of or at the end of the elementary course is not only unprepared for any vocation which will be open to him, but too commonly he is without that intellectual training which should make him eager for opportunity and incite him to the utmost effort to do just as well as he can, whatever may open to him." [3]

The children attend schools in which "the programs are overloaded and the teachers overtaxed," [3] in which "there is too much pedagogy and too little teaching," and "the result upon the child is confused conceit rather than mental clarity." [3] And, summing up the entire situation, Commissioner Draper says, "There is a waste of time and productivity in all of the grades of the elementary schools." [4]

[1] "American Education," Andrew S. Draper, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909, p. 278.

[2] "Laggards in Our Schools," Leonard P. Ayres, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1909, p. 13.

[3] "American Education," Andrew S. Draper, pp. 278–279.

[4] *Supra*, p. 281.

More than nine tenths of the pupils in the schools of the United States are in the elementary grades, yet these grades fail to prepare the pupils for the hand work which they must do in after life. Tested, therefore, by the extent of preparedness for life which results from the school system, the net loss to the country from this failure to educate represents a distinct social cost.

There is something the matter with the schools; children drop out of them illiterate; they choose the factory in preference to the schoolroom; the graduates of the elementary grades are not prepared to participate in the activities of life. There is something the matter with the schools; they fail to hold interest, to educate, and to satisfy the children because of the uniform curriculum through which every child, no matter what his capacities or aspirations, is pushed, pulled, and hammered, until he rebels and leaves the school, or else tamely submits and becomes a uniform product of a uniform educational system.

Uniformity in education was caused by a system of uniformity in industry; the application of a uniform system of education to a community dependent upon specialized industry for its existence results in a social cost and maladjustment. Is the condition remediable? Without question.

IX. *The Remedy*

The object of education is complete living. A perfect educational system would prepare those participating in it to really live every phase of their lives, and to derive from the various phases of life all possible benefit. Any educational system which enables men to live completely is therefore fulfilling its function. On the other hand, an educational system which does not prepare for life is not meeting the necessary requirements.

In short, education must secure adjustment either by preparing men to live in harmony with their environment, or by changing the environment so that harmony with it may be attained. The men and women who come under the first group are legion. Those who come under the last are an almost negligible minority. The mediocre man conforms to conditions: it is only the occasional genius who, like Napoleon, makes circumstances. The vast majority, therefore, require an education which will furnish —

1. Preparation for work.
2. Preparation for leisure.

As has already been indicated, work in modern society is exceedingly specialized; the preparation which the school affords for work must be as diversified and as specialized as the work itself. The boy who

reaches the eighth year in school has before him two choices: one to take up a uniform and abstract high school course, the other, to step out into the industrial world where a hundred different kinds of occupations are waiting for him, each one appealing to the particular fancy of some particular boy. The school system presents a world of uniformity and monotony, the industrial system a world of choice.

Is it possible for a school system to prepare men and women for their special work in life? The majority of men who go into industry become hand workers; they do something which requires manual dexterity. But in the average school no provision whatever is made for the training of the hand.

The question of specialized training has nowhere been more carefully worked out than in Munich, Germany, whose Continuation Schools each represent one of the forty leading industries of the city.[1] Regular attendance at the common school is required until the boy is fourteen, at which age he may go into industry, but until his eighteenth year he is also required to spend from twelve to sixteen hours per week at a Continuation School. If, for example, the boy is to become a carpenter, he goes into a carpenter shop, and learns the practical side of carpentry; but at

[1] "Beginnings in Industrial Education," Paul H. Hanus, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1908, Ch. 5.

the same time he is taking work in a Continuation Carpentry School. Here he learns mathematics, drawing, and a group of other facts, which give him a theoretical groundwork for his practical mastery of the trade. At the age of eighteen therefore he goes into the world a carpenter, prepared with the practice of carpentry as well as with its theory, having had the experience in shop work on the one hand and the school training on the other, which go to make up a well-rounded, thoroughly trained artisan.

It is not for a moment contended that the cultural side of education should be neglected. Of course, every one should read; of course, every one should write and spell and figure; these things form an essential part of the life of every citizen of a democracy. The school which provides only this much of education has prepared its pupils, in a measure, for leisure activity, but has furnished no connection between the individual and the work-life, whereas each phase of life is important enough to command consideration.

X. *Educational Differentiation*

Leaving aside, for the moment, the difference in the education that should be provided for boys and girls, education should be differentiated in three ways:

1. Between city and country.
2. Between head and hand work.

3. Between various trades.

One modern achievement may be so developed as to make country life attractive to boys and girls, — that is, scientific agriculture. The charm of country life, the love of experiment, and the knowledge that scientific farming will produce a comfortable income will be potent factors in keeping the children of the present generation on the farm and in sending many weary, overworked city dwellers into the agricultural districts. The methods of scientific farming which are taught in agricultural colleges and in a few agricultural high schools, and which are spread through every district by the publications of the state and national agricultural departments, are rapidly replacing the old hit-or-miss farm methods. Agricultural uncertainty has been largely eliminated by scientific methods, and agriculture has become an industry comparable with the other great industries of modern times.

Some country boys and girls will grow up and teach school, some country boys will become United States senators and railroad presidents; but the great majority of the country boys and girls will settle on the farms and do the agricultural work of the nation. If any country boy or girl wishes to join the ranks of city dwellers, or to engage in an exclusively mental occupation, the system of education can easily be

arranged so as to permit of this form of training, but the major part of the country school curriculum should be so framed as to make of the country boys and girls men and women capable of building up an efficient agricultural industry.

If the purpose of education be instruction in Greek, Latin, and higher mathematics, then this type of education would be a mistake and would eventually prove a failure; but if the purpose of education is preparation for complete living, then the greatest service that the country school can perform for its scholars is to prepare them to be efficient in the performance of the duties that will devolve upon men and women living in rural communities.

The training of boys and girls in the city must differ essentially from the training of country boys and girls. The city man or woman must inevitably engage in some industrial pursuit, and while nature study and school gardens are valuable as object lessons to city children, their training must be along lines which are essentially industrial.

The primary differentiation in education must, therefore, be between rural and urban schools. A like differentiation should also be made in the urban school between head and hand work. Perhaps three quarters, perhaps seven eighths, of all the boys and girls who go through the city schools will be called

upon to do work with their hands. An education which prepares for complete living would necessarily prepare these boys and girls for some form of hand work. Mind training is of course essential, but the mind training alone which is given in the modern city school, not only does not prepare pupils for work, but it drives them from the schools, so that for millions of children, the choice is not between hand training and head training, but between hand training and no training.

Mention has already been made of the Continuation School of Germany. It is obvious that if efficient head or hand work is to be done, it can be done only after some form of specialized training, given during normal working hours, or before the student begins to work. The third form of differentiation must therefore be between the various trades.

Thus it is perfectly obvious that the educational system might easily be so well modeled as to provide for a man, through the Continuation School or some other similar device, a training which will fit him to live his life efficiently. Is it possible to provide training which will also fit women to take up the work of their lives?

Unquestionably it is.

The modern system of education means almost as little to women as it does to men. The woman is

primarily in the home, and while several millions of women are engaged in industrial pursuits, as a rule these pursuits precede or follow home life. And just as the great majority of boys will grow up to use their hands, so the great majority of girls will grow up to be wives and mothers. And just as in the case of the boys the school system provides no special training which will enable them to fill their hand work positions in life, so in the case of the girls the educational system provides no training which will enable them to fill their home positions in life. Yet "women enter a position which gives into their hands direct responsibility for the life or death of the whole human race with neither study nor experience, with no shadow of preparation or guarantee of capability." [1]

The proper chemical combination of foods, the anatomy of the human body, the feeding and care of children, child psychology, — all of these questions have been thoroughly and scientifically worked out, and the material concerning all of them is at hand in the scientific literature of the day.[2] Yet the public school system utterly ignores this material, and confines itself to supplying to the girls an essential knowledge of the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic,

[1] "Woman and the Race," Gordon Hart, Westwood, Mass., Ariel Press, 1907, p. 66.

[2] "Girl and Woman," Caroline W. Latimer, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1909.

and language. Those elements are essential to every girl because they represent one side of her education. Yet there is another side just as essential to the work part of her life. Any rational system of education should provide the training which fits the girl to make and keep a home, just as it provides the training which fits a man to make and keep a position in the industrial world.

The object of education is then twofold, — first, to prepare for work, and second, to prepare for leisure. It is obvious from what has been said that the present educational system fails to prepare a great number of either men or women for their life work, and that adequate remedies exist for a uniform system of education, the cause of which is economic, and the results of which are social cost and maladjustment.

CHAPTER IV

LOW WAGES AND STANDARDS

I. *The Standard at Perth Amboy*

DURING the last two months of 1908 a strike occurred among employees of the National Fireproofing Company of Perth Amboy, New Jersey. The panic of 1907 had seriously interfered with building operations; there was no demand for fireproofing bricks, and the plants at Perth Amboy were either running on part time or were entirely closed down. The employees, most of them foreigners, understood that if Taft was elected there would be an immediate increase in wages and a resumption of work. Taft was eventually elected, but wages and work remained unchanged. Then the men struck.

There are about 35,000 people in Perth Amboy, probably more than half of whom are foreign-born. Among the foreigners a large number have families, which average in the neighborhood of five children per family. Rent costs $8 a month, food $15, coal $5, and clothes $10, or "a total of $38, with nothing allowed for sickness, for the expense of childbirth,

for tobacco or beer or newspapers or schoolbooks or furniture or dishes or dues of church and benefit societies. A dollar and a half a day is the least they can do it on." [1] "The cost of clothing is greatly increased because a man working in a clay pit must have each month two pairs of shoes at $1.50, or be sick from standing in the moist earth." [2]

Perth Amboy is within an hour's ride of Manhattan Island, and within a few hundred yards of Staten Island, — a part of Greater New York. "Rent is lower than in New York, but food costs rather more than in the East Side," [3] except for chickens and eggs which each family provides for itself. The cost of living was thus fairly high for a town of 35,000. What were the wages of the clay-pit workers?

Before the panic of 1907 wages were $1.50 per day. During the panic the wages were cut to $1.35 ($33.75 per month). The laborers of Perth Amboy were seeking to maintain a decent standard of life on $34 a month, when the minimum of decency appeared to be $38. This $34 a month stood for 25 days' work, but the plants were closed part of the time during 1907 and 1908, and men were not able to earn even $34. How did these people live?

[1] "A Prosperity Strike," Arthur P. Kellogg, *Charities and the Commons*, Dec. 12, 1908, p. 430.

[2] *Supra*, p. 431.

[3] *Supra*, p. 430.

In South River, a small town near Perth Amboy, the wages had been from *ninety-five cents* to $1.15 per day. The strike raised them to $1.30. In South River, "living costs about the same and the work is the same," [1] as it is in Perth Amboy. "It is scarcely debatable that a man cannot support a wife and bring up five children as Americans on such wages." [1]

II. *The Standard in Pittsburg*

Perth Amboy is not the only town where wages are so much lower than prices that a decent subsistence cannot be secured.

In 1908 the working and living conditions in Pittsburg, the fountain of millionaires, were made the subject of an exhaustive study. The cost of living is very high in Pittsburg, — higher than in New York, or Philadelphia, or Buffalo, or almost any Eastern city. Rents too are abnormally high, and the housing facilities abnormally bad. The following description is given of a family in the town of Homestead (on the outskirts of Pittsburg). "The family (which consisted of a man, his wife, his brother, and three children, — eleven, eight, one, — and four boarders) occupied a house of four rooms, one of them dark, for which they paid a rent of fourteen dollars. The man, though he had been in this country about twelve years, was still

[1] *Supra*, p. 432.

earning only $10.80 a week with which to meet the needs of his growing family." [1]

This family lived in a small industrial town, considerably smaller than Perth Amboy, yet they paid $14 a month rent. When work was steady, the father earned $10.80 a week. But $3.23 of this sum went to the landlord, leaving only $7.57 for food, clothing, and the other necessaries of life. In this family the inadequate wage was offset by keeping four boarders. The underpaid family must choose between a standard below the standard of decency, and the destruction of family unity.

The instance just cited is not exceptional in Pittsburg, except for the number of boarders. Rent and living are high, but wages, instead of being correspondingly high, are everywhere correspondingly low. In the steel industry approximately 65 per cent of the workers are unskilled, and the wages of unskilled labor in the mills of Pittsburg range from $1.35 to $1.85 a day,[2] or from $405 to $555 a year.

Some idea of the standards of life of these low paid, Pittsburg steel workers may be gathered from the following descriptions of Painter's Row, — a cluster of houses near Painter's Steel Mill, Pittsburg: —

[1] "Milltown Courts and their Lodgers," Margaret F. Byington, *Charities and the Commons*, Feb. 6, 1909, Vol. 21, p. 919.

[2] "The New Pittsburgers," Peter Roberts, *Charities and the Commons*, Jan. 2, 1909, Vol. 21, p. 547.

"In one apartment a man, his wife and a baby and two boarders slept in one room, and five boarders occupied two beds in an adjoining room. . . . Not one house in the entire settlement had any provision for supplying drinking water to its tenants. . . . They went to an old pump in the mill yard, — 360 steps from the farthest apartment, down seventy-five stairs. This town pump was the sole supply of drinking water within reach of ninety-one households comprising 568 persons. . . . Another row of one-family houses had a curious wooden chute arrangement on the back porches, down which waste water was poured that ran through open drains in the rear yard to the open drain between this row of houses and the next. . . . They carried other things besides waste water, — filth of every description was emptied down these chutes, for these six families and three families below on the first floor had no closet accommodations and were living like animals." [1]

If no other facts than these were cited, the title of this chapter, "Low Wages and Standards," would be more than justified by the lowness of the wages and standards of Pittsburg, — "the city of a thousand millionaires." But while the picture presented in Pittsburg is extreme, it is by no means exceptional.

[1] "Painter's Row," Elizabeth Crowell, *Charities and the Commons*, Feb. 6, 1909, Vol. 21, pp. 914–915.

Similar descriptions might be detailed endlessly of living conditions in the tenements of New York, the stockyards district of Chicago, the industrial towns of Pennsylvania, and the coal fields of West Virginia.

III. *Underfed Children*

There is a reflex of these low standards of wages and of living, — a reflex on the children, a fact strikingly illustrated by the situation in Chicago. Two years ago the Chicago Board of Education investigated underfeeding among Chicago school children. The results of the investigation are thus reported: —

"Five thousand children who attend the schools of Chicago are habitually hungry. . . .

"I further report that 10,000 other children in the city — while not such extreme cases as the aforesaid — do not have sufficient nourishing food; . . .

"There are several thousand more children under 6 who are also underfed, and who are too young to attend school.

"The question of food is not the only question to be considered. Many children lack shoes and clothing. Many have no beds to sleep in. They cuddle together on hard floors. The majority of the indigent children live in damp, unclean, or overcrowded homes, that lack proper ventilation and sanitation. Here, in the damp, ill-smelling basements, there is only one thing regarded as cheaper than rent — and that is the life of the child.

"We find that a large number of children have only bread, saturated in water for breakfast day after day; that the noon meal is bread or bananas, and an occasional luxury of soup made

from pork bones; that children often frequent South Water Street begging for dead fowl in the crates or decayed fruit; that others have been found searching for food in alley garbage boxes, and several cases were reported where hungry children at school picked up crusts of bread or fragments of lunch which other children had thrown away." [1]

The school children of Chicago are not an isolated illustration. John Spargo states that from 60,000 to 70,000 school children in New York City go to school hungry and unable to do the required work, thus accepting the figures in Hunter's "Poverty"; that of 12,800 slum children investigated, 2950, or 23 per cent, were without any adequate breakfast; and that of the 10,707 children in the industrial schools of New York, 439, or 4.10 per cent, were breakfastless on date of inquiry, and 998, or 9.32 per cent, were anæmic from improper feeding.[2]

Some of these figures are little better than guesses and they do not present a reliable basis on which generalizations may be made as to the number of underfed children in the United States, but they present most effectively a picture of the extent of physical want among the children of New York, due in large measure to the low wages and standards of the fathers.

[1] Report of Minutes, Board of Education, City of Chicago, Oct. 2, 1908, pp. 4–5.

[2] "Bitter Cry of the Children," John Spargo, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906, Ch. 2.

IV. *Low Standard Families*

The average prosperous member of the community does not realize what "low standard" means. A settlement worker was explaining to a group of people in moderate circumstances the unpalatable diet of poor folks. "But," protested one of the sympathetic ladies, "if they would only fry those things in butter," — the settlement worker gently explained that butter was a luxury used by such people sparingly once or twice a week, if at all.

The low standard family really lives on a low standard. The Chicago investigators who worked out the statistics of underfed school children discovered that. They reported fifteen thousand school children in Chicago alone (7 per cent of all of the elementary school children) as being underfed, — that is, living on a low standard.

The school doctors, in several large cities, have been picking out children who were plainly underfed. In one family, two children appeared to be anæmic, and an investigation disclosed these facts, — the mother, a widow, earns $6 to $7 a week, scrubbing out saloons, cleaning and doing other heavy work about the neighborhood. She has two children, — ten and eight years of age.

During a typical two weeks in the spring of 1910

this woman's receipts and expenses were: income $12; outlay — rent $5, gas $.50, insurance $.70, shoes $3, car fare $.10, church at late Mass, Palm Sunday, $.10, and food $2.60, — making a total of $11. The $1 saved was put away toward a pair of shoes for the little girl. The family having no range, cooks by gas, and in order to keep the gas bill low uses only those foods which require little fuel. The only luxury in the budget is ten cents for late Mass on Palm Sunday. Other Sundays the mother goes to early Mass and pays nothing.

Some idea of the reason why the school doctor regarded the children as anæmic may be gained by a reading of the following menu of this family.

Sunday,	Breakfast — Bread and tea (no milk).
	Dinner — Soup (from soup bone) and potatoes, bread.
	Supper — Bread and tea (no milk).
Monday,	Breakfast — Bread and tea (no milk).
	Dinner — Fried potatoes (lard) and gravy (made from leftover soup).
	Supper — Bread and tea (condensed milk in tea).
Tuesday,	Breakfast — Bread and tea (condensed milk in tea).
	Dinner — Boiled rice with tomatoes (canned).
	Supper — Bread and tea (condensed milk in tea).
Wednesday,	Breakfast — Bread and tea (condensed milk in tea).
	Dinner — Boiled potatoes and stewed tomatoes (canned).
	Supper — Bread and tea (condensed milk in tea).
Thursday,	Breakfast — Bread and tea (no milk).

Dinner — Bread and molasses (mother out working).
Supper — Boiled cabbage.

Friday, Breakfast — Bread and tea (no milk).
Dinner — Boiled cabbage.
Supper — Bread and molasses.

Saturday, Breakfast — Bread and tea (no milk).
Dinner — Boiled potatoes.
Supper — Bread and tea (no milk).

This monotonous diet is typical of that eaten by many children, — not only the children of widowed mothers, but the children of the day laborer as well. His wage of nine dollars a week, for himself, his wife, and three young children, is no more, in proportion, than the six or seven dollars earned by this widow.

These illustrations may convey to the average reader some faint, imperfect idea of what is meant by low wages and standards. A man must be hungry to know what hunger really means, and he must have lived on a starvation wage to understand fully what a starvation wage implies; yet the wages of Perth Amboy and Pittsburg, the hungry school children of Chicago, express in some measure the social cost implied in low wages and standards. These conditions constitute a portion of our national life, and their elimination becomes a part of the duty of every citizen.

The examples given thus far make up a picture. In addition some scientific work has been done on the

standard of living, and a careful attempt has been made to define a standard and to show its relation to modern wages. The illustrations which have been given show the existence of wages so low that their recipients are apparently unable to secure decent living or sufficient food, but must send their children to school hungry.

V. *A Minimum Standard of Living*

What is a standard of living? It has been talked about and written about a great deal in the last ten years, but do people really have a definite idea as to what is meant by the term? In 1907 the budgets of several hundred workingmen's families in New York City were worked out in elaborate detail, and the conclusions thus presented: —

I. "It seems safe to conclude from all the data that we have been considering that an income under $800 is not enough to permit the maintenance of a normal standard.

II. "On the other hand, an income of $900 or over probably permits the maintenance of a normal standard, at least so far as the physical man is concerned.

III. "Whether an income between $800 and $900 can be made to suffice is a question to which our data do not warrant a dogmatic answer." [1]

If these conclusions, which are the result of a pains-

[1] "The Standard of Living among Workingmen's Families in New York City," Robert Chapin, Russell Sage Foundation, 1909, pp. 245–246.

taking, scientific analysis, be accepted, at least $3 a day ($900 a year) would be necessary to provide a minimum standard of life on Manhattan Island. The standard family adopted in these studies consisted of a man, wife, and three children, all under fourteen. A minimum standard of living is the amount necessary to enable a family to maintain physical efficiency. On Manhattan Island, this amount is approximately $3 a working day ($900 a year) for a man, wife, and three children under fourteen. If the physical efficiency of the population of Manhattan Island is to be maintained, no man with three children should have an income of less than $900 a year. If the income falls below this figure, the physical efficiency of the members of the family will probably be lowered.

The meager corroborative evidence obtainable bears out the conclusions reached in the New York study. While the amount expended for rent in New York is abnormally high, ranging from $150 to $175 per year, the other items entering into the family budget vary little in the different urban communities of the United States.

The conclusions reached by the New York Committee, corroborated by such additional evidence as is available, make it apparent that a family of five, including three children under fourteen, cannot be expected to maintain a proper standard of physical

existence with an income of less than $800 to $900 annually on Manhattan Island, or less than $700 to $800 annually in other American cities.

VI. *Wages in the United States*

The minimum wage which will maintain a standard of efficient living in cities is, therefore, from $700 a year ($2.35 per working day) to $900 a year ($3 per working day). What relation do wages actually bear to this minimum? In 1903 the United States Bureau of Labor issued a report covering an investigation of the expenditures of 25,440 families. In these families the average income from husband was $651.12, from wife $128.52, from children $320.63, from boarders and lodgers $250.17, and the average total income for all of the 25,440 families was $749.50, or somewhat under the amount stated by the New York Committee to be a minimum for the maintenance of life under decent conditions.

In addition to these figures, a compilation was made of the incomes in families in the North Atlantic states, having three children under fourteen years of age. Among these families the average total income was $660, considerably below the New York figures.

The most recent wage investigation — that at South Bethlehem — reveals a common labor wage of

twelve and one half cents per hour for a third of all of the men employed in the works. As the twelve-hour day was prevalent, this would mean one dollar and fifty cents for twelve hours' work.

VII. *American City Wages and Standards*

The figures cited at the beginning of the chapter show clearly that many workers are not receiving sufficient wages to maintain a standard of decency, while the figures furnished by the United States Bureau of Labor indicate that the wage in American cities is not sufficient to enable a man with a wife and family of three children under fourteen years of age to maintain a decent standard of living. In the larger cities $3, and in the smaller, less expensive cities $2.50, are the least wages upon which a standard of decency can be maintained. Nowhere are such wages paid to common labor.

Corroborative evidence of these statements may readily be secured in any locality by personal observation which will convince even the most skeptical that the standard of American wages for semi-skilled and unskilled labor is considerably below $2 a day.

If the figures of the New York Committee are accepted as correct, and it is granted that at least $800 to $900 a year is requisite to maintain physical efficiency in a group of five persons, it at once becomes

apparent that a group receiving less than $800 per year fails in some respect to maintain its efficiency. In other words, that the payment of wages below $800 per year results in social cost, because the family is failing to attain a normal standard of efficiency, — failing to develop the potential ability possessed by its members.

The payment of wages which will not permit of the maintenance of a normal standard, therefore, involves social cost and maladjustment. If the causes of low wages be economic, and if the condition be remediable, its place in the present discussion is justified.

What causes are operating to create low standards of wages and consequently low standards of living? The trite answer of the economists is that the law of supply and demand operates so that as the amount of labor increases, wages decrease, and *vice versa*.

Unfortunately, this answer fails adequately to meet the situation because even in districts where labor is supposedly scarce, labor wages are below the amount necessary for the maintenance of a minimum standard of efficiency. Of this phenomenon, the following may prove an adequate explanation. Wages are determined by cost of replacement. The employer does not ask, "How much will this man produce?" but, "How much will it cost me to replace him?" and the cost of replacement is, therefore, the chief deter-

minate factor in the wage of the unskilled worker, as of any other wage-earning group.

VIII. *The "Single Man" Standard of Wages*

The unskilled labor of the Eastern and North Central United States is at present being supplied by immigrants from low standard European countries. These immigrants are single men or men whose wives, living in Europe, require little money to support them. Industry is normally on a "married man" basis; the standard wage for men is sufficient to enable the man to marry and have a family, though it may be a small one. But the incoming of single immigrants has established a low level of the wages of common labor by placing them on a "single man" basis.

The last year of normal immigration was 1907. In that year, 1,334,166 immigrants landed, of whom 961,809, or 72 per cent, were men. The percentage of men in the total of immigration varies extensively, however, with variation in nationality, and the nationalities which underbid the labor market most extensively are in many cases the nationalities which contain the highest proportion of men.

Thus of the 197,639 Hungarians, 74 per cent or nearly three quarters were men; of the 277,827 Italians, 77 per cent or nearly four fifths were men; while the 24,240 immigrants from Turkey in Asia and the

18,918 immigrants from Bulgaria showed, respectively, 97 per cent and 98 per cent of men.[1]

The existence of this "single man" standard is clearly established by the study recently made of working living conditions in Pittsburg. In his article on "The New Pittsburgers" Peter Roberts states that the Croatians, Servians, Roumanians, and Greeks have only from 5 to 10 per cent of women among them; hence the men of these nationalities have but few boarding houses conducted by their own people to go to, and crowding is inevitable. Each man pays from seventy-five cents to a dollar a week for room to sleep in and the little cooking and washing that are to be done. Food for the company is bought on one book, and every two weeks the sum total is divided equally among the boarders, each man paying his *pro rata* share. The bill for two weeks will hardly amount to three dollars a man, so that the average boarder will spend ten dollars a month on room rent and maintenance.

IX. *Low Standards Replace High Standards*

The immigrants accept the low wages and live on low standards without realizing the results of their action. They think in terms of Europe and accept

[1] Annual Report Commissioner General of Immigration, Washington, 1908, p. 46.

employment at a wage far below that necessary for the maintenance of family efficiency, or even of family life in the United States. They are unacquainted with prices and the cost of living, and their judgment is therefore dependent not upon knowledge of American conditions, but upon that of foreign conditions. "The newcomers know nothing of a standard wage, and when work is scarce, they will offer to work for less than is paid common labor. Such was the case of a band of Croatians who offered their services to a firm in Pittsburg for $1.20 a day. When the superintendent heard it, he said, 'My God, what is the country coming to! How can a man live in Pittsburg on $1.20 a day?' The foreman replied, 'Give them rye bread, a herring, and beer, and they are all right.'" [1]

The immigrants thus establish a "single man" foreign standard for American wages, and foremen and superintendents, by using the foreigners, even succeed in reducing the wages of the American workmen. "Shrewd superintendents are known, not only to take advantage of the influx of unskilled labor to keep down day wages, but to reduce the pay of skilled men by a gradually enforced system of promoting the Slavs." [1]

[1] "The New Pittsburgers," Peter Roberts, *Charities and the Commons*, Jan. 2, 1909, Vol. 21, p. 538.

Against this low standard labor, American workmen must compete, and if the competition is keen, the foreigner ruthlessly cuts the price which he is willing to accept for his labor. He is ignorant of American ideals; he must live; to live he must work, and with a background of low European standards he constitutes a dangerous adversary.

The employer does not inquire as to a man's nationality. In accepting an American workingman he merely asks himself the question, "What will it cost me to replace this man with an equally efficient foreigner?" The answer to that question determines the wage which he will pay to the American. The cost of replacement of the foreigner is low, and as a result the wage offered to the American is also low.

The results of this replacement of high standard by low standard groups is nowhere better illustrated than in the clothing trades of New York and Chicago. On the Island of Manhattan, according to the census of 1900, 95.4 per cent of the male tailors were foreign-born; in Chicago, in the same year, the percentage was 81.8 per cent. Gradually the American-born tailors are being driven out of the trade and their work is being done by foreigners, and each new group of immigrants, with a lower standard, drives out the previous group.

In 1880 the Irish dominated the stockyards; Poles

filled the places vacated by the Irish after the strike of 1886; Bohemian labor became a factor in 1894; Lithuanians came in 1895, Slovaks in 1896, and Russian Poles in 1899.[1] Thus "the immigrant is in the first instance a wage reducer, either directly or indirectly, although the extent of his influence upon wages cannot well be stated." [2] Until he is imbued with American ideas and standards he will materially assist in forcing down wages.

X. *Remedies for Low Standards*

A group of men and women, ignorant of American standards, accept wages far below the level of family efficiency, and by so doing, establish a basis to which the wages of all labor must approximate. In so far as immigration is synonymous with ignorance, it is responsible for the reduction in life standards, — it is a prime cause in creating low wages. On the other hand, the exigencies of competitive industries, coupled with the cupidity, ignorance, or indifference of employers, are an equally effective force in lowering wages. These two groups of causes, sometimes working independently, sometimes in conjunction, are responsible for the low wages and standards which are continually resulting in social cost.

[1] "Influence of Trade Unions on Immigrants," Bulletin 56, United States Bureau of Labor, Jan., 1905, Washington, D.C., pp. 2, 3.

[2] "Letter to the President," Carroll D. Wright, *supra*, p. 1.

The cause of low wages and standards being, therefore, economic, and the effects being measured in terms of social cost, what remedies will be efficacious in raising the minimum standard of wages to a standard of efficiency and thus removing social cost? The remedies for low wages and standards group themselves under five heads:—

1. Labor unions.
2. Small families.
3. Minimum wage laws.
4. Restriction of immigration.
5. Education.

Labor unions perform their chief function as educators of the low standard workmen. The immigrant who reaches America has no other agency from which he may derive a knowledge of American customs and standards. In so far as it is successful in the educational effort, the union stands as a strong bulwark between the standard of American labor and that of the immigrants.

The strongest and most stable unions in the United States exist in the skilled trades, and it is in these trades that Americans predominate. Building Trades Unions, Typographical Unions, Railway Brotherhoods, and similar organizations are strong, stable, and effective in maintaining an efficiency wage standard. The union in these trades protects the wages against

reduction by restricting the membership, by fixing a minimum wage standard, and by securing from the employer an agreement to maintain union hours, wages, and conditions of labor.

In another chapter the importance of maintaining a relation between the size of the family and the size of the income will be emphasized, and it is therefore merely necessary here to point to the fact that the proper relation between income and family size may be established either by increasing the income or decreasing the number of persons in the family. Socially it is of course desirable that the population be maintained at least static, — that is, that three or four children be born to each family. The restriction in the size of families is by no means an effective or final one in the ultimate process of establishing a standard of wages which will make possible efficient living.

XI. *The Minimum Wage*

A much-advocated method of adjusting wages and standards is the minimum wage, which aims to provide for a normal family, and at the same time to insure efficiency. The best illustrations of the workings of such a law come from progressive Australasia. The minimum wage boards of Victoria, Australia, originated in the serious maladjustments incident to

changing industrial status. Victoria has passed and is passing through economic stages similar to those existing in various parts of the United States at the present time. The social cost incident to the maladjustments which accompanied the succeeding stages of industry interfered seriously with the development of Victoria, in the same way that the social cost of America's maladjustment interferes with the normal development of America. Unemployment aggravated by immigration formed as serious a problem in Victoria as it does in the United States at the present time.

Factories extended faster than the market accessible to Australian manufacturers, and overproduction followed, with the result that the excess of workmen found no demand for their services at home, and no place to offer them within reaching distance. Consequently, industrial crises occurred, in which sweating and other evils arose, affecting especially the working classes. The government investigations which followed showed that conditions were ripe for drastic action. The wageworkers were discontented; the whole country felt the inconvenience and danger of unrest. After sharp agitation and prolonged discussion, an attempt was made to settle the question in each locality by a local minimum wage board, representing the affected trades.

The law was not directed to the regulation of price. The board had not the power which would enable it to dictate the exchange value of the finished product, "but it gave the boards authority to prescribe a minimum wage for employees in certain classes of establishments." This authority was granted in order to remedy a special evil — a wage so low that it threatened the common interest of society in maintaining a standard of living among all classes sufficient for healthy social progress.

The theory behind this law was the same as that behind the present movement in some American states for the elimination of standards so low as to threaten "the common interest of society." This common interest demanded action, which was taken because it was felt to be a "social necessity."

The boards consist of equal numbers of employers and employees from the affected trade, with an impartial chairman, and their awards are compromises between the positions held by the two parties. A decision is thus arrived at which accurately represents the interests of a trade and at the same time meets some of the demands of both employed and employer.

The minimum wage boards of Victoria have been in existence in a modified form since 1896. The boards are given power "to determine the lowest prices or

rates which may be paid "[1] to persons working at clothing, wearing apparel, bread, meat, and a number of other trades. The board may fix a time or piece rate, or both, and may also, by implication, regulate overtime work and the length of the working day. The board is further empowered to regulate the number of apprentices, and the character of their work. The activities of the board may be requested by the employer or the employee, and it is a significant fact that boards were asked for "by many of the employers in the trades concerned." [2]

Under the Act of 1896 boards were appointed to regulate the wages of the bakers, boot makers, clothing manufacturers, and underclothing manufacturers. During 1900, under the revised act, twenty-one more boards were appointed.[3] Of course the act has not worked perfectly, yet, there has not been more friction than was anticipated. Sweating has been largely eliminated under the act, but, on the other side, it is claimed that the conditions of work created under the minimum wage boards make it "more profitable to employ young and quick men at the minimum wage, and therefore the old and slow workers were displaced in great numbers." [4]

Summarizing the effects of the act, Henry W. Mac-

[1] "Trade Unionism," John R. Commons, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1905, p. 207.

[2] *Supra*, p. 210. [3] *Supra*, p. 209. [4] *Supra*, p. 211.

rosty, of the London School of Economics, says: "In all the trades under the newer boards the same story is told of increased wages, of the decrease of sweating, of the general prevalence of average wages considerably above the fixed minimum, and of the resulting better organization of industry. The general opinion of employers after experience of the new conditions is that they would not return to the old." [1]

The minimum wage boards have worked, on the whole, to the satisfaction of both parties. The employers are pleased because the standard of employment has been raised, and the employees are pleased because a living wage has been established. The success of the boards, from the employees' standpoint, can best be measured by comparing the trades that are under board regulation with those trades that are not under such regulation. Such a comparison shows that as a whole the wages are considerably higher and working conditions somewhat better in the regulated than in the unregulated trades.[2]

Since the wage boards have proved reasonably satisfactory, the people of Victoria, in their determination to guarantee a living wage, have extended the operation of the minimum wage principle beyond the boards themselves. The recent amendments provide that

[1] *Supra*, p. 216.

[2] "Labor Movement in Australasia," Victor S. Clark, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1906, pp. 148–149.

"a board not able to fix a minimum wage, under the restrictions placed on its procedure, high enough to guarantee an adequate income to the worker, is required to refer the matter to the court of industrial appeals which is empowered to take freer action so as 'to secure a living wage to the employees in such trade or industry who are affected by such determination.'"[1]

The New Zealand system of minimum wage regulation is somewhat superior to that in Victoria, for in New Zealand no dispute need arise in order to bring the wage question before the board. In New Zealand, moreover, the complaint must be brought by a regularly organized union, and this creates a feeling of added responsibility.

Australasia has established many precedents which the states of the Union may with profit consider and follow. Among them none is more significant than the minimum wage principle, which establishes a basis in law for an efficiency wage. The enactment of similar laws in the United States would not only go far toward allaying the class feeling which is fast developing between the proletariat and the leisure class, but it would quiet the social unrest and guarantee to every wage-earning family at least a minimum opportunity for securing a decent wage.

[1] "Labor Movement in Australasia," Victor S. Clark, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1906, pp. 150–151.

If the present flood of immigrants continues to pour unchecked into the United States, the establishment of some minimum wage, particularly for the sweated trades in the great cities, would seem imperative. Could the flood of immigration be restricted, wages and standards could be more easily maintained at a point of efficiency. In the absence of any rigorous restriction or exclusion, the American working population must take some steps to protect itself against destructive immigrant competition.

Labor unions, small families, minimum wage laws, and the restriction of immigration will all be efficacious to a limited degree in eliminating low wages and standards, but none of them will be so far reaching in its effects as a thorough public enlightenment on the entire subject of wages and standards. This education, to be effective, must be directed in three channels. First, the employee must be educated to refuse a wage which will not maintain efficiency; second, the employer must be educated to see the folly of paying wages which will not insure efficiency; and last, and most important of all, the public must be educated to realize the social waste of low wages, the responsibility of the consumer for the standard of the product, and the antisocial position of the employer who does not pay efficiency wages.

XII. *Education and Low Standards*

It seems trite to say that if all wage earners demanded an efficiency wage and refused to work for less, they would get it. The fact is obvious, yet the diversity of interests, employments, and living conditions is so great that a general unanimity of action on the part of the wage earners is difficult to secure. The most that can be expected is that those who are competing most destructively by setting the lowest standards will be educated to raise the standards and demand efficiency wages. But in view of the vast immigrant population, even that task seems almost beyond human capacity.

The education of the employer is equally difficult. A few employers, possessing special privileges, patents, monopolies, and the like, could afford to raise wages considerably without impairing the integrity of their business, but a great number of smaller employers, and employers in competitive industries, must pay the going rate of wages or retire from business. A general agreement on the part of employers might well result in raising wages to an efficiency level, but such an agreement is beside the question. It would be even less likely than the general education of the working population to demand efficiency standards.

The general concentration of industrial control may

ultimately create a situation which will permit a handful of men to dictate industrial conditions and wage payments. Under these circumstances, a conclusive argument might conceivably be made to these men to show that efficiency wages would produce better industrial results than those produced under the present system of wage payment. Such a probability is very remote, however, and the question resolves itself into one of public education.

The general public — the consumer — must be educated to realize the social waste of low wages. The malnutrition, wretchedness, congestion, misery, and inefficiency that result from low wages should be a theme for drawing-room, saloon, lecture platform, and public schoolroom. The public should realize that social efficiency depends upon the standard of living, and that unless efficiency wages are paid to the individual, the standard of social efficiency must inevitably be lowered.

The National Consumers' League and the various local leagues have been insisting upon the ultimate responsibility of the consumer for the conditions of production, and have aroused considerable interest among middle and upper class women.

The public must ultimately assume the responsibility for decent wages and standards. Writing of the misery in New York, Dr. Devine says: "What I

wish now to do is to bring home simply, and again without exaggeration or undue reserve, the fact of social responsibility. If there is preventable misery here in New York and in other American communities, there is personal responsibility which it behooves us to attempt to place, or, if you like, to shoulder." [1]

The consumer is ultimately responsible, and he must, therefore, insist that conditions of decency and normality be maintained. But how shall he express his responsibility? What means will be most efficacious in the suppression of low standards and the establishment of decent wages? The most available, most efficacious, method must be that of social ostracism.

Sweated products, low standard products, — goods created by men and women who were not receiving a wage that will permit of efficient living, — such products must be refused, and only those goods accepted which are manufactured by wage earners receiving an efficiency wage. By this means a standard will ultimately be established that will prevent underpayment in an industry, because the products of that industry cannot be sold.

Already a step has been made in this direction, by placing upon certain goods union labels and Consumers'

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, p. 240.

League labels, which guarantee that the goods were produced under decent, sanitary conditions, and for fair wages. Other steps in the same direction will accomplish equally desirable results.

It is becoming dangerous to "graft" in politics, not because the grafter will go to jail, but because he will be socially ostracized. A jail sentence is a comparatively unimportant thing compared with ostracism from the social group. Eventually the public must realize that the employer who pays low wages is a grafter, grafting on the life and health of the future, lowering vitality, creating social cost. Such an act, willfully committed, is far more antisocial than merely grafting on the public treasury. The treasury can be easily and quickly replenished, but the sapped vitality and decreased efficiency of a population are well-nigh irremediable.

Low wages and the accompanying low standards are obvious conditions, so obvious, indeed, that they are in many instances overlooked. They are, nevertheless, responsible for serious social costs, and it unquestionably becomes a social duty to eliminate them. Social education will play the leading part in this elimination, because the public conscience is not yet aroused to the presence of low wages and standards, and to the danger of their existence in the community. Following upon the awakening of the public

conscience, there must be some form of legislation which will prevent the incoming of the standard-destroying immigrants, and will insist upon the American standard through a maintenance of adequate wages.

CHAPTER V

CONGESTION OF POPULATION

I. *The Congestion Problem*

CONGESTION consists in overcrowding, per acre or per room, which injures the health, or otherwise detracts from the efficiency of persons under consideration. Congestion, therefore, is a maladjustment, if it can be shown that there are, at the present time, crowded living conditions in the United States which injure health or detract from efficiency, which are due to economic causes, and which are remediable.

Overcrowding per acre presents a serious problem in some of the larger cities only. In order to realize the significance of this form of congestion, it is well to remember that in Belgium, the most densely populated country of Europe, there is one person per acre, while in New York State, the most populous state of the United States, there is one person for every four acres. In sharp contrast with these figures are the statistics of population in some of the largest cities of the United States. New York presents by far the most abnor-

mally congested conditions of any American city. In 1905 the density of Manhattan Island was 150 people per acre, but in 122 blocks the density was 750 per acre, while in 38 blocks the density exceeded 1000 per acre. In 1900 Chicago showed an acre density on 221 acres of 206 persons per acre. St. Louis in the same year had 48 blocks, averaging 180 per acre, while in the eighth ward of Boston, consisting of 166 acres, the density was 192 per acre.[1] The density of population in this Boston area is therefore 768 times the density of New York State, while the density on portions of Manhattan Island is 4000 times the density of the state of New York.

People may conceivably live 1000 per acre and still maintain efficiency. A stable varied diet of good food, light, ventilation, and sanitation might easily negative most of the bad results of 1000-per-acre living. Mere congestion per acre does not present a serious problem,—it is the evils which accompany acre congestion that make the social reformer hesitate and ponder. Men and women in the New York tenements suffer, not because they are living close to their neighbors, but because the tenements are so constructed as to exclude from large numbers of rooms any adequate air supply, and to prevent the entrance of sunlight into

[1] "Introduction to City Planning," Benjamin C. Marsh, New York, 1909, p. 6.

many corners of the building. To one who has seen a seven-story East Side tenement, it is perfectly obvious that the sunlight cannot penetrate below the fifth or fourth story through the narrow air shafts and courts which the law requires. Overcrowding per acre is therefore a serious problem in New York, and a less serious one, but still a problem, in many of the large cities of the United States.

The other form of congestion, overcrowding per room, is a problem which exists in practically every industrial section of the country, whether it be rural or urban in character. Not only do the Italians and Jews sleep five or six or seven to a room on the New York East Side, but the Slavs and Huns in the small industrial towns scattered through the East live under equally congested conditions. It is true not only that the amount of air space reserved per inmate in these New York tenement rooms is far below 400 cubic feet, the minimum necessary to maintain physical efficiency, but that similar conditions prevail in all of the cities or towns which have an immigrant or pauper population.

Through his widely read books, Jacob Riis has made known the overcrowding in the New York lodging houses, in Mulberry Bend and the Jewish Quarter, but it was not until the Pittsburg Survey of 1907–1908 that public attention was called to the room congestion

in industrial centers. The instances of overcrowding discovered in Pittsburg and surrounding towns, are startling in their intensity. These Pittsburg tenement rooms were small, — as large as a small bedroom, — yet a man, his wife, and baby and two boarders lived in one room. Another apartment of three rooms contained a man, wife, and baby in the kitchen, two boarders in the second room, and the third room was sublet to a man, his wife, and child and two boarders. In this last room, "a small one," there were two beds, a stove, table, trunks, and chairs.[1]

These conditions of overcrowding in private houses were only surpassed by the overcrowding among the single men in the Slavic lodging houses. Beds stood as close as the floor space would permit, men sleeping on the floor, two shifts using the same bed, one shift by day and another by night.

The overcrowding among the steel workers of Pittsburg is paralleled by the congestion in New York construction camps, a description of which appeared in the *Survey* for January 1, 1910. Bunks are built in tiers, and men are huddled together in unventilated or ill-ventilated buildings, without sanitary conveniences, or even sanitary necessities. "The simplest standards which military history shows are essential in

[1] "Painter's Row," F. Elizabeth Crowell, *Charities and the Commons*, Feb. 6, 1909, p. 904.

handling such artificial bodies of people are grossly violated." [1]

Examples might be multiplied indefinitely to show that while congestion per acre is prevalent in great cities, room congestion threatens physical standards in the foreign quarter of every industrial town in the United States.

II. *The Causes of Congestion*

Either congestion per acre or congestion per room, or both of them, constitute a maladjustment of the first importance, — providing it can be shown, first, that the causes of congestion are economic; second, that it results in social cost; and third, that adjustment may be secured through some form of social action.

It is often stated that people stay in the tenements because they wish to; that they live several persons to a room because it conforms to their idea of living; and that they would not leave either condition were an opportunity afforded. This is in many cases true. The inertia due to underfeeding and ignorance are serious barriers to any reform which has for its purpose the elimination of congestion. Great numbers of people live under congested conditions because it is easier to do so, or because they have done so all

[1] "Construction Camps of the People," Lillian D. Wald and Frances A. Kellor, *Survey*, Jan. 1, 1910, Vol. 23, p. 465.

their lives. This social inertia, however, affects but a small part of the population living in congested areas.

More harmful congestion exists among the immigrants than among any other group of the population. Men and women leave Europe in order to substitute a high American standard for a low European standard. On reaching America, they are confronted with the problem, first, of finding a place to live; second, of finding means to maintain life. They naturally seek a place to live among their own countrymen, and, to their dismay, discover that while wages in America are high, living is equally high, and that in order to maintain life upon the wages they receive, they must save rent and car fare by living in a congested area.

Personal inertia may explain a small part of the congestion problem, but there are factors operating to cause congestion beside which personal inertia pales into insignificance. People live in congested tenement districts because rents are high. Why are rents high? Because cities grow. Why do cities grow? What are the economic causes which lead men to congregate in ever increasing masses? In 1800 one person in 30 in the United States lived in cities of over 8000. In 1900 one person in three lived in cities of over 8000.

Gregariousness, the instinct which leads people to come together, is responsible for some of the city life,

but the causes of rapid city growth are in the main economic. In the first place, certain cities have geographical advantages, such as New York harbor, which render the building of a city inevitable; and if, as in the case of New York, the harbor be of exceptional quality, added incentive is given to congregate about it. The commerce of a great portion of the continent is directed through this harbor and men flock to it for the commercial and industial advantages which are to be obtained there, and later for the social and educational advantages which accumulate as the city grows. Resources may cause the growth of a city, as those of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, or Birmingham, Alabama. The incentive is in this case not so great as the commercial one, and the city will not be so large, yet resources form an important nucleus for the concentration of population.

The primary causes of city growth are, therefore, economic, comprising geographic location and the presence of natural resources. There are several secondary causes of city growth which may also be described as economic causes. Commercial advantages and resources attract industries; industries call for workers, and the city grows. Let a great industry obtain a firm hold, like shoe manufacturing in Lynn, Massachusetts, and the employer who wishes to secure labor to begin shoe manufacturing will find his surest

source of supply in this organized center of industry. He establishes his plant beside the others, and the city grows. The newly arrived immigrant who wishes employment in a shoe factory goes to the place where shoe factories are located, and the city grows. Industries manufacturing chemicals used in tanning and shoe manufacturing develop near the shoe industry, and the city grows. The immigrant writes home to his friend and neighbor: "Come to America. I have a job for you at $1.50 a day." The friend and neighbor comes, and the city grows. Jobbers who handle the leather and the finished shoes, merchants and small tradesmen, locate in the thriving center, banks and trust companies organize, and the city goes on growing.

From the personal side of the problem, every emphasis is placed on the development of cities. A million immigrants reach America each year. They land in a city, and their friends are in a city, and they stay there. The city spells opportunity. Education, occupation, recreation, are there, concentrated and presented in their most highly developed and most attractive forms. Men and women flock toward this opportunity, — the result is congestion of population.

Geographical advantages, the presence of natural resources, the location of industries and transportation advantages, all result in city growth, and city growth

has thus far meant congestion. Does congestion result in social cost? Are those persons who live in congested districts or congested rooms suffering from decreased vitality and under-development? Are they expending an amount of energy in excess of that which they derive from their livelihood? Is the net result of congestion lowered efficiency?

III. *The Effects of Congestion*

The effects of congestion may, for convenience of discussion, be grouped under two heads, — personal effects and social effects. The personal effects are the most obvious.

A visit to a tenement room at night, where four, five, six or more persons are sleeping, furnishes an unanswerable argument. No normal person could maintain health in such an atmosphere, and it is impossible for one not accustomed to such a place to sleep there for a night without contracting a violent headache. Bodily vigor cannot be maintained without fresh air; and fresh air, in thousands of New York tenement rooms, is an impossibility.

The tenement rooms do not have much sunlight, — some of them have no sunlight at all. Darkness breeds disease. The germs of tuberculosis and other diseases breed most rapidly in dark, dirty places. It follows, therefore, that rooms in the lower stories of the tene-

ments, next to the air shafts into which sunlight can never penetrate, or, worse still, rooms which have no exit at all upon the open air, furnish the most favorable breeding places for tuberculosis and other disease germs.

The Pittsburg *Survey* furnishes another indication of the relation between congestion and disease by establishing a very intimate connection between congested living and typhoid fever.[1] That they are absolute cause and effect cannot be proven: that they are intimately connected is unquestionable.

Measurements of children in tenement districts show that health and physical strength vary in proportion to the number of persons per room. Where the number of persons per room is high, the size and the health of the child is abnormally low. Where the number of persons per room is low, the reverse is true.

IV. *Congestion and Mortality*

During August, 1908, 719 babies died in Chicago from diarrhœal diseases, and a map with a dot on it for each death shows that these deaths clustered in the wards where congestion is most prevalent.[1] Congestion and infant mortality go hand in hand, though whether they be cause and effect it is impossible to

[1] "Thirty-five Years of Typhoid," Frank E. Wing, *Charities and the Commons*, Feb. 6, 1909, p. 932.

determine, because in the same district "insanitary plumbing and lack of health conveniences do their deadly work. It is the destination of the poorest milk sold in the city. It is where streets are cleaned least often or not at all; where stalest bread and oldest meat are sold." [1] To these quarters, "in the dusk of evening, little children with shawls over their heads and market baskets on their arms return with their prizes from the city dumps and the garbage barrels of the market streets." [1]

Congestion per acre furnishes but a crude measure for infant mortality, and the figures for congestion per room in the United States are not procurable. Figures compiled in Glasgow and London, however, show that infant mortality varies directly with the number of rooms in which the family resides.

Speaking generally, "districts with a high density of population have a greater death rate than those which are more sparsely settled." [2] Although it is not possible to conclude from the available data that mortality is the direct result of congestion, since malnutrition, race characteristics, and many other factors undoubtedly play an important part in the mortality rate, yet mortality does vary directly with congestion.

[1] "On the Trail of the White Hearse," Sherman C. Kingsley, *Survey*, Aug. 14, 1909, p. 685.

[2] "Modern Social Conditions," W. B. Bailey, New York, Century Co., 1906, p. 243.

They may not be cause and effect, but they are at least copartners. Without question, congestion is responsible for a serious social cost. Efficiency is decreased, disease is contracted and spread, and men and women are living ineffective lives because of congestion per acre and per room.

Adjustment may be readily brought out of this maladjustment; indeed, there is probably no one problem involving social cost for which so many different methods of restoring adjustment have been proposed.

V. *Remedies for Congestion*

Congestion is due to economic causes, and it involves social cost. Is it remediable?

No remedy will entirely relieve congestion per acre, though its acute forms may be prevented and its insanitary and unhygienic features may be eliminated by legislative remedies. On the other hand, legislation will accomplish something in the removal of room congestion; but as room congestion is the more serious and more prevalent of the two forms of congestion, and as its undesirable features can be completely and effectually eliminated only by education, congestion has been classed with the maladjustments, relief from which must depend upon an awakened public conscience.

The remedies for congestion may be grouped under five heads: —

1. City Planning.
2. Housing Legislation.
3. Redistribution of Labor.
4. Restriction of Immigration.
5. Education.

All five remedies will affect congestion per acre. All but housing legislation will be effective, to some extent, in removing congestion per room.

VI. *City Planning*

When the government of the United States of America was organized in 1789 the most elaborate plans, in the form of a constitution, were outlined, in order to insure its maintenance and guarantee national stability. Each state has likewise adopted a constitution or plan of governmental action and no city has been erected without some charter or articles of incorporation. The fathers were careful that an accurate, inclusive plan should be laid out to guarantee the future political development of the nation, the states, and the cities.

"A ship without a rudder" is the favorite simile to indicate blind helplessness, and the phrase is well applied to a city without a plan; for no rudderless ship, buffeted about by the ocean storms, could be

in a more hopeless plight than the American planless city buffeted about by a cyclone of money-mad, selfish, unartistic real estate speculators and contractors.

The American city government lays out the streets, — that is all. Each individual owner may then do what he chooses, and as his choice is wholly independent of the choice of his neighbors, the results could not be more incongruous than those which might be obtained if twenty carpenters were supplied with tools and materials and told to build a house, irrespective of plan.

City planning will guarantee beauty and efficiency. A city built without an organized plan by a thousand contractors, working independently, not only offends the eye, but contravenes as well the modern demand for efficiency.

A good transportation system is one of the most effective means of preventing undue congestion. Such a system can be assured only by careful prearrangement, — by the use of a wisely evolved city plan. It is important that manufacturing and residence districts be separated. Transportation efficiency plus city planning will guarantee this separation. It is desirable that every tenement district have its playgrounds, parks, public baths, and public schools; it is essential that every district in which men and women

and children live should be provided with all of the modern city facilities for efficient living and wholesome recreation. Educational institutions, playgrounds, parks, concert halls, libraries, schools, fire houses, and all other public buildings can be effectively located in only one way, — through a city plan that shall foresee the need which a section feels for a park or a school before it is too late for the need to be supplied. The city plan is to the city what the blue print is to the builder, — it furnishes a scientific, definite basis for development.

The city plan is one of the most significant rediscoveries of the modern civilized world. The ancients planned their cities for beauty and for defense. The modern American boasts of American efficiency, but does not plan his city at all.

City planning in Europe has three distinct phases: —

1. The replanning of old cities.
2. The planning of the new portions of old cities.
3. The planning and building of garden cities.

Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome were "old cities," with narrow streets, unsightly buildings, inefficient means of transportation, and insufficient accommodations for traffic. In 1871 the rebuilding of Paris was commenced, and a grand system of boulevards was constructed. The other capitals have followed the example of Paris, rebuilding, broadening, and straight-

ening, often at an enormous cost, but nevertheless with an enormous gain in efficiency.

Another important phase of the rebuilding of old cities has been the reconstruction of tenement houses by the municipality, as in Berlin and Glasgow, or by private organizations, under stringent government regulations. By these measures, the tenement dwellers have been given at least a minimum of decency and convenience.

The rebuilding that can be attempted in an old city is insignificant in proportion to the planning that is possible in the construction of the newer portions of existing cities. The larger cities of Europe — Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Strassburg, Zurich — have inaugurated an extensive campaign of land buying. Berlin owns 39,151 acres of land, Vienna 32,062 acres, Munich 13,597 acres. Through municipal ownership the policy of city planning can be absolutely dictated by the municipality.[1]

The policy of city planning has nowhere been carried on more successfully than in Frankfort. The city is divided, for the purpose of legislation, into the inner city and the outer city. In the inner city, buildings may cover from $\frac{2}{4}$ to $\frac{5}{6}$ of the lot and have a maximum height of 65 feet 6 inches. In the outer

[1] "Introduction to City Planning," Benjamin C. Marsh, New York, 1909, p. 37.

city there are two zones. In the inner zone there is (1) a residence section in which buildings must have a minimum intervening space of 19 feet 7.8 inches; maximum height 58 feet 11.4 inches; maximum number of stories above the ground floor, three; (2) a mixed section, in which both factories and residences may be erected, under certain restrictions; and (3) a factory section. In the outer zone the restrictions are still more stringent regarding the height of houses, number of stories, distance from the street, etc.[1]

This system of regulations, wisely drawn up and effectively enforced, has developed in Frankfort a remarkable city, well planned, efficiently organized, with progressive, successful industries, and an abundance of wholesome life.

VII. *City Planning in the United States*

The "Boston 1915" movement is the most widely known of any city plan now being worked out in the United States. In 1915 Boston plans to have the best city for life and for business that exists anywhere in the United States. Every society or organization in Boston which could be induced to join in the movement has had its name enrolled, and a great, concentrated effort is being made to raise Boston's civic and industrial standards.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 59–61.

An interest almost equally keen has been shown in Chicago. The Commercial Club of that city has secured artistic, scientific plans for the development of the city, and while these plans are not universally accepted, they represent a great stride forward toward a better development of sentiment in favor of cities both beautiful and useful.[1]

New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Cleveland, and Springfield[2] have all taken some steps in the direction of city planning. In general "the city plan is a slowly materializing dream in America, and this dream has recurred in many cities."[3]

The cities are slow to adopt any system of planning. "City planning is almost incomprehensible to the average city dweller, to whom even yet the city means but highways and houses, to whom taxes are merely an exaction and parks entirely a luxury, to whom civic beauty is only civic wastefulness."[3]

Appeals to civic pride, intelligence, and self-interest, and a thorough education, are the means that must be relied upon to persuade the American city dweller, first, that American cities are at present neither

[1] "A Plan for Chicago," George E. Hooker, *Survey*, Sept. 4, 1909, p. 778.

[2] See *Charities and the Commons*, Feb. 1, 1908, for brief articles on these cities.

[3] "The Growth of City Planning in America," J. Horace McFarland, *Charities and the Commons*, Feb. 1, 1908, pp. 1522–1523.

efficiently nor beautifully constructed; second, that both efficiency and beauty are possible in city construction; and third, that an efficiently and beautifully constructed city is a better place to live in than one constructed under the present American planless system.

VIII. *Housing Legislation*

Housing legislation has been adopted in some form by all of the large American cities. Its purpose is the amelioration of the bad sanitary and hygienic conditions which have developed with congestion. Housing laws require the provision of fire escapes, water facilities, toilet facilities, a certain proportion between the width of the street and the height of the houses, and between the size of the court or air shaft and the height of the houses.

At its worst, housing legislation is a sop to public agitation: at its best it is a partial preventive of unsanitary and unhygienic living conditions. That it cannot result in the elimination of congestion is obvious.

In New York City the housing problem has reached its most acute stage. After a long struggle, popularized by Jacob A. Riis in his well-known books on tenement life, a splendid housing law was finally secured, and Mr. W. W. De Forest, a leader in social

work, became the first head of the department of tenement inspection created under the new law. Since its creation, the department has been efficiently managed; tons of débris have been carted from cellars, sewer connections have been made, water and toilet arrangements have been insisted upon, scores of tenements have been reconstructed; yet a visit to the tenement district of New York will reveal conditions of congestion that baffle description. Overcrowding per room vies with overcrowding per acre. The new tenement law has assured a minimum of house cleaning, but upon congestion per room and congestion per acre, it has had little or no effect.

City planning has been measurably successful in eliminating the worst features of congestion, but housing legislation has not appreciably affected the congestion problem as such. That New York is better off with the housing law than without it is unquestionable and unquestioned, but that the law has eliminated New York's congestion, per acre or per room, cannot be maintained.

IX. *A Redistribution of Labor*

A determined effort has recently been made to relieve congestion by securing a more rational distribution of labor. Congestion is the result, in many cases, of low wages, which are made possible by the

excess of the supply of laborers over the demand. While this excess supply of labor exists in New York and Chicago, there are many sparsely settled states where labor is scarce, wages are high, and where the surplus of these crowded cities could find work and earn a comfortable living without lowering the local wage standard.

The contrast is usually drawn between the East and the West to show the oversupply and undersupply of labor. In the East, more than a million immigrants are landing annually in an already well-stocked labor market. The advocates of a better distribution of labor insistently ask: "Why not direct some of this stream of immigration to the far West?" The South is developing more rapidly than any other section of the country; coal, iron, cotton, and numberless other industries are springing up on every side and calling for labor. The negro makes a good field hand but a bad factory operative, and the South must secure white men to insure industrial development. In every state in the North Atlantic division there are abandoned farms, — from which the immigrant could easily secure a comfortable living.

In 1908 only 58,785 of the 782,870 immigrants were not coming to join relatives or friends. More than a third of the immigrants, 275,417, had their passage

paid by friends.[1] The question therefore goes beyond the mere distribution of labor to the immigrant himself. He is coming to the United States, in many cases having his passage paid for him — coming to join friends or relatives who may have secured for him a job. The immigrant is not a purposeless wanderer, — he has a fixed destination. The question therefore shifts to the immigrant. Why is he so difficult to "redistribute"?

X. *Restriction of Immigration*

The immigrants at present coming to the United States are low standard, illiterate, unskilled peoples. During the past fifty years, the source of emigration to the United States has shifted from northwest to central and south Europe, and a new type of immigrants is reaching America.[2]

These immigrants, many of them peasants in their native country, are unskilled and illiterate, and their ignorance of the customs of the United States leads them to accept standards of work, wages, and living conditions far below those accepted by American labor. The contrast between the northwest and central south Europeans, in respect to skill and literacy, is remarkable.[3] The north Europeans show a higher

[1] Report U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, 1908, pp. 14–15.
[2] *Supra*, Chart, p. 62.
[3] *Supra*, pp. 14, 30–41.

degree of skill and a far higher percentage of literacy than do the central south European group.

The male immigrants of 1908 consisted of 11,078 professional men, 123,640 skilled and 405,475 unskilled men, while of 670,722 men and women over fourteen, 172,293 were wholly illiterate.[1] The central and south European immigrant, usually unskilled and frequently illiterate, make up the "Hunkie" and "Dago" element in the modern common labor force, and, together with the Russian Jews, force upon the United States the problem of congestion in its most acute forms.

The immigrants live under congested conditions, first, because they are underpaid, and second, because they are accustomed to a low standard of life. Increased wages would help to relieve the congestion, but there are many cases where immigrants voluntarily accept a low standard in order to go back rich to the old country.[2]

Congestion cannot be even temporarily relieved while men and women arrive in the United States who have no idea of American standards, and who have no method of learning American standards except as their children discover them through a public school education.

[1] *Supra*, p. 30.

[2] "The New Pittsburgers," Peter Roberts, *Charities and the Commons*, Jan. 22, 1909, Vol. 21, p. 533.

XI. *Education and Congestion*

What will education accomplish in the relief of congestion? Its possibilities are limitless, if they be properly directed. Some conceivable method might readily be devised for educating the adult immigrant to a higher standard, but as the present educational facilities are insufficient to provide adequately for the needs of the children, it is idle to speculate on the effect of education upon adults.

If no check is placed upon immigration, if immigrants are permitted to come to the United States, as at the present time, without effectual let or hindrance, the most that education can accomplish is to raise the standard of the second generation above the standard of the immigrants themselves.

A great adult educational system, compulsory for all foreigners, or an effective check on immigration would relieve the worst of the congested districts, and would eliminate the most extreme phases of room congestion. Employment bureaus, efficiently managed and universally maintained, would assist in relieving congested areas, but no real and immediate remedy for congestion presents itself except the restriction of immigration, and it is to this end that the public education in the subject of congestion should be directed.

Meantime, much good may undoubtedly be derived from the development of a system of education which would increase the mobility of labor; an education which would raise the standard of living to the point which would not admit of congested living; an education which would inform the population of the dangers, from a physical standpoint, of congestion, — such an education provided particularly for the children of foreigners would array a great force against the development of congested conditions of living.

Acre congestion would not be seriously affected by education, but a proper standard of education could establish a personal standard of decency that would not tolerate the conditions of modern room congestion, and would not accept wages which led to such conditions.

Congestion is a problem presenting itself to every industrial group in the United States. It is caused by factors which are clearly economic. Its effects are social cost and its remedies are apparent. It therefore constitutes a maladjustment to which public attention must be directed, and against which public opinion must be aroused to the enactment of legislation, which will result in the amelioration of the conditions surrounding acre congestion, and in the elimination of room congestion through restriction of immigration, and through an education that will lead to a higher standard of work and life.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEPENDENCE OF WOMEN

I. *The Tradition of Dependence*

ANOTHER maladjustment, the vital importance of which is becoming every day more evident, is the dependence of women. This basic problem arises out of the dependence of woman upon an individual man, whether he be father, husband, or other relative, for economic support, and her dependence upon men in the aggregate for social support, in that she consents or is compelled to consent to the standard of moral, social, and industrial obligations which they require of her.

The dependence of women is traditional, and grows out of the military or physical test of supremacy. Primitive society requires a high birth rate to offset the death rate due to war, pestilence, and famine. In maintaining this high birth rate women became child-bearing machines, and were unable to do anything other than bear and care for children.

Women were thus forced into dependency and then

were looked upon as inferior because they occupied an inferior position. This theory of the inferiority of women found its freest expression in the East, but it was not unrecognized by Western tradition. "The Mohametan, for instance, after careful observation from his point of view, decided that she was flesh without a soul, and to be treated accordingly: the troubadour seems to have found in her a spiritual incentive to aspiration in deed and song. The early Fathers of the Church, who were in the habit of giving troubled and nervous consideration to the subject, denounced her, at spasmodic intervals, as sin personified." [1]

The abject dependence of women among certain primitive and Eastern peoples has no parallel in modern life, yet the status of women, even in enlightened America, is not exempt from a strong taint of dependence. Indeed, Miss Hamilton goes so far as to point out that women are not only expected to occupy a dependent position, but are trained for only one type of activity, that of dependence.[2]

On every hand institutions are encountered which create in women a feeling of dependence. There is no factor more potent in the creation of this dependence than the attitude of men toward women. "So

[1] "Marriage as a Trade," Cicely Hamilton, New York, Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909, p. 11.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 53–54.

far as I can see, the average husband, actual or to be, still entertains the conviction that the word helpmate being interpreted means second fiddle, and acts in accordance with that honest conviction." [1] The same thought is strikingly emphasized by Henrik Ibsen through the person of Lyngstrand, the artist, who believes that an artist's wife should live for her husband's art. Lyngstrand says: "It is not only all the honor and glory she enjoys through him; that, I should say, is almost the least part of it. But that she can help him to create, — that she can lighten his labor by being ever at his side, and tending him, and making life thoroughly comfortable for him. It seems to me that must be such a delight for a woman." [2]

II. *Dependence in Modern Society*

The dependence of women in modern society develops first and perhaps most strikingly in the training of the child. The necessity of an entirely different line of training and method of instruction for boys and for girls is a common conception. The boy has implanted in him, almost from the cradle, the desire to become a "man"; that is, an independent construc-

[1] "Marriage as a Trade," Cicely Hamilton, New York, Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909, p. 227.

[2] "The Lady from the Sea," Henrik Ibsen, Act 4.

tive agent in the world. He is taught both theoretically and practically the expression rather than the repression of all of his faculties. His out-of-door play induces the physical development which he is taught unconsciously to strive after, and the importance of which he soon realizes.

The girl, on the other hand, both in her play and her instruction, is taught to look forward to wifehood and motherhood, — and if poor, to sacrifice herself for the needs of others; if rich, to consume the results of the labor of others. She has not developed in her, as a rule, any desire to become a self-supporting unit, or to choose for herself. Furthermore, home training has been insistent in its tendency, and the girl looks forward to marriage.

Again, in the life of the young girl at home, there is no opportunity and no desire to become independent. The essence of her position is either entire sacrifice of herself to supply the material wants of the other members of her family, or dependence on others for the gratification of all her wishes. Any thought of mental or physical self-development is either nonexistent or subordinate. Any desire to become an important factor in the progress of the world is looked on with disdain by the men and women of her acquaintance, and she consequently disclaims any such desire. But the fact that she had undeveloped capabilities

is consciously or unconsciously a cause of dissatisfaction to her, and she seeks for a change which marriage alone appears to afford.

Marriage is not, however, so urgently desired by the man, — he has other resources affording variety and expansion in life. Hence, the girl is forced to sacrifice her individuality, and mold herself to suit his tastes, in order to reach the end which she desires so much more strongly than he. And in some cases she is induced to sacrifice the means, a suitable husband, to gain the desired end, marriage.

But even after marriage, whether she be the wife of a poor man or a rich one, she finds her position little better. In the former case she becomes a housekeeper, performing all her duties on a small scale method. She becomes, in short, merely a machine for managing a household and bringing children into the world. As such, she is absolutely dependent, economically and socially, upon her husband, the agent who supplies the means to keep the machine in running order.[1]

Such is the position of the wives of the poor, but the wives of the rich are even more dependent. The wife of the poor man may work inefficiently, but she at least works. The wives in the middle and upper classes have been deprived of even the privilege of

[1] "The Home," Charlotte Perkins Gilman, New York, McClure, Phillips & Co., 1903, pp. 82–84.

gainful occupation. Except for the rearing of an extremely small number of children, they not only fail to contribute materially to the welfare of the home, but often act as a charge upon it. "Forty years ago a man could live comfortably on $1000 a year. Under the magic of the wife's hand, this $1000 became $1500 or $2000. The wife created more value by industry in the home than her husband did out of it. In her hands cloth became clothes, flour bread, and fresh fruit the winter's preserves. Now all things are done outside the home and must be purchased with the $1000 income. The wife no longer contributes to the family income by creating values, and with the increased standard of elaborate dressing, she is often its chief burden." [1]

The wife of the poor man is an ineffective machine; the wife of the rich man is an expensive ornament or plaything. She is not a producer, — she toils not, neither does she spin, yet she is arrayed like Solomon in the zenith of his glory. As a just return for her willingness to sacrifice her life to suit the tastes and demand of her husband, or those of the social world, she receives an allowance rather than an income. But such a plaything is not essential in the life of the average man, and if essential, can be easily duplicated

[1] "The Crisis in American Home Life," Simon N. Patten, *Independent*, Feb. 17, 1910, Vol. 68, p. 345.

at will. In consequence, even the maintenance of her position is dependent upon his will.

Marriage not only creates dependence in the home, but in industry as well. While unmarried women may, with profit, engage in industrial pursuits, the woman who enters industry after a period of married life suffers a severe handicap because of her married period.[1]

Thus marriage, the only seeming means of attaining an independent position, is subsequently found by the girl to be merely a transition between two equally dependent careers, if not the substitution of a more for a less dependent one. Even the much and often desired rich husband has given her little or no more independence than she had in her father's home.

III. *Dependence in Industry*

There is one avenue open to the discontented wife or daughter, however, in which she can gain at least partial economic independence, — she may enter the industrial world. Of this opportunity women are availing themselves more extensively each year. In 1900, 4,833,630 women, 16 years of age and over, were engaged in "gainful occupations." Of this number 770,055 or 15.9 per cent were in agriculture, 429,497

[1] B. L. Hutchins, *Sociological Review*, London, Oct., 1909, pp. 344–345.

or 8.9 per cent in professional service, 1,953,467 or 40.4 per cent were in domestic industry, 481,159 or 10 per cent were in trade and transportation, and 1,159,452 or 24.4 per cent were occupied in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. The census of 1900 thus finds nearly five million women at work in gainful occupations, two fifths of them in domestic and personal service, and one fourth in manufacturing and like pursuits.

The total number of women in the United States in 1900 was 23,485,559, so that 20.6 per cent of all of the women, 16 years of age and over, were gainfully employed. The age grouping of these working women makes an interesting study. Of all ages, 20.6 per cent of the women were at work, but of the women from 16 to 20 years of age, 32.3 per cent were at work, while of the women from 21 to 24 years of age, 30.8 per cent were at work. From 35 to 44 years of age, only 15.6 per cent of the women work. The work of women is done most extensively between the ages of 16 and 24, although 138,587 women are gainfully employed whose age is reported as "65 years and over." It is between the ages of 16 and 30 that marriage normally takes place. Working women, therefore, work until they marry and then they leave their industrial careers.

Women have entered industry extensively, but even here they have been unable as yet to secure complete

independence. As a small minority, though an increasing one among the world's industrial workers, women workers are subjected to the will of the male majority, without the ballot or effective labor unions to protect them. They are consequently exploited and forced to work under bad sanitary conditions for low wages and during long hours. "The Long Day," a story of the trials of an unskilled girl who attempted to make a living in New York, presents a splendid, readable picture of the working conditions of the average female factory worker. The conditions described in "The Long Day" are by no means exceptional, as may be gathered from a perusal of the results of an investigation by the Russell Sage Foundation into the conditions of the women workers of Pittsburg. The industrial conditions under which women are forced to work are of a standard far too low to permit of efficient living or of efficient working, because, as a small minority of the feminine population of the world, the women workers, though economically independent, find it difficult if not impossible to refrain from submitting to the social standard which men require of the many who are economically dependent.

IV. *Dependence of Women and Social Cost*

The inevitable result of the dependence of women is a social cost to the community and the nation.

The new generation depends for its training on the ability of the women of the old. The statement is well worn, but it has not gone home to the American people. Children, whether in the home or in the school, are woman-trained. Independence, manliness, and character are ideals which the American nation holds as fundamental to progress and development. If these ideals are to be a possession of the future, they must be inculcated by women of the present. The women of to-day, however, are dependent in the home and in industry, and no adequate opportunity is given them to develop the individuality and character which they must themselves possess before they can impart such qualities to others. Since the nation has intrusted the training of its children to the women of to-day, every means should be employed to guarantee that women are efficient child-trainers. They can never become so unless they are independent and self-sufficient individuals.

V. *The Causes of Dependence*

From the degraded position which she occupied in the military ages, where brute force was the prevailing power, woman was gradually elevating herself until, in comparatively recent times, an almost insuperable obstacle was put in the way of her progress. Woman had come to regard as hers the work ordinarily

associated with the maintenance of the household, — work often more than fair return for the support given her by her husband, — when the equilibrium of this position was disturbed by the advent of mechanical inventions. Women had worked for centuries to provide men with leisure for development, and one of the chief products of this great development was a long series of mechanical inventions. These man-made inventions have constituted the chief hindrance to woman's progress toward independence.

The inventions important for our purpose can be best divided into two classes — those directly and those indirectly influencing the work of women. In the first class are inventions which have made the work in the household lighter. The second class comprises those inventions which have resulted in the removal of work from the home to the factory. Inventions lightening household work and removing work from the home have been perfected mainly along three lines — those improving methods of cooking, cleaning, and sewing. The other class of inventions not only reduces the time employed by women in certain tasks, but to a large extent entirely eliminates such tasks from the list of household duties by removing industry from the home to the factory. Thus directly and indirectly, the housekeeper of to-day has been deprived of the tasks which occupied the time of her grand-

mother. In the former case her tasks have been lightened by men; in the latter case they have been taken over by men. But the energy expended a hundred years ago in the performance of these tasks still remains to the housekeeper of to-day, and must inevitably find some outlet.

The women in primitive society were the producers, men playing little part in the creation of economic goods; under the domestic system of production, men and women divided the occupations with an approximate degree of equality, but under the factory system, production is carried on by men, and the women have been assigned to household drudgery or idleness. Modern industry has converted men into earners and women into spenders. The men bring home the pay envelope, the women buy the provisions and clothing, furnish the house, and manage the establishment. Woman is a consumer. She has almost ceased to do constructive work, and in this gradual evolution her dependence upon men for economic, and consequently for social, support, has inevitably followed.

The most important cause, finally, of the perpetuation of the dependence of women, and the cause which interacts to produce the most degraded form of dependence, is the very degeneracy resulting from dependence in the first instance, for in the case of many women degeneracy and dependence have be-

come so closely associated that it is almost impossible to characterize the one as cause and the other as effect.

VI. *Woman's Possibilities*

The evolution of industry, a cause clearly economic, has proved an important factor in placing woman in a distinctly dependent position; her dependence means for her and her children either degeneracy or at least a failure to develop normal ability and capacity. Is the dependence of women remediable? Undoubtedly it is.

G. Stanley Hall says that woman is "at the top of the human curve from which the higher superman of the future is to evolve." [1] The woman is nearer to race type, and therefore, in so far as the future is concerned, she presents greater potentiality than do men. Men tend toward decadence and senility. From a biological viewpoint, women are, therefore, by no means inferior to men. The same thing is true of women in the economic and social field.[2]

After writing at length on human capacity and the necessity of opportunity for its adequate development, Lester F. Ward, in his "Applied Sociology" points to the fact that women have capacity, but have failed

[1] "Adolescence," G. Stanley Hall, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1904, Vol. 2, p. 561.

[2] "Man and Woman," Havelock Ellis, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897, pp. 389–394.

to play a part in the affairs of the world because of a lack of opportunity.

"The universal prevalence of the androcentric world view, shared by men and women alike, acts as a wet blanket on all the genial fire of the female sex. Let this be once removed and woman's true relation to society be generally perceived, and all this will be changed. We have no conception of the real amount of talent or of genius possessed by women." [1]

Women are capable of development. They fall short not in capacity but in opportunity. The world throws wide the means of development to many men, but for women the chances for development are restricted and narrowed. Women have the capacity for a high type of development, and they are evolving the ability to coöperate. The movement for equal suffrage, the successful organization and maintenance of the National Women's Trade Union League, the development of mothers' clubs, civic associations, and school and home leagues, all point with increasing impressiveness to the organizing ability of women.

VII. *Women and the Future*

The emancipation of women must come.

This stand has been taken by the advanced thinking

[1] "Applied Sociology," Lester F. Ward, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1906, p. 232.

women of the present generation. The stand is eminently justifiable and represents a forward step in civilization. This being the case, it is necessary to ask what means are best adapted to develop in the future generation of women a spirit that will lead them to continue the movement which the women of the present generation have so ably begun. If the women of the future are to be noble individuals, worthy to be the mothers of noble children, and to achieve great things, the rising generation of women must have three things, — effective self-development, an ability and freedom to choose their occupation, and a knowledge of the wisest use of leisure time.

Effective self-development should result in a strong body, a good training in physiology and hygiene, and a rounded ability to take a place in the world and fill it well. The city woman's physical disability is the culmination of a misdirected training, begun early in youth. Boys are taught to go out and play rough games and romp and develop physically. Girls, on the other hand, are expected to stay at home and be "ladylike." If a boy does not soil and tear his clothes, he is a "sis." If a girl does soil her clothes and romp, she is a "tomboy." It is as disgraceful for a boy to atrophy physically as it is for a girl to develop physically. To add to her physical disability, almost as soon as the age of puberty has been reached, the girl's

body is incased in steel, while the boy's body develops freely and normally, unrestrained by any artificial hindrances.

The development of the girl's body should be begun and carried on at the same time and on the same basis as the development of the boy's body. Their plays should be equally arduous until the age of twelve at least. There is no justification for denying to girls the physical development provided for boys, making them weaklings before the age when there is any physical differentiation, due to sex development. Already this truth is being realized and the emancipated women of the United States are emancipating the bodies of their daughters by putting them in "rompers" and sending them out to play with the boys.

Every normal being should engage in some form of constructive occupation. The woman is no exception, and the education of the woman of the future should include not only effective physical development and an adequate training in self-knowledge, but also a training that will enable her to fill some position in life and fill it well. Life in the home should develop sympathy and a desire to coöperate; education will furnish a basis for a broad viewpoint; and occupation will afford an opportunity for the development of character. Home life is narrowing, and unless supple-

mented by education, leads to the life in "social sets" so disastrous to the development of individuality. Even education is not effective in the development of character unless it is applied in the form of some positive occupation.

It is upon this question of occupation that it is necessary to lay particular emphasis, because an impression prevails among a group of present-day American women that if their husbands are able to earn enough to support them in idleness, it is neither necessary nor fitting for them to engage in any form of occupation. There could be no more dangerous or disastrous fallacy.

Generally speaking, it is true that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands," and the person who is chronically idle may well become chronically mischievous. This represents, however, only one side, and probably the least important side, of the problem.

Each individual should develop character. Each life should represent some achievement. The forces are complementary. Character makes for achievement and achievement makes for character. It is important that every one should have character, — it is particularly necessary in the case of women; because to women, in the home and in the school, has been committed almost the entire duty of child training. If the men and women of the future are to be

efficient citizens, strong and characterful, those who train them must possess strength and character, and there is no more effective way to develop character than through occupation and effort.

Therefore, of all of the training which should make up the education of the woman of the future, none is so important as the training which will enable her to choose wisely her occupation. Some occupation she should have, but its nature can be determined only by her special aptitudes, as developed in her training.

There are two alternative occupations open to women: first, motherhood, and second, some form of industrial pursuit. Neither occupation is exclusive of the other, and most women should, at different periods of their lives, engage in both of them. Motherhood, whether looked at from the standpoint of society, or of the woman personally, is by far the more important occupation of the two.

Motherhood necessarily implies bearing children, and it should imply rearing them as well. In fact, in present-day society, the rearing of children is by far the more important part of the process, because today it is not many men that are needed, but good ones; not food for powder, but efficient workers; not quantity, but quality.

The woman who chooses motherhood should be physically fitted to bear children, and mentally and

financially capable of rearing them. Both heredity and environment, however, are dependent upon the father as well as upon the mother. Perhaps the most important decision which a woman must make prior to motherhood is involved in her choice of a husband. Every effort is bent toward the training of men for the careful selection of an occupation and the successful pursuit of it, but for the girl in the choice of a father for her children, no training whatever is provided, not even in the literature which is placed in her hands during her early years. "As to the most important thing of all, the choice of the father of her child, we ask, how can a young girl know a good prospective father? That she is not so educated as to know, proves her unfitness for her great task." [1]

Motherhood, the first alternative occupation for women, should be accepted by all women as a duty due to society, the fulfillment of which should be a responsibility felt by all, but particularly by the women best fitted, because of ability and income, to rear children.

The world of industry presents the second alternative occupation open to women. All crafts originated with women. Never was industry calling more loudly for efficiency than it calls to-day, and its call is made

[1] "Woman and the Race," Gordon Hart, Westwood, Mass., Ariel Press, 1907, p. 67.

particularly effective because the increasing specialization of the past few decades has afforded scores of openings in new, developing industries.

There are five groups of women who should always be engaged in some form of gainful occupation: first, girls between the end of their schooling and their marriage.

Second, women who are suffering from any transmissible disease or defect should be absolutely denied the privileges of motherhood, and should, therefore, spend their adult lives in some form of industrial occupation.

In the third place, women who are geniuses, — perhaps one in ten thousand, — and the social value of whose careers would be lessened by motherhood, should continue their chosen vocation.

Fourth, that large group of young wives who during the first two or three years of wifehood have no children, should by all means begin or continue some productive occupation, principally, as Dr. Patten has pointed out, because of the needed addition to the husband's income, but also for self-development.

In the fifth place, women who at middle age send their last child to college or to work and have no exacting duties in the home.

If woman is to mean all that she well may mean in the future, she must engage in some form of occupa-

tion; if she is capable, in motherhood; if not, then certainly in industry: she must be trained to take her place in the world and to perform her occupation efficiently, and she must realize that occupation and achievement and character are a triune which complement each other and make for the highest and best in life.

CHAPTER VII

THE MENACE OF LARGE FAMILIES

I. *The Prevalence of Large Families*

THE subjects that have been thus far discussed are generally recognized as maladjustments, — congestion is everywhere understood to be undesirable, low standards are evidently disastrous, — but the question of large families raises a radically different issue. There are two valiantly defended viewpoints, — the first that large families are a blessing and should be encouraged; the second, that present-day large families are a menace and should be eliminated. The first viewpoint regards large families as an indication of moral adjustment; the second regards them as a leading factor in creating social maladjustment.

Large families are becoming less and less frequent, particularly among native-born Americans. In 1800 the large family was a commonplace; in 1900 it is an exception. Two generations ago a family of six children excited no comment; to-day the family of six is regarded with surprise. Benjamin Franklin estimated that the average family of his day consisted

of ten members;[1] the census of 1900 reports[2] that 79.7 per cent of all the families of the United States had six members or less. The tendency toward small families is apparent on every hand.

Despite the decline in family size, large families still exist, — the census of 1900 reports 2,929,799[2] families with from 7 to 10 members, but they are as a rule the families of the lowest earners. No careful study of the situation has been made in the United States, but Mrs. Commander touches upon it slightly in her recent book, and cites numerous instances to show the relation between large families and poverty.[3] No absolute proof can be adduced to show that large families are more prevalent among the poor of America than among the rich, but the available material on the subject points strongly to that conclusion, — a conclusion which is borne out in every particular by personal observation.

II. *Large Families and Family Welfare*

Large families are still a reality, — the census reports nearly three millions of them, and the available material indicates that they are most prevalent among

[1] "American Idea," L. K. Commander, New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1907, p. 1.

[2] Census of the United States, 1900, Vol. 2, p. clxxxi.

[3] "American Idea," L. K. Commander, New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1907, pp. 20–21.

the foreigners and in the poorest section of the population. In 1800 there was an outlet for the large family, — the death rate was high, and many children must be born to offset it; the West was opening, and men and women were needed to people it; opportunities presented themselves on every hand, and the numerous children filled them. In 1910 the death rate has decreased, the West is peopled, opportunities are restricted, and the family of eight children, born to parents unable to provide proper food, clothing, or recreation, drifts to the street and frequently to the jail and the almshouse.

The large family in 1910 is a menace because each additional child in a wage earner's family lowers the family standard, and renders it less probable that the members of the family will elude the clutches of poverty. In 1903 the United States Commissioner of Labor reported on 11,156 families of workingmen. In the families with one child,the average income per person was $212.76; in the families with three children, the average was $133.18; while in the families with five children, the average income per person was $94.97. In the average workman's family, each additional child means additional hardship. "It is well known among social workers that the birth of a child is a serious menace to the prosperity of the ordinary day laborer's family, and that in the case of the unskilled

poor in a great city the birth of a second or third child, even in prosperous times, often brings disaster to the home."[1]

The large family of the present day, among the small earners in cities, is a menace to family welfare, but the large families of 1800, if they had continued their then rate of increase, would have been an even greater menace to national welfare.

III. *Large Families and Social Cost*

A decline of the birth rate of 1800 was not only desirable but inevitable, for a continuance of the rate of increase in population which prevailed in the early nineteenth century would have resulted, in the near future, in an overpopulation problem as serious as that now confronting China or India. In 1800 the population of the United States was doubling itself, by natural increase, every 25 years. Had this ratio of increase continued, the native-born population of 1900 would have numbered about 100,000,000, that of 2000 A.D. would have numbered 800,000,000, while the population of 2100 A.D. would have increased to 12,800,000,000 souls, or eight times the entire population of the world in 1900. The argument is thus reduced to the absurd.

[1] "City Planning," B. C. Marsh (quoted from the Report of the Association for Improvement of Conditions among the Poor), New York, B. C. Marsh, 1909, p. 11.

Such a vast population could not be adequately cared for, and some reduction of the birth rate of 1800 was inevitable.

The reduction undoubtedly took place, for instead of the 100,000,000 descendants of native-born population predicted for 1900, there were but 41,000,000 in existence. The advent of the other 59,000,000 was prevented by a conscious restriction in the birth rate, made inevitable by the abnormal growth of population at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

The Western world at the opening of the nineteenth century presented this significant picture: a high birth rate, a low and decreasing death rate; a phenomenal increase in population made possible by the wealth-producing power of the factory system; and large families treading close on the heels of subsistence. Here was ample justification for the pessimistic gloom of Malthus. Catastrophe seemed inevitable, when Democracy entered the field, telling the men at the margin whose families were either unregulated in size or else regulated only by subsistence, that they were free and equal to every other man and had a like right to "rise." The thought was new. "How can I rise?" asked the laborer. "Stop having children," replied the economist. The advice was followed. The family of eight is replaced by the family of two,

and thus disencumbered of an onerous burden, the laborer is enabled to raise his standard of life.

The curtailment of the birth rate during the nineteenth century prevented national overpopulation as well as local congestion, undernutrition, and inefficiency. The large families which persist in spite of changed economic conditions are among the lowest paid, who suffer most from congestion and malnutrition. According to the report of the Commissioner of Labor, the five-children families had by far the lowest average income. Large families, by lowering the standard of living of the family below the point of economic efficiency, are responsible for social cost.

Moreover, the mother who bore eight or ten children was subjected to a severe strain, which greatly lessened her capacity to give her children an effective training.[1]

The persistence of large families under modern conditions therefore lowers family standards and overtaxes the capacity of the mother, in both cases resulting in social cost.

IV. *Advantages of Small Families*

The declining birth rate is a phenomenon which is prevalent throughout the civilized world.[2] The de-

[1] "Race Suicide and Common Sense," Paterfamilias, *North American Review*, Vol. 176, p. 894.

[2] "Western Civilization and the Birth Rate," John R. Commons, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 12, p. 608.

cline has occurred in the United States, but as yet "it has not been observed because of the fair general rate of child birth due to much greater fecundity of the foreign element, which is from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the native. So in Massachusetts, with a total birth rate for the state of 27.78, practically 28 per 1000 living population, that of the native born is only 17, whilst that of the foreign born is over 52 per 1000." [1] Every 1000 native women 15 to 45 years of age in Michigan bore 124 children annually in 1890–1895; while in the same state 1000 foreign women bore 232 children annually in 1890–1895, leaving the rate among foreign women more than twice the rate among native women.[2] The change from large to small families presents some marked advantages, — first, quality is more likely to result; second, women have leisure; third, a surplus of population is prevented; and fourth, a relation is established between the size of the family and the size of the income. Each of these advantages will be discussed in turn, and an attempt will be made to show that the establishment of the small family (a family of three to six children) is a step forward in the elimination of social cost and maladjustment.

[1] "Education not the Cause of Race Suicide," G. J. Engleman, *Popular Science Monthly*, 1903, Vol. 63, p. 176.

[2] "Modern Social Conditions," William B. Bailey, New York, Century Co., 1906, p. 105.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the national importance of maintaining the quality of the population. A strong public sentiment exists in favor of reproduction, no matter from what source the children may come. This public sentiment, in failing to insist upon quality, has overlooked two vital facts, — first, that by wisely directed marriage, in which ability and civic worth, as well as beauty and dower, are considered, a higher type race can be assured for the future; and second, that defectives and criminals, if allowed to propagate, will probably perpetuate their defect and criminality.

An appeal to biology will show that no necessary connection exists between the capacity to reproduce and high individual development, — in fact, the probabilities are that the lower the rate of production, the higher the organism. An effective desire to insure the quality of the population necessarily involves an attempt to limit the rate of reproduction. While no definite law can be stated, it is nevertheless generally true that the lowest organisms show a very high rate of propagation, while the higher organisms show a very low rate of propagation.

The same thing holds true among men. The birth rate among savages is known to be high, — just how high it is impossible to say because of the prevalence of infanticide. In British India the birth rate reaches

70 per thousand of population; in Great Britain it is 28; in Australia 27; in Germany 35; in Italy 32; in New Zealand 25; in France 21; and in Massachusetts it is 25 per thousand of population. The more progressive, "civilized" countries show a birth rate far lower than the less civilized ones.

The higher the ascent in the scale of evolution, the lower the rate of propagation, — such is the law which seems to describe conditions in organic development and in human society. At one extreme of the scale is the bacteria, with millions of descendants in a day; at the other extreme is man, the creature with the highest development, the lowest rate of propagation (except the elephant), and the greatest and most consistent increase in numbers.

An unwarranted assumption has been made by those who hold that an increase in the population of the United States would necessarily imply a betterment in the population. That the assumption is unwarranted is clearly shown by the discrepancy which everywhere exists between the size and the achievement of nations. Japan with fifty millions of people is more progressive and efficient than China with eight times that number. Who would exchange the 30,000,000 people of England for the 300,000,000 of India? It is a matter of history that the great things of the world have been done by small groups:

the Jews, less than a million strong, laid the foundation for modern religion; Rome, which did not number over 500,000 citizens even in the days of Augustus, conquered the world and handed down to posterity marvelous traditions of literature and law; while Athens, with 200,000 citizens in the days of Pericles, bequeathed to the world a wealth of art and learning that has never been equaled, much less surpassed, by any subsequent nation. The great achievements of the world are the work of small groups of efficient, able men and women. The work of the world has been done not by numbers, but by qualities.

In addition to providing the possibility of quality as opposed to quantity, a low birth rate insures comparative freedom for women. In ancient times women were child-bearing machines. The ravages of war, disease, and famine made the death rate high, and it was necessary that women bear many children in order to compensate for this high death rate. But war, pestilence, and famine have been largely eliminated, and the necessity for the high rate is past. Society no longer demands that women should bear many children, but that they should rear good children. Society has turned over to women the burden of child rearing in the home and in the school. A woman who bears ten children can neither train nor educate them as they should be trained and educated.

Child bearing requires passivity, child rearing requires positive character. And if women are to develop the knowledge and character necessary to train the children, it must be done in the leisure which is gained through a decrease in the extent of child bearing.

V. *An Income Measure of Population*

A low birth rate is advantageous, because it provides the possibility of a rising standard by limiting the population, and gives to women leisure which they may employ in training the future generation. Some restriction on population is therefore desirable. What should be the measure of the restriction?

The woman who marries at twenty-five would naturally have from twelve to fifteen children, unless some means were employed to limit the number. As the average family in the whole United States contains five children, while among native-born Americans it contains but three children, it is perfectly obvious that some check is being placed upon the natural increase of population.

In all groups of modern society the size of the family is being restricted, because of the demand for quality rather than quantity of children. What factor should determine the extent of this restriction? The most obvious test of restriction is income. Uncivilized societies spend little time in child training, nor do they

devote any attention to raising the standard of life; modern society demands well-reared and thoroughly trained men and women, and standards rising with the progress of science and industry. Since the ability to rear children successfully is based primarily on income, it seems reasonable to conclude that the amount of income should determine the number of children to be born and reared in any family.

Much has been written and spoken against race suicide, but the man who restricts his family to two or three children and brings them up to be efficient citizens is far more patriotic than the man who brings eight children into the world to die in infancy or to struggle toward maturity through a precarious life in the streets, and ultimately to drop into the overfilled class of unskilled workers.

Wages must eventually be raised; but while they retain their present relation to prices, the average family can afford about three children. In every trade, men and women are recognizing this fact, and restricting the size of their families accordingly.

This determination of Americans to regulate the number of children in a family by the amount of the family income is a great step forward, because it will guarantee, —first, that no child shall be brought into the world who cannot be properly cared for, and second, that all of the children who are brought into the world will be given a training that will enable them to live joyous, useful lives.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DECADENCE OF THE AMERICAN HOME

I. *Some Aspects of Modern Home Life*

"An Englishman's house is his Castle."

This tradition came to the United States three centuries ago full of vigor and life, but it wasted away with the decadence of the American home until to-day there is only a remnant of it left. An American's home is his lodging house. He eats his morning and evening meal there; sleeps there, and occasionally stays there on Sundays — that is all.

In certain sections of the country the home still preserves its old economic unity, and industry and social life mingle to maintain it. In the great cities, however, and to a large extent in the smaller towns, the American home has lost its old significance. It is in vain that F. Hopkinson Smith pens his wonderful descriptions of the old Southern mansion with its home life, its family unity, and domestic tranquillity, and then says to us, "Let us go back." The hands of the clock of time and evolution do not turn back. There is only one possible move — a move forward.

Modern industry takes men out of the home. Of

the 23,754,205 men engaged in gainful occupation in 1900, 61.5 per cent were engaged in occupations other than agriculture. Two thirds of the men working in industrial America go away from home to work. In the same year 5,329,807, or 18.8 per cent of all the women of the United States, were engaged in some form of gainful occupation other than agriculture. They were therefore presumably outside of the home during work hours. Of the children between ten and fifteen years of age, 688,207 were engaged in occupations other than agriculture, and were therefore presumably away from home. The home has ceased to be the center of industrial life.

Nor is the home the center for child life. Every child in the United States between the ages of 8 and 14, or thereabouts, is expected to be in school for a minimum number of hours each day, and when school is over, for the city child, the streets present the only adequate opportunity for recreation. Meals and bed are supplied at home, but that is all.

The modern American home may be a castle, but it is frequently and regularly deserted. Is this fact significant? What does it presage?

II. *The Old Type Home*

The home under the domestic system of industry, like the village under the Manorial System, was a complete

economic unit. In it were the germs of the specialization and division of modern labor. Some families made hats, some made flour, some bows, some cloth. The father's occupation was the occupation of the family. Each home was an industrial establishment, in which was created some special economic product.

Each household comprised (1) the occupation of the father, in which the mother and children often assisted, as in the spinning of yarn; (2) the occupation of the mother, including the cooking, the cleaning, and making of clothes for the family; (3) the garden or farm work on the patch of ground surrounding the house; (4) education and training of the children, by the father and mother, both of whom were at home all of the time.

Under the domestic system of production, a complete life was therefore provided in the home. Each member of the family had distinct duties, and they all centered around a common hearth. Under these circumstances, the home was a strongly economic and social unit. The Englishman's home was his castle, and he stayed in it and guarded it jealously.

The domestic system of industry prevailed in the United States in 1800;[1] it was not until the non-intercourse of the War of 1812 that any great impetus was given to American manufacture.[2] The occupa-

[1] C. D. Wright, Census of 1880, p. 537 (Vol. 2). [2] *Supra*, p. 540.

tion, recreation, and social life of the entire family centered in the home, which supplied the family's physical wants, thus creating a complete home solidarity.

The nineteenth century has seen a complete reversal of these conditions. The home is no longer an economic unit. The father, and sometimes the mother and the children, leave the home and go to the factory to work. The children leave home on five days in the week and go to school. Occupation, education, and recreation are furnished outside of the home.

III. *The Decadence of the Old Home*

The chaos of the home organization has resulted in the gradual disappearance of the traditional home. City life is the typical life of modern America; and city life means apartments and tenements.

The disappearance of the individual dwelling has been accompanied everywhere by a decrease in ownership, another essential of the early American home. In the United States there were, in 1900, 16,187,715 families. Of this number only 38.8 per cent owned their homes unencumbered and 14.7 per cent owned homes that were mortgaged, so that of the entire number of families in the United States in 1900 more than half (53.5) hired their homes.[1]

In American cities, families turn toward rented

[1] Census of 1900, Vol. II.

homes, a tendency which is emphasized by the increase in tenements and apartment houses. The average American either rents his "castle," or he becomes a lodger in a many-roomed castle called a tenement house, an apartment house, or a family hotel.

The American home has ceased to be the only means of supply for economic necessities. Under the domestic system of production, homes were a physical necessity. Meals must be cooked and clothing made there, for the comforts of life could be adequately supplied in no other way. The modern restaurant, the haberdasher's shop, the apartment house, and the family hotel provide all of the physical comforts as fully as if not more fully than they were supplied by the old type home. The home has ceased to be the only source of supply for the physical necessities, for it is brought into direct and disastrous competition with a group of modern social institutions which have for their purpose the provision of the necessities and the comforts of life.

IV. *The American Home in the Nineteenth Century*

The nineteenth century in short has witnessed a marvelous change in home organization and functions; the early functions of the home have vanished, and its

present functions are but a shadow, in scope and importance, of the functions performed by the American home of 1800. Why this transformation? What has caused such a complete revolution in the functions and organization of the home? One factor alone is responsible for the change, — that factor is the organization and growth of the "factory system," and of its handmaid, mechanical inventions.

Under the domestic system of industry all production was carried on in the immediate vicinity of the home. Under the factory system of industry almost all production takes place in the factory. The domestic system of industry made the home the unit of production; the factory system has created a new unit of production — the factory. During the middle ages men took it for granted that industry and the home should be inseparable; modern society frowns upon any such connection, and where it does exist it is referred to with the contemptuous epithet "Sweated Industry." The connection of home and industry under the domestic system met with universal public approbation, but 200 years have witnessed a complete reversal of public sentiment.

The stockings which were knit, the bread which was baked, the shoes that were made, and the "tinkering" that was done around the old home exist only in song and story, for the factory system has had an influence

on the home so radical that it has annihilated the economic basis of the home and destroyed its economic unity. The factory system, based on inventions, the application of mechanical power to industry, and the division of labor, has had consequences more far-reaching than those of a political revolution, for it has undermined and well-nigh overthrown the home as it formerly existed.

V. *Inventions and the Home*

Inventions may affect the home directly by lightening tasks within the home, or indirectly by taking work from the home and placing it in the factory. The invention of a new washing machine makes washing in the home easier and thus affects the home directly, but the invention of the mangle, the centrifugal drier, and steam ironing machinery affects the home indirectly by taking industry from the home to the laundry.

Coöperation forever reads the death sentence to individual activity. Work was done individually in the home, but as the power of coöperative action became more apparent, its scope widened, and one by one the home activities were taken into the factory. Individual activity in the home has inevitably given way to the superior efficiency of coöperative factory production.

The evolution of a modern factory system has revolutionized the home (1) by taking the father out of the home, and forcing him to go to a distant work place — the factory — in order to secure a livelihood; (2) by the employment in factories, and hence away from home, of the women and sometimes even the children; (3) by producing goods so cheaply that even though persons should desire to continue production under the domestic system they would be undersold, hence forced to work in the factory or starve; (4) by helping to center populations in cities, where, owing to high rents, the working man lives in a congested tenement and loses all of the physical advantages which accompany home life in the country; (5) by furnishing wage employment for women and thus allowing them to delay marriage or to remain single for life; (6) by paying wages so low that in many cases a decent family standard cannot be maintained.

The home of "Merrie England," the home out of which have grown the associations which are ordinarily linked with the word, has disappeared. America presents only the memory of such a home because: —

1. The physical needs of life, except for very young children, are provided outside of the home as well as within it.

2. The home industry which made of the home an economic unit has been taken to the factory.

3. The man goes to work or business, to saloon or club; the woman drudges or idles, markets or shops; the children are away at school, or are at play; the whole family patronizes the nickelodeon or the opera; and they do these things outside of the home.

4. The American reverence for the home takes the form of the absent treatment. The home as a social and economic unit has disappeared except in rural districts.

VI. *The Home and Social Cost*

The decadence of the home is thus due to economic causes; and it involves social cost for the man, the woman, and the children.

The domestic system of industry permitted the man to engage in certain secondary occupations. When his weaving was done there was the garden, the shoemaker's last, the woodshed, or the carpenter shop. A change of occupation is a rest, and the man might change as often as he chose. The modern factory worker returning after a day of exacting, monotonous toil has neither the energy nor the opportunity to employ himself effectively. The saloon or the poolroom are more readily accessible than the library or lecture hall, and his surplus time is spent in idle dissipation. The change from domestic to factory system with its consequent change from country to town and city life

has in the first place taken from men the opportunity to use leisure time effectively.

The factory system has in the second place substituted for the craftsmanship of the domestic system a minute subdivision of labor and specialization, under which the worker does not produce a finished product, nor does he consume what he produces. By way of illustration, a man is employed to bore the holes in one part of a machine which is intended for the manufacture of shoes. He thus assists in creating a part of the machine which is intended to produce a part of a consumption good (shoes). Working at these minutely specialized tasks, the modern factory worker does not learn, he merely becomes more dexterous, while the leisure hours are so few and the factory tasks so exacting that the workers do not supplement the factory specialty by outside work or study.

The apprenticeship of the domestic system of industry produced finished workmen, the yeomanry of Old England, the citizenry of early New England; while the factory system with its division of labor has destroyed apprenticeship and produced the modern unskilled, inefficient, low-earning factory worker. England boasted of her yeomanry: she dreads the slum population of Leeds and Birmingham.

Men, therefore, suffer social cost from the decadence of the old type home, first, because their leisure, if they

have any, is not efficiently used in towns and cities, and secondly, because the system which has replaced home industry is not in a true sense educative. It trains in dexterity and not in skill, and its monotony and sameness depress instead of elevating.[1]

The factory system has either taken woman from the home to the insanitary and unhygienic working conditions of many factories, or else it has left her in the home to engage in household drudgery, or idle in luxurious ease. In either case, the resulting dependence involves social cost.[2]

The decadence of the home has misplaced men and displaced women, but it has had its most undesirable effect on the children. The school system has in a faulty and imperfect manner replaced the apprenticeship of the domestic system, but no adequate substitute has as yet been provided for child recreation. The city child plays in the streets, while, as G. Stanley Hall observes, "the child without a playground is likely to become the father without a job."[3] For the child education and recreation which the old home provided no satisfactory substitute has as yet been found.

[1] "Product and Climax," Simon N. Patten, New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1909.

[2] See chapter, "Dependence of Women."

[3] "Adolescence," G. Stanley Hall, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1904, Vol. I, p. 228.

The causes of the decadence of the home are economic; its results are social cost; its present unsatisfactory position can be remedied only by means of three educational steps. The public must be educated therefore: —

1. To recognize the patent fact that a home cannot be effectively maintained on a wage that is too low to permit of the maintenance of a decent standard of living.[1]

2. To see the importance of making women independent in order that they may be made better able to organize the home and train the children.[2]

3. To understand that the physical basis of the home has disappeared, and that the modern home can be erected only on a nonphysical basis of sympathy, confidence, companionship, and mutual aid.

VII. *The Ideal Home*

Is the home necessary? What function does it perform that will justify its maintenance? The home has two prime functions, — first, it furnishes a basis for child training; second, it provides a center for the development of inspiration to social activity. The home as a center for children and as a basis of inspiration constitutes the ideal home.

[1] See chapter, "Low Wages and Standards."
[2] See chapter, "Dependence of Women."

The home under the domestic system of production was an economic unit, besides providing the physical necessities of life — food, clothing, and shelter — which could not be obtained elsewhere. The home was therefore depended upon for a supply of life's physical requirements. In modern society the café, department store, and apartment house furnish all of these comforts independent of the home. The home under the domestic system furnished occupation for the father, a minimum occupation for the mother, and nothing except the most elementary education for the children. The home under the domestic system furnished all necessary education, because there was no specialization in industry and the education consisted of apprenticeship. The modern demand for specialized training precludes the possibility of adequate education in the home. Under the domestic system of industry the home provided facilities for recreation and for secondary occupations. The modern city home is far too restricted in space to permit of recreation; this is supplied by the theater, the nickelodeon, the vaudeville, the club, the school, and the street. The home under the factory system of industry is no longer the sole province of occupation, education, or recreation and the physical necessities of life, for while they may be supplied in the home, they may be supplied as adequately elsewhere.

The factory system, while undermining the old type home, has laid the foundation for a new home on a firm or stable basis, by providing: —

1. A far more efficient method of producing economic goods, thus insuring a more abundant supply of life's necessities.

2. A field of activity for men wider than was possible under the domestic system.

3. Leisure for women, who, relieved from the constant strain of household demands, may develop on an equality with men, thus insuring character and the capacity for achievement.

4. In this way providing for the education of a nobler race through a higher type of motherhood.

The old functions of the home have largely disappeared with the advent of the factory system, but the economic goods, the development of women, and the leisure which have resulted from the evolution of the factory system make possible the foundation of the future home on the nonphysical bases of sympathy, confidence, companionship, and mutual aid. Established on this basis, the home of the future will prove a splendid training school for the children and a source of inspiration for adults.

The old home has disappeared, but it can be and must be replaced by a more advanced institution. Sympathy, confidence, companionship, and mutual

aid are at the foundation of all social action, and if they are developed and perfected in the home, the stability and permanence of society is assured.

Traditions persist and society speaks of the home as if it were still an integral part of its structure. The modern home is in a state of unstable equilibrium. Late marriages, divorce, and a low birth rate show clearly this instability, and it behooves thinking men and women to recognize the decadence of the old type home, to appreciate the true functions of the ideal home of the future, and to realize the importance of the only agencies which can make of this ideal home a reality: —

1. Living wages.
2. Intelligent motherhood.
3. An educated population.

CHAPTER IX

DURATION OF THE WORKING LIFE

I. *Desirability of a Lengthened Life*

INEFFICIENCY, low wages, congestion, insanitation, overwork, ignorance, carelessness, and indifference array themselves with disease, accident, and premature old age in establishing the great epitome of social cost, — the short working life. Men eliminated by typhoid fever, women dying from lead poison, children caught in the machinery and crushed beyond recognition, — all of these factors combine to shorten human life and render the working period less effective.

Humanly speaking, it is undesirable that any individual should die in the prime of life with the possibilities and potentialities of existence unrealized and the character growth of life barely begun. The general philosophy of modern life bids us turn away from a scene of premature death with a feeling of sorrow for the dead, who has failed to realize the full possibilities of adult usefulness and joy. The morality of this viewpoint does not, however, form a part of the present discussion. Individually the premature death of

a normal man or woman may involve a loss that is great or unimportant, but socially the loss is stupendous. Society needs balanced men, — men with viewpoint and mature judgment. It is not enough that a man be quick and active, — he must be able and experienced as well. Nothing can compare with the experience that comes from years of development, — the enlarged viewpoint, the broad scope, the increased content of such a person's experience, are socially beyond money and above price.

If an individual is in robust health, the years from forty-five to sixty or even to sixty-five should be the most valuable years from the social point of view. A mature man should contribute more to society between forty-five and sixty than he contributed during the twenty-five years from twenty to forty-five. During those first twenty-five years the individual is learning; during the last fifteen years, he is giving out, — expressing; and the foundation laid in the years up to forty or forty-five should be so broad and sound as to make the succeeding years of the greatest social value.

The latter years of a man's life should be the most socially productive, and they will be so, if his life is not artificially shortened by one of the menaces to longevity so prevalent in modern society. Society trains for efficiency. The schools are maintained, playgrounds and parks are provided, and facilities of all

descriptions are afforded the growing child. Society aims at the development of an efficient adult and expends large sums annually in an effort to insure this efficiency. The child at six enters the public school; at sixteen he leaves and begins his work; and at twenty-six he is run over by the yard engine on which he is working. Society trained for a working period of thirty or forty years, but the work stops almost before it has well begun. Such cases are typical, but the social cost is unnoticed. Society cannot afford to prepare men and women for an efficient working life and then have them cut down in the prime of their development.

Much disquiet has been caused by the decreasing birth rate. There is one very apparent way to offset it, and that is to lengthen life. If the length of average life were doubled, the population would in a generation double without any increase in birth rate. Besides, the burden of childbearing can be very considerably lessened by increasing the length of life, thus making an excessive number of children unnecessary.

The increase of longevity would also enable the man at the margin to care more adequately for those dependent upon him, and would thus relieve much of the poverty, misery, and maladjustment incident on the death or incapacitating of the breadwinner.

The gain in experience and viewpoint, the advantage

in adding to the able-bodied portion of the population, the increased efficiency and the decreased misery, all argue for an increase in the length of life. An increase is desirable, but is it possible?

II. *The Length of Life in Modern Society*

Considerable difficulty is encountered in establishing the exact length of life because of the number of variable factors involved. For example, the length of life varies from country to country. Modern life tables show that the average length of life in the leading countries of the world varies remarkably. Thus in Sweden the length of life for males is 53.9 years; in France 45.7 years; in England and Wales 44.1 years; in Massachusetts 44.1 years; in Italy 42.8 years; and in India 23.0 years.[1] "When we consider that the average duration of life in India is scarcely more than one half that of Sweden, we must conclude that the length of human life is dependent in definite conditions and can be increased or diminished by a modification of those conditions." [2]

A short duration of life may be anticipated in India, with its famines, plagues, overpopulation, and unstable economic conditions; while Sweden, with a less

[1] Report on National Vitality, by Professor Irving Fisher, 1909, New Haven, Conn., p. 16.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 16 and 17.

densely settled territory, advanced systems of government and industry, and stable economic conditions, might justly be expected to produce a longer life. The length of life is thus determined, not by any inherent incapacity in man to live, but by the maladjustment surrounding the living and working conditions.

There is also a considerable variation of the length of life within the same country.[1] Men born in American cities of native white parents live on the average only 31 years; those born of foreign white parents live 29.1 years; while those born of colored parents live only 26.3 years. These figures will prove a rude shock to the contented citizens who were congratulating themselves upon the supposition that men lived threescore and ten years or thereabouts. Men do not live even half of threescore and ten years in the modern American city, but die, on the average, when they reach the age of one score and ten.

Variation in the length of life thus occurs with locality, race, and sex, but from the standpoint of the present study no variation is of such profound significance as the variation between occupations.

Many men die because of the occupation in which they are engaged. There is a very direct connection between mortality and occupation, for in some occupa-

[1] "Modern Social Conditions," W. B. Bailey, New York, The Century Co., 1906, p. 227.

tions the mortality is far higher than in others. Much material has been presented on this subject. It is here necessary merely to call attention to the existence of occupational mortality, and to illustrate the matter briefly.

The death rate per thousand males in all occupations is 15.00. For boot and shoemakers the death rate is 8.79; for farmers and farm laborers 11.02; for tailors 13.65; for merchants and dealers 14.21; iron and steel makers 14.66; textile operatives 14.88; blacksmiths 15.96; marble and stone workers 17.19; bookkeepers and clerks 18.53; brewers and distillers 20.81; cigar and tobacco makers 21.64; servants 21.78; and laborers 22.30.[1] These figures, compiled from the census of 1900, show the remarkable difference which exists between the least dangerous and most dangerous occupations.

The length of life is thus a varying factor, being conditioned, not as is generally supposed, by the wearing out of the human body, but by the environmental conditions, such as climate and occupation, which surround the individual.

III. *Length of the Working Life*

The working life extends from about 16 until the time of death. The average length of the working life

[1] *Supra*, p. 251.

depends roughly therefore on the probable number of years that will be lived by a person sixteen years of age. As already indicated, this probability varies with sex, race, nativity, and environment.

An excellent statement of the present length of the working life was made by Frederick Hoffman before the American Academy of Political and Social Science. In his address, Hoffman estimated that "the period of industrial activity of wage earners generally, but chiefly of men employed in mechanical and manufacturing industries, . . . should properly commence with the age of fifteen and terminate with the age of sixty-five."[1] However, out of every 1000 males living at the age of fifteen, 444 will survive until the age of sixty-five, while 556 will have fallen out, or have died, in the meantime, as the result of either accident or disease.[2] Thus, more than one half of all who reach fifteen and are thereafter theoretically able to begin work, never reach the age of sixty-five, so that society has lost more than half its working force by the end of the working period.

Some fragmentary material on the length of the working life is presented by Crystal Eastman as a result of the study of industrial accidents in Pittsburg. In one year (1906–1907) 526 wage earners were killed

[1] Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 27, No. 3, May, 1906, p. 465.

[2] *Supra*, p. 468.

by industrial accidents in Allegheny County, Pa. The age grouping of the 526 fatal accidents was: under 21, 16 per cent of the total; 21 to 30, 42 per cent; 31 to 40, 26 per cent; and over 40, 16 per cent. Thus a total of 58 per cent of the fatal accidents of Pittsburg in 1906 is shown among wage earners 30 years of age or less.

The conclusion of the whole matter is apparent. Men and women are being constantly cut down and in prime of life.

Another factor is operating to shorten the working life. Each decade there is an advance in the age at which children may go to work. The minimum at present established by the law is in most states 14, and the states below that mark are gradually being brought up to it. In some states children under 16 are excluded from dangerous trades and from mines, and the constant tendency is to raise the age of entrance upon life activities. Unless, at the same time, the total length of life is increasing, this increase in the age at which work may be started, shortens the working life.

The life of the average person, particularly among city dwellers, is surprisingly short, but while this short duration of the life is so apparent, it is interesting to note that the ultimate possibilities of life are far in advance of modern realization.

IV. *The Increasing Length of Life*

The average duration of life is not great, not nearly so great as it might easily be made, but it has been constantly increasing during the past three or four centuries, and is probably still increasing.

The length of life in the Middle Ages is indicated in a fragmentary way by the records in Geneva, Switzerland. These records show that in the sixteenth century the length of life was 21.2 years; seventeenth century 25.7 years; eighteenth century 33.6 years; from 1801 to 1883, 39.7 years.[1]

Professor Fisher also notes that Professor Finklenburg of Bonn estimates that "the average length of human life in the sixteenth century was only between eighteen and twenty years, and that at the close of the eighteenth century it was a little over thirty years, while to-day it is between thirty-eight and forty years."[1]

The few reliable figures which are available indicate that in the United States also the length of life is increasing, although "it is difficult to obtain American life tables that go far enough back into history to show increases in the life span." A comparison of insurance life tables for Massachusetts and New Hampshire

[1] Report on National Vitality, by Professor Irving Fisher, 1909, New Haven, Conn., p. 17.

gives a length of life in 1789 of 35; in 1855 of 40; and in 1893–1897 of 45. "Unfortunately no figures exist for the United States as a whole from which similar comparisons might be made." [1]

Bailey ("Modern Social Conditions") ascribes the increasing length of life to "the efforts of medicine to combat disease and to better hygiene." He follows this statement with a table of the age at death in Rhode Island. In 1861–1865 the age at death was 29.32; 1871–1875, 30.16; 1881–1885, 33.99; 1891–1895, 33.96; and 1896–1900, 34.53,—this giving an almost constant and regular increase over a series of forty years. The value of this table and that of all other United States figures is seriously impaired by immigration. During the past three decades the movement of French Canadians into New England has interfered with normal conditions and may have had some effect upon figures like those under consideration.

The rate at which life is lengthening varies greatly from one country to another and depends largely upon the relation existing between normality and maladjustment. Among males in England the average length of life is increasing at the rate of 14 years per century; France, 10 years; Denmark, 13 years; Prussia, 25 years; and Massachusetts, 14 years.[2]

[1] *Supra*, p. 18.

[2] *Supra*, p. 102.

These figures are of course mere approximations, yet they show that the state which is making the most persistent and scientific efforts to conserve the health and promote the welfare of its working population furnishes the greatest increase in longevity, — a situation that might well have been predicted from the available data.

V. *The Possible Length of Life*

Modern life, which is far short of its possibilities, is being gradually lengthened; but is there not some limit beyond which this lengthening process cannot go? What bounds does science set to the extent of the increase in length of life? Is the biblical "threescore and ten years" the farthest that man may hope to live, or is there an added span of possibility, — the result of civilization and improvement? In support of his belief, Metchnikof carefully reviews the evidence on the subject and shows that everywhere centenarians are common, and that old age is not after all the cause of a large portion of the deaths. "In Paris, for instance, in 1902, of cases of deaths between the ages of 70 and 74, only 8.5 per cent were due to old age. Infectious diseases, such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, diseases of the heart and the kidneys, and cerebral hemorrhage, caused most of the deaths of these old people. Such cases of death, however,

can often be avoided, and must be regarded as accidental rather than natural." [1]

The optimism of Metchnikof on the possibility of prolonging life is shared by Fisher, who writes: "We have already seen evidence of the possibility of prolonging life: In Europe, the life span is double what it is in India. The death rate of Dublin is over twice that of Amsterdam, and three times that of rural Michigan. Again, making every allowance for inaccuracies of old records, we have strong reason to believe that life is twice as long as three or four centuries ago, and modern accurate records show that it is to-day increasing more rapidly than ever." [2]

The theoretical possibilities of lengthening life in America are very great. Accident may be avoided, preventable diseases eliminated, and men and women may then live through the normal span of human life.

People do not at present die natural deaths. As Metchnikof pointed out, the deaths even between the ages of 70 and 74 are not due to old age, but to accident or to preventable disease. How long, then, shall the human being live? What are the possibilities of life? Various estimates have been made as to the utmost possible length of life. These estimates vary from 75

[1] "The Prolongation of Life," Elie Metchnikof, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, p. 86.

[2] Report on National Vitality, by Professor Irving Fisher, 1909, New Haven, Conn., p. 102.

to 200 years. Metchnikof sums up the estimates in the following words: "Gestation and the period of growth are long in the human race, and from the point of view of theoretical considerations, human longevity should be longer than it generally is. Haller, a distinguished Swiss physiologist of the eighteenth century, thought that man ought to live to 200 years; Buffon was of the opinion that when a man did not die from some accident or disease he would reach 90 or 100 years." [1]

Aside from theoretical considerations, however, it is apparent, first, that life is unnecessarily short; second, that it is increasing in length; and third, that there is still much room for improvement.

VI. *A Longer Working Life*

The possibilities of life are very much higher than its present realization. Men should and could live longer lives, and the additional years would be of exceptional social usefulness because of the added experience which added years would bring.

Life is shortened because of maladjustment. Accidents, sickness, congestion, low wages, and a number of other factors are responsible for the great restriction on the possibilities of life. These maladjustments

[1] "The Prolongation of Life," Elie Metchnikof, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, p. 84.

may, however, be eliminated. They involve a social cost which may be neutralized and offset by an active feeling of social responsibility, working through public education and legislation. Maladjustment is separable from the present system of society, and with it is separable the short working life which so seriously curtails efficiency and limits social development.

CHAPTER X

OVERWORK

I. *The Nature of Overwork*

THE study recently made in Pittsburg and published as the "Pittsburg Survey" reveals "an altogether incredible amount of overwork by everybody, reaching its extreme in the twelve-hour shift for seven days in the week in the steel mills, and the railway switch yard." [1]

Overwork is an amount of industrial activity so great that the capacity of the overworked individual is constantly decreased. Stated in another form, overwork involves a daily expenditure of energy in excess of the daily supply. A theory is still prevalent that "not work but worry kills." That is not strictly true, for overwork may kill, entirely independent of worry. A slave may be worked to death just as a horse is worked to death, by periods of hard work between which no adequate time is allowed for recuperation.

The result of overwork is fatigue, the extent of which

[1] "Results of the Pittsburg Survey," Dr. Edward T. Devine, Read before the 21st Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, 1908, p. 209.

is equal to the number of hours of the working day multiplied by the intensity of work during those hours. Excessive fatigue leads to exhaustion and exhaustion to disease and ultimately to death. Long hours and intense work both exist, and constitute, in the fatigue which they produce, a serious maladjustment.

Overwork is as much of a blight on the modern industrial system as San José scale is a blight in the modern orchard. Both blights lower vitality and decrease producing capacity. Both must be eliminated to insure the highest efficiency.

II. *Long Working Hours*

One of the most obvious sources of overwork is long hours. Hours vary greatly from industry to industry, and, speaking generally, the more skilled trades, such as printing and binding, building, structural work, stone-cutting, and the like, when dominated by a strong union, have secured an eight- or at least a nine-hour day. But the steel industry, the leading industry of the Pittsburg district, is not dominated by unions, and the hours are long.

"The eight-hour day does not flourish in the steel mills. . . . After careful inquiry, . . . I could find only about 120 eight-hour men in 1907 among the 17,000 employees in the three largest plants of the Carnegie Steel Company in Allegheny county, — a trifle less than

three fourths of one per cent." [1] A similar situation was revealed in South Bethlehem by the recent federal investigation.

Acquaintance with conditions in any large industrial center will show the same long hours at arduous toil that were revealed in Pittsburg by this study. The modern factory works from ten to eleven hours a day, the number of hours seldom being less than ten, and usually being ten and a half hours for five days in the week, and five hours on Saturday. In some trades, where unions are strong, hours have been reduced to eight per day, but the majority of industries at the present time is on a ten-hour basis.

The most authoritative studies in regard to the length of the working day show that a twelve-hour day necessarily involves overwork and inefficiency.[2] The same thing could probably be said of the eleven- and the ten-hour day, and authorities generally agree that

"Eight hours for work,
Eight hours for play,
Eight hours for sleep,
Make up the full day."

If an employer wished to get the most out of a man for

[1] "The Steel Industry and the Labor Problem," John Andrews Fitch, *Charities and the Commons*, March 6, 1909, Vol. 21, p. 1079.

[2] "The Eight-Hour Day," Sydney Webb and Harold Cox, London, Scott, 1891. "Eight Hours for Work," John Rae, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1894.

a day, he should work him twenty-four hours; if he wished the most for a month, he should work him twelve hours a day; if he wished to get the most out of him for a year, he should work him ten hours a day; but if he wished his employee to live a healthy, efficient, and long life, the working day should not exceed eight hours.

The ideal working day is eight hours, and an increase of 50 per cent (twelve hours) constitutes a grievous phase of overwork. In the face of this very apparent fact, industry is established and maintained on a basis of long hours. In some industries long hours are maintained continuously throughout the year. The steel industry and railroad work are typical of this long-hour condition. On the other hand, many industries have "rush seasons," during which the factories work for abnormally long hours, and then in the "slack season" little or no work is done. The paper box industry and the candy industry at Christmas and Easter, and the clothing industry before the spring and fall seasons, are typical of "rush" season trades. The hours in the steel industry are habitually long. The hours in the candy, box, and clothing industries are long only during "rush" times, when overtime work is usually done. Whether the long hours be continuous or intermittent, their result is the same. Both involve overwork.

Hours of work are long, but during the past two decades they have decreased in number. The Bureau of Labor estimates that if the length of the average working day in 1890 be expressed by 100.7, the average for 1907 would be 95.0, or a decrease of 5 per cent in 17 years.[1] These are, of course, exceptions to this rule, but it is generally true that the working day is being gradually reduced in length.

Long hours are a grievous source of overwork, but by no means the only source. Greater intensity is likewise a factor in the problem.

III. *Speeding Up*

With the decrease in hours of industrial work has gone an increase in speed, so that while the hours are less, the speed is greater. The girls in the recent shirtwaist makers' strike in New York complained that instead of watching one needle running as needles did ten years ago, at the rate of 2200 strokes a minute, they were now compelled to watch from two to twenty needles on the same machine, some running as high as 4400 strokes a minute. These needles may break, the thread may catch, the material may draw, — a dozen things may happen, and as the work is piecework, every minute counts. Hours have been slightly reduced, but the strain of work is greater and the

[1] Bulletin No. 77, United States Bureau of Labor, July, 1908, p. 7.

resulting fatigue is more intense. The needles work faster; there are more of them. The machine goes more rapidly and requires more intense application. The total number of hours is less, but the total vitality expended on the work is much greater because of the increased concentration and speed required.

Fatigue is the product of the number of hours of work multiplied by the intensity of the work during each hour. The number of hours has decreased somewhat, but the working day is still very long, and the decreased number of hours has been more than offset by the great increase in the intensity of factory work.

The increasing speed of modern industry is a real and potent factor in the life of the average operative. Industry has evolved and with it has come a speeding up of the most extreme form. "Let it be remembered that the gradual reduction in the hours of labor has been met by the manufacturers with improved machinery. In a textile mill there is a very small fraction of the work that requires muscular strength. But it is the constant and steady application of the mind, the eager use of the eyes, which exhaust and wear out the human body. The entire nervous system is so intently directed to the detail of the work while the machinery is running to its utmost capacity, that

by night the worker is not only tired and weary, but well-nigh worn out." [1]

The evil of speeding up is perhaps nowhere more prevalent than in the industries of Pittsburg. In describing a row of cannery operatives, Miss Butler says: "They slip a bit of pork into each can as it passes, and the chain is set at a pace which keeps each girl in her place, with every nerve at a tension, fixed on the one motion required of her." [2] The working women of Pittsburg are severely overworked. Sometimes they do their work in light, airy, sanitary factories; sometimes in noisome, hot, vile cellars, and sometimes in places which partake of neither extreme condition. But be the condition sanitary or insanitary, the strain is equally serious, the nervous tension equally great.

The same conditions, if possible more aggravated, exist among the men working in steel mills. "Superintendent is pitted against superintendent, foreman against foreman, mill against mill. When a record is broken, it means simply that the goal to be struggled for has been set ahead. In the mills of the Carnegie

[1] Ritchie *vs.* Waymen, Supreme Court of Illinois, December Term, 1909, Appellants' Brief prepared by Louis D. Brandeis, assisted by Josephine Goldmark, p. 63.

[2] "The Industrial Environment of Pittsburg Working Women," Elizabeth Butler, *Charities and the Commons* (March 6, 1909), Vol. 21, p. 1139.

Steel Company two months in each year, usually March and October, are known as "record months," and are sacred to the breaking of records. The mills are pushed to the limit; every possible advantage is given in the way of perfect equipment, and all known obstacles are removed beforehand. Some departments are run straight through the month without an hour's stop, and all are run overtime. If records are broken, the superintendent passes the cigars. The new record has an effect, for what is done in March and October is of course possible in April and November." [1]

Let no one suppose that it is in Pittsburg alone that men and women overwork. Pittsburg is cited as an example because it is in Pittsburg that the best investigation of conditions has been made. But equally striking examples of overwork could probably be found in every great industrial state of the Union. Similar conditions exist in the textile mills of New England. Years ago, a woman tended two slowly running looms. Later, as the hours of work grew less, the number of looms was increased to four and six, and now, with the Drapers, an operative is expected to look after twelve or sixteen.[2]

[1] "Pittsburg Survey," *Charities and the Commons* (March 6, 1909), Vol. 21, pp. 1083–1084.

[2] Ritchie *vs.* Waymen, Supreme Court of Illinois, December Term, 1909, Appellants' Brief prepared by Louis D. Brandeis, assisted by Josephine Goldmark, pp. 64–65.

After carefully reviewing the evidence on the subject of speeding up, Josephine Goldmark writes: "Work is not done in the old, slow way, and, in nearly all industries, by the present methods, from two to four times the quantity of product is turned out in the ten hours. How much faster is the operative compelled to work, and how much greater is the strain, to accomplish this amount of work, in comparison with the old twelve-hour method!" [1]

Speeding up is a real and a constant factor in modern industry, and it has become so intense as to endanger the health of the operatives who are subject to its exacting dictation. To what extent does the overwork involved in this speeding up prevail? Overwork is one of the least necessary and most serious maladjustments of the age. "Overwork remains certainly on a large scale, and I fear in increasing seriousness, the one great overshadowing injury of the present day, worthy to be compared on the industrial side with congestion on the social side." [2]

Overwork is a menace to industrial, social, and personal welfare, because it results in one of the most serious and far-reaching human maladies, — fatigue.

[1] Ritchie *vs.* Waymen, Supreme Court of Illinois, December Term, 1909, Appellants' Brief prepared by Louis D. Brandeis, assisted by Josephine Goldmark, p. 62.

[2] "Social Forces," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909, pp. 81–82.

Fatigue, long continued, leads inevitably to exhaustion. Fatigue is a great social menace. It is due to long-continued, wearing, intense work. Long hours of work and speeding up combine to make of fatigue a problem of alarming magnitude.

Comparatively little scientific attention has been given to the question of fatigue in the United States. Studies have been made abroad and the deductions from these studies have been applied to industry, but in general the American world is ignorant of the modern scientific fatigue theories.

IV. *The Modern Theory of Fatigue*

Fatigue is the result of poison. Men and women are tired, not primarily because their muscle and nerve tissues are worn out, but because the tissues are full of chemical compounds which make activity difficult or impossible. The girl working intensely on a 4400 stroke-a-minute sewing machine becomes fatigued, — tired out, because of the presence, in the tissues of her body, of poisonous compounds, liberated or created by her activity. The manner in which these compounds are created is thus described by Dr. Howells: "Perhaps the most significant change in the muscle during contraction is the production of carbon dioxid. After increased muscular activity it may be shown that an animal gives off a larger amount of carbon dioxid in its expired air.

In such cases the carbon dioxid produced in the muscles is given off to the blood, carried to the lungs, and then exhaled in the expired air. . . . The carbon dioxid in this case diffuses out of the muscle in part to the surrounding air, and in part remains in solution, or in chemical combination as carbonates, in the liquids of the tissue." [1]

The poisons created by exertion are eliminated from the body during rest, or are neutralized by antitoxin, which is generated for the purpose. Under normal conditions, the period of rest following a period of exertion will be long enough to permit of the removal or neutralization of the poisons due to exertion. If such a period is allowed, the fatigue of each day, a healthy kind of "tired feeling," will disappear during the night, and the succeeding day will witness an amount of bodily vigor equal to if not slightly superior to that of the preceding day. This represents the normal life. If, however, the workday be unduly prolonged, Sunday be eliminated, and no opportunity be given nature to remove or neutralize the fatigue poisons, serious debility results, — anemia, lassitude, indifference, and later nervous disorders and general nervous breakdown.

[1] Ritchie *vs.* Waymen, Supreme Court of Illinois, December Term, 1909, Appellants' Brief prepared by Louis D. Brandeis, assisted by Josephine Goldmark, pp. 136–137.

For the sake of illustration, let us suppose that a day of eight hours of regular work of a certain kind will create an amount of fatigue poison which can be eliminated through 16 hours of rest and recreation. Now, if the worker is called upon to work nine hours, and leave but 15 hours for rest, the results will be threefold. First, after a certain point has been reached in fatigue, each additional effort results in a greater proportion of fatigue. Under normal conditions a quarter of an hour's effort would mean the production of much less fatigue poison than a quarter of an hour's effort after excessive fatigue has been reached. A fatigue muscle creates much more fatigue poison for a given amount of effort than a normal muscle.

In the second place, each day would represent a fatigue deficit, — that is, each day the amount of fatigue poison in the body would grow a little greater because the rest time allowed is not sufficient to carry off the fatigue created during the work period.

Third, fatigue breeds fatigue, as money is said to breed money, and the fatigue of the body would not only increase from day to day, but would increase at compound interest.

V. *The Effects of Fatigue*

The practical results of this theory appear in the activities of men after the point of overfatigue has

been reached. For example, the work performed toward the end of a long day is not nearly so satisfactory as that performed at the beginning of the day. "It is admitted that in iron works and factories, where the hours of labor have been unusually long, say ten and eleven hours, the work done in the latter part of the day is not so good as that done in the forenoon, and managers say that where the experiment has been tried, the men turn out in eight hours an amount of work equal to what was previously done in nine." [1]

The results of experiments in the reduction of the working hours have been most gratifying, as Professor Fisher points out in his recent "National Vitality." The fatigue of workmen is largely traceable to their long workday and serves to start a vicious circle. Fatigue puts the workman in an abnormal frame of mind. He seeks to deaden his fatigue by alcohol, tobacco, exciting amusements, and excesses of various kinds. The momentary relief which he thereby obtains is purchased at the expense of an increasing susceptibility to fatigue, resulting sooner or later in complete depletion of his vital energies and in the contraction of tuberculosis or other fatal disease. The decrease in the length of

[1] "Dangerous Trades," Thomas Oliver, London, John Murray, 1902, p. 108.

the working day has not diminished the total output.[1]

Fatigue is the result of exertion. If a normal workday is insisted upon, the fatigue poison generated during each day is eliminated before the day following; but if the time of rest and recuperation is too brief, fatigue poison accumulates, permeates the system, deadens the nerve centers, predisposes to disease, and even causes disease itself, in the form of nervous breakdown.

Fatigue and disease are closely connected. Fatigue predisposes to disease by weakening the organism and opening a way for the work of disease germs. Fatigue is the outcome of overwork, and thus an intimate connection is established between overwork and disease.

No definite statement can be made as to how excessive overwork must be in order to incapacitate women from fulfilling their maternal functions, but an intimate relation undoubtedly exists between factory work for married women and infant mortality. While this high infant mortality is in part due to artificial food, it is also due to the physical incapacity resulting from overwork.

On the whole, fatigue is probably more serious for women than for men because of its effect upon the off-

[1] Report on National Vitality, Professor Irving Fisher, New Haven, Conn., July, 1909, p. 45.

spring. "Pagliana found as a consequence of women continuing to do hard muscular work when enceinte and commencing their industrial duties again too soon after their confinement, even though giving their infants the breast, that the children were of shorter stature and of feebler force than those not similarly treated." [1]

The waste of fatigue is far in excess of the waste from illness. "The economic waste from undue fatigue is probably much greater than the waste from serious illness. We have seen that the average serious illness per capita is about two weeks each year. This is about 4 per cent of the year. Expressed differently, about 4 per cent of the population is constantly sick. On the other hand, the number that suffer partial disability through undue fatigue certainly constitutes the great majority of the population. No observer can fail to conclude that this is true of the American working, business, and professional classes, and the latest word among the students of social hygiene is that it is true to a large extent even among children." [2]

Fatigue is serious in itself. Professor Fisher estimates that at least 5 per cent of the population is constantly suffering total impairment through fatigue,

[1] "Dangerous Trades," Thomas Oliver, London, John Murray, 1902, p. 112.

[2] Report on National Vitality, Professor Irving Fisher, New Haven, Conn., July, 1909, p. 47.

but it is still more serious as a predisposing cause to more serious affections. There is undoubtedly an intimate connection between fatigue and disease. "The relatively slight impairment of efficiency due to overfatigue leads to more serious impairment. Just as minor ailments prove to have an unsuspected importance when considered as gateways to serious illness, so the inefficiency from fatigue is vested with great significance as the first step toward minor ailments. A typical succession of events is first fatigue, then colds, then tuberculosis, then death. Prevention, to be effective, must begin at the beginning." [1] Neurasthenia is a disease which may be traced directly to overwork. "Neurasthenia and other nervous diseases are due to overstrain of the nervous system. Since the central nervous system regulates all the vital functions, nervous exhaustion or neurasthenia may affect all organs and functions of the body. Intense and long lasting fatigue is a characteristic of the disease. Disorders of the heart, circulation, the special senses, and the digestive apparatus are common symptoms. When nervously overtaxed persons continue to work for excessive hours, the functional mechanisms may become totally impaired." [2]

[1] *Supra*, p. 47.

[2] Ritchie *vs.* Waymen, Supreme Court of Illinois, December Term, 1909, Appellants' Brief prepared by Louis D. Brandeis, assisted by Josephine Goldmark, p. 230.

Fatigue may predispose to disease or may directly cause it. In either case, the outcome of the fatigue is decreased vitality and efficiency.

Overwork probably leads to immoral practices. The man with a surplus of vitality and energy is by no means so liable to seek immoral forms of recreation as is the overworked, debilitated person whose physical powers are sapped and whose tense nerves demand some extreme form of relaxation and reaction. This point is emphasized by Professor Mosso of the University of Turin, who says in his work on Fatigue: "Extreme fatigue, whether intellectual or muscular, produces a change in our temper, causing us to become more irritable; it seems to consume our noblest qualities — those which distinguish the brain of civilized from that of savage man. When we are fatigued, we can no longer govern ourselves, and our passions attain to such violence that we can no longer master them by reason." [1]

While the connection between overwork and intemperance is not equally apparent, the assertion is frequently made that there is such a connection, and that intemperance is often the direct outcome of overwork.[2]

[1] Ritchie *vs.* Waymen, Supreme Court of Illinois, December Term, 1909, Appellants' Brief prepared by Louis D. Brandeis, assisted by Josephine Goldmark, p. 265.

[2] *Supra*, p. 278.

The effects of overwork can thus be traced in various forms of disease and excess. There is another phase of the results of overwork which is particularly significant, — the relation between overwork and industrial accidents. While overwork affects the life, health, and morals of the overworked, yet extreme difficulty must be experienced in measuring the extent of its harmful influence. There is one direction, however, in which the effects of overwork can be definitely measured, — in its influence upon industrial accidents.

Many studies have been made for the purpose of showing at what hour of the day accidents happen. An analysis of transportation accidents from one department of France shows the following results:[1]—

Accidents in Morning		Accidents in Afternoon	
7 A.M.	25	1 P.M.	18
8 A.M.	30	2 P.M.	40
9 A.M.	20	3 P.M.	45
10 A.M.	57	4 P.M.	105
11 A.M.	63	5 P.M.	118

The total number of workingmen employed was 6695.

A glance at the table will show that the number of accidents increase almost regularly until the noon hour. After the noon hour, however, it falls to the lowest figure of the entire day. During the course of

[1] *Supra*, p. 235.

the afternoon, the number of accidents increase rapidly, until at four o'clock the number is six times the number at one o'clock. The accidents happened largely in the afternoon, — only 37 per cent occurring in the morning, while 42 per cent of all of the accidents recorded are credited to the last two hours of the day. Thus the number of accidents in the last two working hours exceeded by 5 per cent the entire number for the five morning hours.

The statistical tables similarly compiled for manufacturing industries frequently show a diminution of accidents during the last hour of the morning and of the afternoon, due either to a slackened activity and a decreased production, or to a spurt of activity during the last few minutes of work time.

There is, plainly, a definite connection between overwork, fatigue, and accidents. The fatigued worker is less careful, his attention is less acute, his faculties are dulled, and accidents result from his lack of application.

Overwork, fatigue, illness, immorality, and accidents are a serious menace to national welfare through their effect on efficiency and their results on morality. "Fatigue is not due to work, but to overwork, and excess of every kind is injurious." [1]

[1] "Dangerous Trades," Thomas Oliver, London, John Murray, 1902, p. 117.

Fatigue, due to overwork, physical debility, or both, leads to social cost through decreased efficiency or actual dependence in the form of sickness and early debility. It presents one of the most serious results of bad working conditions, and may be easily eliminated by a regulation of working hours.

VI. *Short Hours as a Remedy for Overwork*

Short working hours would remedy nearly all of the maladjustment which is now due to overwork. It is not possible to discuss the eight-hour movement which has recently swept through the more civilized countries of the world, nor is it germane to the present brief analysis of overwork. The movement has taken place, and has been based on two factors: (1) a realization that higher efficiency could be maintained on an eight-hour basis than on a nine-, ten-, or eleven-hour basis; and (2) a recognition of the right to leisure. Women and children have generally had their hours regulated in the most advanced states, and in Australasia all employees are subject to the eight-hour law.

The legal regulation of hours is based on a recognition of the fact that some relation must be established between intensity and monotony on one side and duration of labor on the other. As the factory system is developed and perfected, as tasks become more varied and application becomes more intense, the duration

of the work must be lessened if overwork is to be prevented.

Overwork is unnecessary. The products of modern society are amply sufficient to meet all of the social needs. In primitive society, laboring under a state of deficit, overwork may have been justifiable, but under modern conditions it has no conceivable justification. Society does not need men who will work themselves to death, but men who will lead joyous, useful, long lives, and neither joy, usefulness, nor longevity can or do accompany overwork.

Overwork is unnecessary, but it still persists. To employ a well-known thought of Dr. Edward T. Devine, — long hours of unremitting, hopeless, and ill-requited toil are still, in spite of inventions, in spite of the growth of capital, in spite of better industrial organization, in spite of trade unions, in spite of protective legislation, a terrible fact of modern industry.

No maladjustment presents so simple a solution as overwork, — an adjustment of the relation between duration and intensity of toil so that human beings will not be overwhelmed by the necessities of the livelihood struggle. The road has been blazed and in some places paved. All things are prepared for the forward step; it remains only for the state legislatures to enact legislation similar to that existing in the more advanced countries of the world.

CHAPTER XI

DANGEROUS TRADES

I. *What is a Dangerous Trade?*

WHAT is a dangerous trade? When does a trade cease to be safe and become dangerous? Thomas Oliver has attempted to solve the problem by shifting the question from cause to effect, and asking, "What is an industrial disease?" The trades which induce disease are obviously dangerous.[1]

Such a definition is unsatisfactory, but it measurably indicates the character of a dangerous trade. A better idea of the meaning of the term can be secured by a study of some of the trades which are notably dangerous.

There are four modifying factors which must be reckoned with in a study of dangerous trades: (1) Each trade is subdivided into numerous specialties, and while one special branch of a trade may be excessively dangerous, another branch of the same trade will involve less than the average danger in that trade. (2) Home conditions vary greatly. Differences in

[1] "Dangerous Trades," Thomas Oliver, London, John Murray, 1902, pp. 14, 15.

food, ventilation, and hygiene make very considerable differences in the capacity of the individual to withstand bad trade influences. (3) Conditions of employment vary from state to state, and even from shop to shop in the same town. Sunshine, ventilation, and cleanliness make a fundamental difference in the acuteness of trade diseases. (4) Varying age and sex make an appreciable difference in the ability of the workers to withstand bad trade influences.

II. *Dust and its Effects*

Dust and gas play a leading part in inducing trade diseases. "Were it not for dust, fumes, or gas, there would be little or no disease due to occupation except such as might be caused by infection, the breathing of air poisoned by the emanations of fellow-workmen, and exposure to cold after working in overheated rooms." [1]

Dust may prove injurious to the worker by (1) irritating the skin, (2) entering the lungs, and (3) by entering the alimentary canal. The irritation of the skin, except in the cases of antimony smelters and arsenic grinders, is a negligible matter. Its effects are annoying, but not serious, and usually not at all permanent.

The dust entering the lungs has very different con-

[1] "Dangerous Trades," Thomas Oliver, London, John Murray, 1902, p. 267.

sequences. The normal lung is like a sponge, through which run minute bronchial tubes. To prevent dust entering these tubes, nature has placed hair in the nose and large tubes, and has provided the vocal cords and the cartilage plates. These devices prevent any ordinary amount of dust from reaching the lungs. A visitor to a coal breaker in which coal is cleaned dry will continue to expectorate dust or coal particles long after leaving the breaker. These particles have been arrested in the larger passages, and an irritation is set up which leads to vigorous attempts to expel the foreign matter. A long-continued exposure to dust, however, dulls the sensibility of the membranes, efforts are no longer made to expectorate the dust, and the particles enter the small tubes of the lungs and become imbedded in the lung tissue. "In the coal miner's lung there can be observed small masses of cells deeply laden with carbon particles surrounded by a hardened zone of altered lung, numerous black streaks underneath the pleura, or covering of the lungs, inklike dots in the walls of the small bronchi, and enlargement with pigmentation of the bronchial glands."[1]

The entrance of dust into the lung finally converts it into "a hard and almost solid organ, incapable of carrying on the work of respiration."[2] Microscopic examinations show particles of grit imbedded in the

[1] *Supra*, pp. 271–272. [2] *Supra*, p. 272.

converted tissue corresponding exactly with the dust grit of the trade in which the victim worked. The correspondence is established by chemical analysis. While this alteration of the lung tissue is not tuberculosis, it affords an easy hold for the tuberculosis bacillus. "It has long been known that dust-inhaling occupations predispose to diseases of the respiratory passages, which may result in consumption." [1]

The third form in which dust affects the worker is through its entrance into the alimentary canal. Intestinal lesions due to dust, while less well defined, nevertheless play an important part in dangerous occupations. This is particularly true of lead, arsenic, and mercury industries.

Dust may thus affect the human system by irritating the skin, by entering the lungs, or by entering the alimentary canal. It is not, however, possible to speak of dust generally, because there are many kinds of dust, varying widely in their effects.

There are five kinds of dust which may affect the workers in the industries which create them: (1) metallic dust, (2) mineral dust, (3) mixed dust, (4) animal dust, and (5) vegetable dust. The relative amount of consumption per 1000 workers is, in metallic dust, 28.0; in mineral 25.2; in mixed 22.6; in animal

[1] "Industrial and Personal Hygiene," George M. Kober, published by President's Home Commission, Washington, 1908, p. 16.

20.8; and in vegetable 13.3; while in non-dusty trades the rate is 11.1.[1]

The seriousness of dust varies in various occupations. A series of figures compiled in England shows that in non-dusty trades the deaths per 1000 workers due to phthisis were 2.39, and in the dusty trades 5.42. The metallic trades averaged 5.84, with 5.31 for copper and 7.79 for lead. The death rate among trades producing mineral dust was 4.26 for masons, but 14.0 for pottery workers (who come in contact with lead). Among the organic dust trades (animal and vegetable) the rate was 5.35 for wool and cotton, 5.96 for wood and paper, and 8.47 for tobacco.[2] "The death returns for twelve years of the city of Northampton, Massachusetts, one of the centers of the cutlery and tool industry, show that among "grinders,' 'polishers,' and 'cutlers,' diseases of the lungs were responsible for 72.73 per cent of the mortality, inclusive of 54.5 per cent of deaths from tuberculosis." [3] Similar returns from other industries indicate the excessive danger involved in some dusty occupations.[4]

There are, however, other forms of danger, which,

[1] *Supra*, p. 17.

[2] "Diseases of Occupation," Thomas Oliver, New York, E. P. Dutton Co., 1908, p. 247.

[3] "Industrial and Personal Hygiene," George M. Kober, published by President's Home Commission, Washington, 1908, p. 19.

[4] "Diseases of Occupation," Thomas Oliver, New York, E. P. Dutton Co., 1908, p. 242.

together with dust, make up the danger involved in dangerous trades. That some trades are decidedly more dangerous than others is shown by the following comparisons.

III. *Lead Poisoning*

There are certain substances which, wherever they appear, involve danger to health and life. Among these substances none is more widely used, nor more intrinsically dangerous, than lead in its various forms. Lead poisoning occurs in thirteen trades, though it is most severely felt in white lead manufacturing.

Poisoning from lead may be acute or chronic. The symptoms of both forms are colic, "wrist drop," loose teeth, and a blue line on the gums. The most usual result of lead poisoning is gastritis. The stomach always suffers severely, as most of the lead enters the system through the alimentary canal, and from there is carried to the muscles, causing spasms and the various other results of poisoning.

Ventilation, an abundance of nutritious food, abstinence from all excess, especially alcoholic, the use of respirators while at work, and short hours in the factory, all assist in decreasing the dangers from lead poisoning. There is no industry in which the dangers are more acute and where the necessity of precaution and preventive measures should be more emphasized.

The Report of the State Board of Health (Massachusetts, 1907) indicates that the extreme precautions adopted in most of the works have practically eliminated cases of lead poisoning, while in factories not using precautionary measures, cases of poisoning still develop. An excellent illustration of the good effect of precautionary measures is furnished by the provisions for safety adopted in the Government Printing Office.[1]

The manufacture of phosphorus, mercury, and arsenic, the chemical trades, rag sorting, wool sorting, work in caissons or compressed-air chambers, all involve dangers of varying degree. The description of the lead industry will, however, suffice to indicate the character of dangerous trades, their effects, and the possibility of remedying them through the use of preventive methods.

IV. *English Legislation*

Most of the dangers involved in the so-called "dangerous trades" can be eliminated through effective legislation, covering dangerous trades. The effects of lead have been completely counteracted in the United States Government Printing Office and in many of the best managed lead works. Exhaust

[1] "Industrial and Personal Hygiene," George M. Kober, Published by President's Home Commission, Washington, 1908, Appendix A.

fans, hoods, blowers, and similar appliances will eliminate much of the danger now involved in occupations which produce dust or gas. If it prove impossible for private enterprise to eliminate the danger from such trades as phosphorus-match making, then it may be necessary to follow the practice of several European countries and either prohibit the manufacture of that kind of match or else make of the industry a government monopoly and surround the workers with every precautionary measure.

The English Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 provides adequate machinery for the regulation of dangerous trades. The whole question is placed in the hands of the Home Secretary, who decides when a trade is dangerous, and then makes regulations concerning its management.[1] With this wide discretionary power, the Secretary has a practically complete control over dangerous trades and their regulation. The English law is thorough and effective, and the regulations prescribed under it go into the minutest detail for the protection of the workers.[2]

The evil effects of dangerous trades in the United States can be largely, if not entirely removed by wisely written and intelligently enforced legislation, based

[1] "Industrial and Personal Hygiene," George M. Kober, published by President's Home Commission, Washington, 1908, p. 127.

[2] Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, No. 75, March, 1908, p. 552.

on a thorough knowledge of the industry and aiming at the elimination of the maladjustment involved in any particular trade.

V. *Dangerless Trades*

The social cost involved in certain trades is not an intimate part of the trades, but is easily separable from them. The dangers from lead poisoning have been greatly reduced, and in many cases practically eliminated, by proper precautions. "If proof were required of the good effects of legislation in reducing occupational diseases, we have only to turn to coal mining and compare its past with present statistics." [1] All of the trades classed as dangerous may have the danger eliminated in whole, or in large part, through carefully evolved, thoroughly enforced legislation. Another element is, however, necessary, — the workers themselves must be educated regarding the dangers of various trades and their prevention.[2]

The state must assert its authority through legislation, but it must also exercise its influence through education. If certain things, such as phosphorus matches, necessarily involve sickness or death in their manufacture, the public should substitute another

[1] "Diseases of Occupation," Thomas Oliver, New York, E. P. Dutton Co., 1908, p. 267.

[2] *Supra*, p. 1.

product (in this case safety matches) and should refuse to take goods which involve human sacrifice. The worker, in every trade, should be intelligent enough to use wisely the safety appliances provided, while the employer should recognize his social duty and reduce to the veriest minimum the loss of health and life incident to dangerous occupations.

Dangerous trades have received little attention in the United States. The public recognizes certain trades as dangerous, but the extent of the danger, the numbers of workers involved, and the cost to society in decreased vitality are not definitely established. One fact alone has been proved beyond dispute, — the mortality in some trades is far higher than the mortality in other trades, and the excess of mortality in the first group is due to the inherent danger of the trade under consideration.

How severe is the danger involved in the dangerous trades? The marble and stone cutters, the tobacco workers, and the cutlers and grinders show a very high degree of mortality, but what is their length of life? When do these workers die? What opportunity do they have to realize their full potentiality? No general answer can be given to these questions. If a definite answer were possible, the public might the sooner demand remedial legislation.

It is a known fact that lead poisoning affects young

female workers more seriously than any other group, and it may well be that there are other industries, a careful analysis of which would reveal like results. For the present it is possible to say only that the industrial mortality is three times as high in one trade as in another, and that those trades in which the death rate is highest present an unparalleled example of social cost.

The victim of a dangerous trade loses in part or in whole the ability to gain a livelihood; those dependent upon him must go elsewhere for support; and society loses the working capacity so vitally necessary for its maintenance and perpetuation.

Dangerous trades are the outcome of economic causes; they result in social cost, and remedies, proved and found successful elsewhere, are at hand. It remains only for the public to demand and secure these remedies in the form of effective legislation, in order that this maladjustment be permanently eliminated.

CHAPTER XII

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

I. *What is an Industrial Accident?*

INDUSTRIAL accidents are the sudden and violent physical results which are involved in the lack of harmony between men and their industrial environment. A striking illustration may serve to emphasize this thought and to explain, more completely than it can be explained by a definition, the exact character of the industrial accident.

Cherry, Illinois, is a typical Illinois coal-mining town, six years old, standing out on the dull prairie. Men were at work in two veins, the second and the third, — 303 men in the second and 182 men in the third.

On Saturday, the 13th of November, a car of six bales of hay for the third vein was sent down the main shaft and switched, in its turn, around behind other cars to the air shaft. Here it was pushed back into the air passage out of the way, and the hay caught fire from a torch.

The cager and the assistant cager seem to have had words about the fire. They tried to put it out with their coats.

Other men ran around to the mule stable to bring water from the trough, but could not make it for the smoke. . . .

Eventually the car and hay were dumped to the third vein and the fire put out, but by this time it was discovered that the air shaft, — the emergency exit, — which contained wooden stairs, was on fire. Andrew Lettson, an American boy from the third vein, discovered this fire on the second vein.

Lettson saw the flames in the air passage and air shaft almost cutting off his escape. He turned and went deliberately back to the bottom, asked Thomas Hewitt, a mule driver, to go in one direction and warn his father and brother and the men around them, while he, Lettson, went three hundred yards back to the face. In speaking of this afterward, Lettson, in deprecation of praise, said: "Why, I had my chance; and I thought the rest ought to have the same chance."

When Lettson and Hewitt and their parties returned to the shaft, the men were crowding and fighting wildly in the stifling smoke now surrounding the foot of the third-vein ladder. Hewitt and Brown kept these men in line and started them on their way. Lettson led them into the smoke above.

Hewitt, Lettson, and Brown saved the lives of all those in the third vein who escaped that day. Hewitt was the last man to leave the third vein alive. He and

those ahead of him urged Brown to follow. But Brown stood quietly at the foot of the shaft in the black stifle and horror around him. "I won't go until every man is out of this mine," he said.

The last cage hoisted contained twelve dead bodies. The cage had been held for several minutes in the shaft, and the men were roasted to death. Then the shaft was sealed up to smother the fire, and of the 350 to 383 men unaccounted for, only 20 were rescued. These 20 men sealed themselves up in a passage and remained without food or water for eight days, when a rescue party reached them.[1]

In one sense, the disaster at Cherry was unique in its origin and development. It was just such a fire as might occur above ground, yet it illustrates clearly this type of catastrophe which snuffs out great numbers of lives at one breath.

The disaster at Cherry was a typical "big" accident — one which occurs once in a decade and which wins wide newspaper publicity. The vast majority of accidents differ essentially from this "disaster" type. Disasters are infrequent, and the numbers injured and killed in disasters is insignificant in comparison with the numbers injured and killed in indi-

[1] For a graphic description of this disaster from which this statement is abstracted, see *McClure's*, March, 1910, "Heroes of the Cherry Mine," Edith Wyatt.

vidual accidents. The statement is well illustrated by the statistics of coal mine accidents in the United States in 1906. In gas, powder, and dust explosions, 308 men were killed and 522 were injured, while in all other forms of accidents 1740 were killed and 4055 were injured.[1] Disasters are more frequent in the mines than anywhere else, except perhaps in railroading, yet the number of persons killed and injured in these mine disasters constituted only one eighth of the total deaths and injuries.

Despite the frequent and widely noted railroad disasters, they, too, play a very insignificant part in railroad accidents. In January, February, and March, 1909, on the railroads reporting to the Interstate Commerce Commission, 177 persons were killed and 2618 were injured in collisions, derailments, and miscellaneous accidents, including boiler explosions. The total number of railroad casualties during that time was, however, 663 killed and 15,122 injured.[2]

The greatest number killed in any one of these accidents was 20, and there were but three of the accidents in which more than five persons were killed.[3]

In the mines and on the railroads, where disasters

[1] United States Bureau of Labor, Bulletin No. 75, March, 1908, p. 524.

[2] Accident Bulletin, No. 31, Interstate Commerce Commission, 1909, p. 3.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 5–6.

must frequently occur, the great majority of the accidents are individual. A discussion of accidents must therefore emphasize the individual rather than the group accidents, as they are more far-reaching in the aggregate.

Discussion is facilitated if accidents are divided into five groups: —

1. Railroad Accidents.
2. Coal Mine Accidents.
3. Factory Accidents.
4. Accidents in Structural Work.
5. Miscellaneous Accidents.

II. *Railroad Accidents*

The material regarding railroad accidents is compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and must be furnished by the railroads as part of their returns to the commission. No other American accident statistics are collected in such careful detail, and railroad accidents therefore present the most reliable and fruitful field for the study of industrial accidents.

The last year for which complete statistics exist is 1907. In that year 11,839 persons were killed in railway accidents (4534 employees, 610 passengers, 6695 "other persons") and 111,016 persons were injured (87,644 employees, 13,041 passengers, and 10,331 "other persons").

The records for one year are appalling, yet they are insignificant compared with the records for the past 20 years. In 1888, 5282 persons were killed and 25,888 injured; 1895, 6136 killed and 33,748 injured; 1900, 7865 killed and 50,320 injured; and in 1905, 9703 were killed and 86,008 were injured.[1]

The number of accidents is increasing proportionately as well as actually. In 1897 one railway employee was killed for every 486 employed; in 1907 one for every 369. In 1897 one trainman was injured for every 30 employed; in 1907 one for every 19. The casualties among trainmen are particularly high. Thus in 1897 one was killed for each 165 employed, but by 1907 the number had fallen to 125; while in 1907 one trainman in every 8 employed was injured, as contrasted with 12 for 1897. The casualties have also been increasing among passengers.[2]

The railroad casualties are not only appalling in number, but are increasing in frequency. That this increase is unjustified is shown by a contrast with the railway accidents of foreign countries. As in the case of coal mines, the American railways are far more wasteful of human life than are the foreign railways.

A remarkable instance of an improvement in the working conditions of railroad employees is furnished

[1] Statistics of Railways in United States, Interstate Commerce Commission, 1907, p. 116.

[2] *Supra*, p. 136.

by the effect of the federal law requiring automatic couplers. In 1893 of the 20,444 casualties among trainmen, 9063, or 44.33 per cent, were "coupling accidents." In 1908 the number of trainmen had increased from 179,636 to 281,645; the total casualties had increased from 20,444 to 38,165, but the accidents due to coupling had fallen to 3385, or 8.8 per cent of the total casualties.[1]

Equally effective results could doubtless be secured by other forms of federal regulation, concerning the length of runs, character of signals, number of working hours, and the like. Railway accidents are enormous in number and can be largely eliminated in the United States as they have been in Europe, by wise precaution and stringent legislation.

III. *Coal Mine Accidents*

The record of coal mine accidents in the United States is tabulated by the United States Geological Survey, and presented in its Annual Report. The record is unsatisfactory, because it consists merely of an assemblage of the reports of state mine inspectors, who are in some cases anything but efficient. For the last available year (1908) 2450 miners were killed and 6772 were injured. "The death roll in the coal mines

[1] See a Special Report on Coupling Accidents issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

of the United States in 1908 was smaller than that of 1907, but, with the exception of 1907, it was the largest in the history of the industry, while in the number of men injured the record for 1908 exceeds that of even 1907."[1]

There is small satisfaction to be derived from the decrease of fatal accidents between 1907 and 1908, for 1907 was a terrible year in the mines, showing 50 per cent more fatal accidents than 1906.[2]

The death rate for 1907 was 4.86 for each 1000 men employed, and for 1908, 3.60 for each 1000 employed. In 1907, 145,471 tons of coal were mined for each death, while in 1908, 167,545 tons were mined for each death.[3] In order to secure 415,842,098 tons of coal, 9222 men were killed or injured. The price seems exorbitant, and this impression is strengthened by a study of the statistics for past years.

During the seventeen years from 1890–1906 the number of miners increased, but not in proportion to the increase in the number of fatal accidents, as is clearly shown by a table of the number killed per 1000 men employed. In 1895, 2.67 men were killed for each 1000 men employed; 1900, 3.24; 1905, 3.53; and in 1906, 3.40. Not only has the number of men killed

[1] "Production of Coal in 1908," Edward W. Parker, advanced chapter from "Mineral Resources of United States," calendar year 1908, p. 52.

[2] *Supra*, p. 53.

[3] *Supra*, p. 55.

increased, but the proportion killed has increased as well. The increase in the extent of the industry does not therefore furnish an adequate explanation of the increasing number of fatalities. The increasing number and proportion of fatal mine accidents in the United States contrasts sharply with the conditions in European countries.

"In all the European coal-producing countries, the output of coal has increased greatly during the last ten years, but the number of deaths per 1000 miners, instead of increasing as in this country, has undergone a marked and decided decrease. This decrease has been due to the effect of mining legislation in those countries for the safeguarding and protection of the lives of the workmen, and has been made possible by government action in establishing testing stations for the study of problems relative to safety in mining, including the use of explosives." [1]

An analysis and contrast of the number of men killed per million tons of coal mined shows a situation equally favorable to Europe.

The entire coal mine situation presents a striking illustration of a maladjustment, economic in cause and resulting in serious social costs which are plainly preventable. The tremendous sacrifice of life in the coal

[1] "Coal Mine Accidents," Clarence Hall and Walter O. Snelling, Washington, 1907, p. 6.

mines of the United States is wholly unjustified. The bulletin already referred to points to the logical outcome of the present situation in its conclusion.

"It has already been stated that in no country in the world are the natural conditions so favorable for the safe extraction of coal as in the United States, and it has also been pointed out that in spite of this fact the number of lives lost per 1000 men employed is far higher than in any other coal-producing country, and that the number of lives lost per million tons of coal produced is exceeded by only one other country. It now remains to be shown that unless energetic means are taken to counteract this prevailing tendency, not only will the death rate in proportion to men employed and tons produced increase as it has done in the last few years, but it will increase at a much more rapid rate."[1]

The success of the foreign governments in preventing mining accidents has been due primarily to their regulation of safety lamps and of the character and use of mine explosives. Nothing could be more elementary and simple, yet in the United States these two factors, so potent as causes of mine disasters, have been almost completely neglected.[2]

The question of railroad and mine accidents has been treated thus in great detail because of the

[1] *Supra*, pp. 13–14. [2] *Supra*, p. 17.

excellence and completeness of the material, and because no other group of industrial accidents is so obviously the result of public indifference and legislative neglect.

IV. *Factory Accidents*

In each state, where there is a factory inspector, a record is kept of factory accidents, but the work of some of the state factory inspectors is so questionable, their methods are so various, and their lack of thoroughness so obvious that the statistical returns are useless. "As far as real value attaching to these reports is concerned, no statistician has ever used them seriously."[1]

The best statistics of factory accidents have been compiled from the reports of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics. From 1901 to 1906 there were 39,244 accidents reported. Of this number, 864 were fatal; 6580 involved permanent disablement (partial or complete loss of eyes, partial or complete loss of limbs, partial or complete loss of hands or feet, and miscellaneous other injuries); and 31,722 accidents involving temporary disability. Thus, among the factory accidents in New York State the percentage is: 2.2 fatal; 16.8 disabled permanently; 80.8

[1] "The Death Roll of Industry," Arthur B. Reeve, *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. 17, p. 795 (Feb. 2, 1907).

involved temporary disablement, and 0.2 were unclassified.[1]

The accidents in building trades have never been recorded except in a fragmentary form, and it is therefore impossible to say anything definite regarding them. The only accurate information that can be secured comes from the unions which pay benefits, whose accident features furnish material upon which can be based estimates of the number of union men killed and injured in each trade.

V. *The Extent of Industrial Accidents*

About half a million men, women, and children are killed and injured each year in industrial accidents. An excellent statement of accident loss is made by Arthur B. Reeve, who estimates the total in five different ways: (1) French experience is taken as a basis and the American total estimated at 526,000. (2) Basing the estimate on German experience, the New York Bureau of Labor in 1899 estimated the loss for the whole country and concluded that the aggregate annual loss in the United States was 500,000. (3) Under the improved law of 1905, Wisconsin had in one year 12,000 accidents; the United States has forty times the population of Wisconsin, making a total of

[1] United States Bureau of Labor, Bulletin No. 78, March, 1908, p. 420.

480,000 for the country at large. (4) The experience of one accident insurance company gives a total of nearly 600,000 accidents. (5) The figures of another company for a period of fifteen years are taken, and a similar estimate made, which gives a total of 564,000.[1]

These totals are mere guesswork. "They emphasize the need of facts; that another census should not be taken without an inquiry into the extent of industrial accidents. Until the facts are definitely collected, it is not unwarrantable to assert that *we send to the hospital or the graveyard one worker every minute of the year.*" [2] The figures are too vast, — they stagger the imagination, — but they emphasize the extent of the maladjustment and the necessity for some radical expression of public disapproval.

VI. *Industrial Accidents and Social Cost*

The causes of accidents are, of course, economic. Whether the employer be to blame in furnishing defective machinery or in failing to provide the proper safeguards to life and limb, or whether the employee be to blame for ignorance of the essential elements in the industry in which he is engaged, the resulting accidents are the same. No maladjustment is more clearly economic in its cause than is the industrial accident.

[1] "The Death Roll of Industry," Arthur B. Reeve, *Charities and the Commons* (Feb. 2, 1907), Vol. 17, pp. 803–807. [2] *Supra*, p. 807

That industrial accidents involve social cost is equally apparent. Men and women in the prime of their lives, in the height of their productive capacity, are either completely cut off from industrial activity or are so seriously injured as to be rendered temporarily or permanently inefficient producers.

An excellent illustration of the social loss entailed by industrial accidents was revealed in the Pittsburg investigation of 526 fatal accidents, 58 per cent of which involved men and women under thirty years of age, — that is, in the prime of life. The accident destroys the worker. The worker is the mainstay of the community. Children and old people escape industrial accidents, but the breadwinners, upon whom the children and the old people depend for subsistence, are struck down at the rate of half a million a year. The industrial accident furnishes one of the most definite instances of social cost.

It is currently supposed that accidents happen only to the careless, unskilled laborers, the immigrants, and low standard Americans, whose labor, after all, counts for but little. This is not the case. The accident, so prevalent among railroad employees, falls on the semi-skilled trainmen, but it falls on the skilled engineer and conductor, too. The Pittsburg investigation showed that of 440 men killed, 46 per cent were earning over $15 a week, and 127 were earning over $20 a week.

The social cost is intensified by the fact that the efficient as well as the inefficient workmen help to swell the total of accident victims.

VII. *The Incidence of Accidents*

Industrial accidents plainly entail social cost, and the available data also indicates where the burden of accidents rests. A part of the Pittsburg Survey consisted of an accident study based on an investigation of the industrial accidents of one year in Allegheny County (Pittsburg), Pennsylvania.[1] The study points to one very obvious conclusion. The burden of accidents rests first on the family. Five hundred and twenty-six persons were killed in the year under consideration. Of this number, 258 were married men, supporting a family; 3 were women, helping to support others. Of the 265 single men killed, 9 per cent were the sole support of a family, 10 per cent were the chief support, and 43 per cent contributed to the family. Thus only 19 per cent of the 526 deaths left no private family problems of existence.

That may be true, says the critic, but were no damages paid to compensate the family for loss? Yes, damages were paid, but so miserably insufficient in amount that in most cases they afforded no real relief.

[1] "One Year's Work Accidents and Their Cost," Crystal Eastman, *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. 21, p. 1143 (March 6, 1909).

Three hundred and four men killed had others dependent upon them. In 88 cases, the dependent got nothing; in 93 cases, less than $100; in 62 cases, $100 to $500; and in 61 cases, $500 to $3000. The compensation was inadequate in 80 per cent of the cases.[1]

The relation of these various awards to family income is interesting. In 193 cases of married men killed whose ages and earnings were known, the probabilities of life were computed; $300 for annual maintenance of the man was subtracted, and the total earnings of the 193 men estimated at $2,754,357. The damages paid to the entire number aggregated $72,039. The damages paid thus bore the relation to the probable net income that 29 bears to 1000.[1]

Who suffers from industrial accidents?

Every indication points away from the employer and the public treasury to the families involved. The families bear the burden. Writing of the Cherry Mine disaster, Graham Taylor, one of the members of the special Mining Investigation Commission appointed by the governor, states: "Many of the bereft are young mothers with several little children and babies at the breast. . . . The most conservative estimate of the least that will be required to hold these

[1] *Supra*, pp. 1161–1162.

families together during these years of severe struggle is $260,000." Large funds have been raised. The union will grant $50,000 in benefits, but "at least $100,000 more in charity is needed to compensate for the lack of justice to those who hazarded everything and lost all in the dangerous occupation of mining."[1] The Cherry Mine disaster was an exception. Newspapers wrote about it, charitable people gave gifts, and funds were started; but the majority of accidents are individual; they do not get into the newspapers, and the family bears the whole, or nearly the whole, burden.

VIII. *Remedies for Industrial Accidents*

There is one effective way to remedy the conditions which permit of accidents, and that is to make accidents very expensive. The employer does not at present bear the weight of industrial accidents, — he is in all probability insured in a liability company which fights his accident suits for him.

The employer is largely exempt from liability, and he permits the continuance of conditions which create accidents. If each accident incapacitating or killing a man cost the employer $10,000, there would be fewer accidents. It is because accidents are so cheap

[1] "The Aftermath of the Cherry Mine," Graham Taylor, *Survey*, Vol. 22 (Dec., 1909), pp. 355–356.

that they are so numerous. "The number of deaths of foreigners in the mills of Pittsburg and vicinity has come to be nothing short of appalling, and after careful investigation of the matter, I am convinced that a great many are due to lack of proper protection. Conditions are such at present that the life of a foreigner employed in the mills is given less consideration than is the life of a horse or a mule." [1]

The investigation conducted by the Pittsburg Survey showed conclusively that the injuring and killing of men is a cheap affair, — involving little real expense to the employer. So long as it is cheaper to have accidents than to provide safety devices and exercise ordinary care, accidents may be expected.

If accidents were expensive, — really expensive, — there are certain things which every employer would do. He would adopt all available safety devices and safety appliances, such as guards on exposed gear wheels and knives and on belting and shafting. The mine manager would see to it that props were not lacking, that rock did not fall, and that lamps were covered and blasts properly fired. In every direction such steps would be taken as are enumerated in the average factory and mine law. Hours of labor would be so adjusted that the worker would not become

[1] "The Death Roll of Industry," Arthur B. Reeve, *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. 17, p. 801.

exhausted and suffer from an accident due to overwork. General working conditions would be as much improved, and the lives of the workers would be as carefully protected as is any other precious substance.

The employer is not, however, directly chargeable with all accidents. On the contrary, the assertion is frequently made that the great majority of factory accidents is due to the ignorance or carelessness of the employees. Whatever the proportion, it is certainly true that many accidents are the direct outcome of individual ignorance and carelessness, against which no legislation can avail. Only by education and gradual development can recklessness be eliminated, — until it is eliminated, accidents will occur.

From the standpoint of society it matters not a whit whether the employer or the employee is to blame. So long as families are left destitute, so long as women and children suffer, so long as the burden of accidents rests upon the defenseless dependents, so long must society demand that there be some adequate compensation for industrial accidents when they do occur.

Accidents cannot be entirely eliminated, but they can be made less prevalent by properly enforced factory and mine legislation. Thus life can be saved and maiming and unemployment prevented. The death,

maiming, and unemployment make up, however, only a part of the social cost of industrial accidents. The family and dependents of the person injured or killed suffer, and that suffering can be largely prevented by a wisely wrought system of accident compensation.

IX. *The Elimination of Accident Cost*

The enactment of adequate factory laws will mark a forward step, for they will prove instrumental in eliminating avoidable accidents. The enactment and enforcement of legislation limiting working hours and requiring good working conditions on railroads, in mines, and in various other industrial pursuits will also assist in limiting the number of accidents.

Accidents would be much less frequent if their occurrence involved a heavy charge on the employer; and a reasonable liability law, permitting workers to recover in the case of injuries for which they are obviously not responsible, would aid the families of the killed and injured workmen.

Society must, however, go still farther, and insist that even where the workman is careless or grossly negligent, the result of his carelessness or negligence shall not be borne by his wife and children.

Accidents are a serious form of maladjustment, both because they incapacitate and kill, and because they subject the family of the worker to terrible economic

straits. Accidents result in social cost of the most far-reaching character, and while they are only in part preventable, the entire burden on the family must be and can be transferred to the employer, the state, or both.

CHAPTER XIII

CHILD LABOR

I. *Some Aspects of the Problem*

THERE is a child labor problem in the United States, and it is not, as many persons suppose, merely a problem of the child. It is a problem of many aspects, and phases, and viewpoints, which can be emphasized by a few illustrations picked up in the world of working children.

One bitter morning in March the snow eddied down from the sky and swirled around the corner of a silk mill near Scranton, Pennsylvania. In the lea of the corner, with her thin shawl wrapped about her head and shoulders, stood a child who looked scarce thirteen. Her face was weary, though she had just hurried from bed into her clothes, and after gulping down her breakfast, had run to the mill, "so's not to get docked for bein' late." But the "night shift" was slow in "getting up its ends." Half-past six came, but it might be fifteen or even twenty minutes before the doors opened to let the "night shift" depart and the "day shift"

enter. Meanwhile the damp snow played havoc with the broken shoes.

"How old are you?"

"Fourteen."

"Fourteen? You look awfully small for fourteen. How long have you worked in this mill?"

"Three years and a half."

"Well, how old were you when you started?"

"Thirteen."

When this girl began work the legal limit was thirteen; meanwhile an act of assembly had placed the legal age at fourteen; the child knew these two facts, but her knowledge of mathematics was not sufficient to show her that thirteen plus three and one-half did not make fourteen.

At last the night shift "came off," and this frail bit of humanity who had worked three and a half years between her thirteenth and fourteenth birthdays walked stolidly into the mill to stand for eleven hours in front of a spinning frame, watching the whirring machinery and the gliding threads.

She was an ordinary child laborer. One day she may be the mother of Pennsylvania's future citizens, — and what citizens! She was but an example of the underfed children thousands of whom are working in every great city of the United States. She was an "individual case," — one child worker in three quarters

of a million, — yet to her and her children, if she have any, her individual case may involve education, leisure, health, and joy or ignorance, overwork and misery. Child labor means much to the individual child.

The silk mills in some parts of the anthracite region of Pennsylvania work night and day. It is much cheaper. As a manufacturer said, "You get your money for 3 per cent." Across the street from one of these mills stands a wooden miner's shanty. One night an old man and a little boy walked out on the porch of this home, and the old man leaned down and kissed the boy's forehead. "Good night, father," said the boy, and taking his dinner pail from where it stood on the porch, he walked slowly across the street, and into the lighted mill for the night shift. Twelve hours later he stumbled sleepily across the same street, into the miner's shanty, and then into bed. He had done his "turn" on the night shift, away from home, all night long in the mill, with some rough women and some rougher men; then during the day he must sleep while he can, preparatory to another twelve hours in the mill. Children who work "night shift" do not participate in the duties and pleasures of home life. Child labor eliminates the child laborer from the life of the home, and therefore becomes a problem of the family as well as a problem of the child.

A boy eighteen had been working for seven years in a soft coal mine. "Yes, I can write, — only my name, though. Read? Sure, I read the paper most every day, but it is slow work."

"Didn't you go to school?"

"To school? Did I? Well, I guess I did. It was in one door and out of the other. How is a feller going to school if he starts at eleven in the mines?"

The school is also interested in child labor. Children who go early to work seldom trouble books, and it is not until later in life that they are troubled by books. Child laborers do not as a rule develop into scholars.

Then there is the manufacturer's side of child labor. On a mill in eastern Pennsylvania hung two sign boards: —

SMALL GIRLS WANTED	SMALL BOYS WANTED

For years the signs had hung there, until they were old and worn, and the manufacturer had secured the merchandise for which he advertised. Every morning the children came trooping along the streets into the mill, and many of them answer well to the description of the sign. They are "small."

Said the bargain hunter, "Is that the cheapest

grade you have?" "No'm," replied the sales girl. "These are sixteen cents." And the frail little cash girl who took the money, and the peaked sweat shop worker who finished the garments, both helped to drop the price to "sixteen cents."

Things are not really cheap because they cost little money. Their cost may have been very great because of the necessity of adding the child life that has been expended in their manufacture. Every person who gets "cheap goods" and "bargains" that are cheap because they are child-made is interested in child labor,—is in part responsible for its prevalence and persistence.

So, from many sides, the child labor problem is a problem. It is a problem to the child who works; to the home which sends its children into the mills; to the schools which fail to attain their object; to the manufacturer who wants "small" hands; and to the society which demands and gets cheap goods. From all of these viewpoints, child labor is a problem, and a brief discussion will show its relative bearing and importance in each field.

II. *The Extent of Child Labor*

Much has been written about the total amount of child labor, and its relative increase or decrease during

the past twenty years. It is sufficient at this point merely to state a few of the census figures dealing with the "gainful occupations" of children "ten to fifteen years of age." The controversy over the accuracy of census returns is very involved and leads to no possible consequences.

In 1900 of the 1,750,178 children between 10 and 15 years of age who were lawfully employed: [1] —

60.7 per cent were in agriculture.
16.2 per cent were in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.
15.9 per cent were in domestic service.
6.9 per cent were in trade and transportation.
0.2 per cent were in professional service.

Thus there is a variation in the amount of child labor from occupation to occupation.

So, too, there is a variation from state to state. The Southern states lead in the total amount of child labor, but a large proportion of their children are engaged in cotton picking. On the other hand, in the great manufacturing states there is a smaller total of working children, but a large proportion of them are engaged in manufacturing. Eight states had in 1900 more than 90,000 child laborers. In contrast with these eight states, it is interesting to place the eight states having the greatest numbers of children engaged in manufacturing: —

[1] Census of 1900, volume on Occupations, p. cxxxii.

Total Child Laborers, 10 to 15 [1]		Children under 16 engaged in Manufacturing [2]	
1. Alabama	122,653	1. Pennsylvania	33,135
2. Pennsylvania	120,076	2. New York	13,189
3. Georgia	113,964	3. Massachusetts	12,556
4. North Carolina	110,407	4. Illinois	10,419
5. Mississippi	98,009	5. North Carolina	10,377
6. South Carolina	95,280	6. South Carolina	8,560
7. New York	91,944	7. New Jersey	8,042
8. Texas	91,571	8. Georgia	6,373

With the exception of Pennsylvania, the Southern states have the greatest totals of child laborers, while the great manufacturing states have the largest number in manufacturing. As "child labor" usually refers to manufacturing rather than to agriculture, the real relation of the Northern states to the child labor problem is apparent.

III. *Child Labor and the Child*

"Oh, he's well grown, the work won't hurt him any," is an attitude very commonly taken by people who are interested in the continuance of the child labor system. But what does "well grown" mean? If it means "partly grown" the statement is correct. Children of fourteen are rapidly changing in body

[1] *Supra*, p. cxxix.

[2] Census of 1900, Manufactures, Pt. 1, p. cxxix.

and mind. What shall be their environment and inspiration during this expanding period? Enthusiasm, play, and life, or grind, monotony, and degeneration?

The bodies of children who go to work between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are still developing. The statement will hardly be questioned, and in support of it, one citation of measurements should suffice. A number of children applying for work certificates in Chicago was recently measured, with the following result: "The boys of fifteen years receiving permission to work averaged nearly a foot taller and about four pounds heavier than the boys of fourteen; and the girls of fifteen years averaged nearly one half foot taller, and about fifteen pounds heavier than the girls whose ages average fourteen years." [1]

During the early youth of a child when the body is thus plastic, there are two forces constantly at work, the one calling the child to higher ideals of life and growth, and the other tending to brutalize him for the sake of the few dollars which his unformed hands will earn. All of the future of the average child is conditioned on that struggle; if the forces of the ideal conquer, the child will develop through proper channels into a fully rounded man; if the forces of the

[1] "From School to Work in Chicago," Anne E. Nichols, *Charities*, 1906, Vol. 16, p. 235.

dollar win, the child life is set and hardened into a money-making machine, grinding for a space and then giving place to another machine which has not yet been subject to the wear and tear of the life struggle.

Through expression, the body of the growing child is developed most surely and most completely. The originalities of a child "arise through his action, struggle, trial of things for himself in an imitative way." [1] The child of twelve or fourteen who stands at a machine, tying threads for eleven hours a day, is not growing through expression, but is being narrowed by an unvarying, montonous impression. Slowly but surely he takes the shape into which this impression is forcing him, until he has become "a spinner at $6 a week." No more, no less. As the machine before him is a machine at $500 so he is a "mill-hand at $6." If the expert workman is to have a quick eye, a firm step, and a steady hand to do the work of the world, he must play in youth.

Child labor is a process of mind stunting. First the child is removed from the possibility of an education, — taken from the school and placed in the factory, where he no longer has an opportunity to learn, — and then he is subjected to monotonous toil, for long hours, often all night, in unwholesome places, and his body

[1] "Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development," J. M. Baldwin, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907, p. 99.

and mind harden into the familiar form of the unskilled workman.

Entering the workroom with adults of all types of morality and immorality, the child ceases to be a child in knowledge while it is still a child in ideas. There is no home influence or school influence to ward off the dangers; no mother or teacher to point out the hidden rocks. The child is pilot and captain, but how easily influenced and misguided!

In a great many cases, the nervous strain of the workroom is very great. The children are "speeded up" with the adults. When an outside opportunity offers any change, any counter excitement, it is seized eagerly, for the sake of the change, no matter what its character may be. Very often it is of the wrong character. "Child labor is generally acknowledged to be an irreparable injury to the children and to society at large. Bodies and minds are stunted and deformed; crime, violence, and all of the social evils which spring from a brutalized population are fostered." [1]

All factory life is not immoral and immorality is not an essential element in factory life, but under present conditions, factory life and immorality too often run hand in hand. Play is the accompaniment of youth.

[1] "Labor Problems," Adams and Sumner, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905, p. 20.

Man has his playtime: it is childhood. Man has his work time: it is adult life. The child cannot hope to escape all work, but the greater part of its life must be devoted to play if the functions of the adult life of work are to be well fulfilled.

The child who works loses the opportunity for the spontaneous expression of the new life that can come only through play. The child's body is forming at fourteen, and its growth should not be hampered or marred by imposing upon it the restrictions that come with factory life. Work denies to the body of the growing child its complete development, and curtails the growth of his moral faculties. Child labor does not necessarily mean stunting and degradation, but the probabilities are that child labor will mean child deterioration.

IV. *The Social Cost of Child Labor*

So much may be said of the undesirability of transmitting to the future children stunted and worn by premature toil. There are two other ways in which child labor injures the society of the present and thus indirectly that of the future. In the first place, it helps to destroy family life, and in the second place, it helps to promote delinquency.

In some localities all of the members of the family work in the mill. Many such instances are furnished

in the South where industry is developing for the first time. There it is customary for the children to work with both of the parents, and if one parent remains outside of the mill, it is apt to be the father. Under these conditions the mother has no opportunity to maintain a family standard. If the children have any spare time, they spend it on the streets, because the home presents no attractions. Again and again writers on the family and the home life emphasize the premature independence from family control of the child wage earner. Miss Jane Addams tells of a working girl who was being anxiously watched by the Hull-House authorities. The girl had a good home and a hard-working, conscientious mother, but she was gradually being led into worse and worse ways by the bad company that she kept on the streets at night. Finally a protest was made to the girl's mother. "Why do you allow your daughter to run the streets at night? Don't you know what she is getting into?" they asked her. The mother was heartbroken, and replied that she feared to say anything to her daughter because she contributed to the family income and would leave home if crossed in her wild whims. The girl's attitude was plainly expressed when she said, "My Ma can't say anything to me — I pay the rent."

Not only is the child cut off, during its working hours, from any uplifting influence, but it is often surrounded

by unbearable monotony, bad air, unlovely companions, and every other form of undesirable influence that may be developed where an indiscriminate grouping of men and women occurs. Working under such conditions and becoming gradually accustomed to such low standard surroundings, the child laborer adopts and accepts a low standard as a matter of course. Accustomed to a low standard of work as a child, the worker fails to demand a high standard as a man. The standards of child work are very low, as any one who has visited industrial establishments will have observed. Generally, the greater the proportion of women and children in an establishment, the worse the conditions of the light, air, and the sanitation. Men rebel. Women and children seldom complain, except to one another. Thus the child laborer is generally educated to be a low standard adult laborer.

It will be more readily understood why the child fails to assist the family materially when the rate at which child workers are paid is borne in mind. The wage of the working child is startlingly low. "It ranges from $2 to $5, seldom $6, even in the more agreeable industries." [1] It is no uncommon thing in a great state like Pennsylvania to find children working for $3 a week; and as late as 1902 the Anthracite

[1] Report of the Massachusetts Commissioner of Industrial and Technical Education, 1906, p. 88.

Strike Commission found a girl who was earning $1.80 for a 60-hour week in the Dunmore Silk Mill.

In cities particularly this wage means very little because of the demands made upon it for car fare, lunches, and better clothes. "The wage value of the years from fourteen to sixteen is hardly more than the educational value; . . . that he [the child] contributes to the family more than $1.50 per week is extremely doubtful." [1]

Child workers' wages are very low, and as a rule add little to family income. Not only is this true, but the child who goes to work at fourteen is probably depriving the family of earning capacity. There is little definite information on this point, but the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education concludes: "The most important fact in the consideration of wages is that the child commencing at sixteen overtakes his brother beginning at fourteen in less than two years. That his total income in four years would equal that of his brother for six years we cannot prove, but the slight data at hand so indicates." [1]

The standard of the community can be maintained only by maintaining a high standard of home life. The high standard of home life depends for its existence and maintenance upon the standard of the father and the mother. The father must have the capacity

[1] *Supra*, p. 88.

to earn for his children a good living; he must likewise have the mental development and the development of character which will enable him to set for them a high standard example. The absence of these qualities in the father almost inevitably disrupts the home.

The influence of the father upon family life is of the utmost importance, but it is insignificant compared with the influence of the mother. The father is usually away from home. The mother spends the greater portion of her time in the home. It is with her that the children come into most intimate contact, and hers is by far the most important influence upon their lives.

The women who enter a factory at the age of twelve and spend the years from twelve to twenty inside of four dark, dirty walls, amid whirring machines, in constant association with bad men and women, have not, in the first place, the physical stamina necessary to bring strong children into the world. As Dr. Davis, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a great woman-employing center, puts it: "These factory girls fade at an early age, and then they cannot discharge the functions of mothers and wives as they should." [1]

In the second place a girl who has spent her life in the factory is usually untrained in the maintenance of

[1] From an unpublished report made by Peter Roberts to the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee.

a home. There is a wide difference between the intense, high strung, exciting factory life and the quiet routine of a properly conducted home, and the change from one to the other is a difficult one to make. There are a thousand things which girls who grow up at home learn, but which never become a part of the education of a factory child. There are arts of cooking and of cleaning, arts of care-taking and home-making, that come only from the actual contact with these problems in the home. This contact the factory child does not have. An eleven-hour day in the factory precludes the possibility of any housework except the merest drudgery.

The solidarity of family life can be maintained only by trained mothers and capable fathers; mothers who will make inhabitable homes to the extent of their means, and fathers who will use every effort to provide the means with which to make the home inhabitable. Factory work for children goes far to thwart both ideals, by making of the boy an unskilled worker incapable of earning large means, and by making of the girl a wife and mother incapable by knowledge or training of doing her duty by her children, her home, or her husband.

In the second place child labor injures society by helping to promote delinquency. The child, particularly the boy, who is thrown out upon the world too

early in life and made to face its responsibilities, is overwhelmed with its bigness and wearied by its never changing monotony. He seeks relief for his strained nervous system in some kind of activity which leads ultimately to the door of the police court.

V. *The Industrial Waste of Child Labor*

Child labor, through its influence on the child and on family life unquestionably injures society, and business men are every day discovering that it has like disastrous effects on industry.

The treasurer of the Alabama City Cotton Mill, Alabama, wrote to his agent: "Every time I visit this mill, I am impressed with the fact that it is a great mistake to employ small help in the spinning room. Not only is it wrong from a humanitarian standpoint, but it entails an absolute loss to the mill."[1] Child labor is wasteful to industry. The statement of the treasurer of the Alabama City Mill is not an isolated exception, for manufacturers are everywhere being forced to the new viewpoint. Child labor is undoubtedly cheap labor, but the product is cheaper than the labor involved in its creation.

The philosophy is well summed up by a silk manufacturer: "So far as the economy of production

[1] "Child Labor in Alabama" (a pamphlet published by the Alabama Child Labor Committee).

goes, as a manufacturer I believe we can do without the labor of children." [1]

In all industries, and in all sections, thoughtful employers have reached the same conclusion. They have decided that it is in the long run cheaper to invent machinery or to employ adult help and thus replace the children. The kids are "quick" and "cheap," but they are unreliable, wasteful, and expensive as accident causers.[2]

"It may be stated as a safe proposition that for every dollar earned by a child under fourteen years of age, tenfold will be taken from their earning capacity in later years." [3] The child worker does not become the skilled mechanic and can ill afford to pursue the penny wise and pound foolish policy which would use the child of to-day and lose the man of to-morrow.

These statements hold true under many different surroundings. The Massachusetts Commission, above quoted, reports that eighty per cent of the children at work between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are

[1] "Restrictions on Child Labor in Textile Industries," Howell Cheyney, Cheyney Silk Mills, South Manchester, Conn. Proceedings Fifth Conference on Child Labor, National Child Labor Committee, 1909, p. 91.

[2] "Child Labor in the Southern Cotton Mills," A. J. McKelway, Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 27, p. 266.

[3] "A Business Man's View of Child Labor," S. W. Woodward, Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 27, p. 362.

in mills and unskilled industries. "For the great majority of children who leave school and enter employments at the age of fourteen or fifteen, the first three or four years are practically waste years so far as the actual productive value of the child is concerned, and so far as increasing his industrial or productive efficiency." [1] From the standpoint of the industry it is clearly a waste of industrial efficiency and future producing capacity to have children beginning work at an early age. The problem of securing efficient workers to-day is only one of the problems of industry. Quite as important, if not more so, is the problem of securing efficient workers in the future.

Child labor is an industrial waste. It cheapens the product, lowers the industrial standard of the present, and threatens the industrial standard of the future.

VI. *The Causes of Child Labor*

Child labor clearly involves social cost, and if its cause be economic, it may fairly be classed among the maladjustment dealt with in this study.

Public opinion takes it for granted that child labor is caused by a grasping, greedy employer, crushing the souls out of the children under his iron heel; a widowed mother, clinging to her little child laborer

[1] Report of the Massachusetts Commissioner of Industrial and Technical Education, 1906, p. 38.

for support; or a greedy and hard-faced father, driving his children into the mills, while he idles about the saloon. But in reality none of these three causes is responsible for a great amount of child labor. There are greedy employers, widowed mothers, and hard fathers, but they are the exception, and not the rule. The average of humanity is about the same among employers as among employees, and while greed may be a cause for child labor, it plays a part in the exceptional case, and not in the average one. The average child laborer goes to work either because his family needs the income, or because he "hates school."[1] Often both reasons are operating. The figures already cited show clearly that the wage of the average city worker will allow him not more than three children. Any larger family involves the necessity of child labor for the older children. Low wages are therefore at the basis of the child labor problem. Another factor is operating, however. Children at the age of 13 or 14 have two alternatives — work and school, and a host of children, 13 years and older, choose work because the school has so little to offer them.[2]

What elements in the educational institutions of the country lead to such dislike on the part of the children?

[1] "Overworked Children," Woods Hutchinson, Proceedings of the Fifth Conference on Child Labor, National Child Labor Committee, 1909, p. 120.

[2] See chapter on Uniformity in Education.

This question, put to hundreds of children, is answered in hundreds of different ways. In general, however, the objections have reference to: (1) the curriculum; (2) the school machinery; (3) the teachers; (4) the discipline.

Not only is the school curriculum overloaded with facts and figures, but the physical equipment of the schools is such as to make it practically impossible for children to secure an adequate training. Instead of twenty, the ideal number of children in the elementary grades of the school, the large cities of the country show an average attendance of about forty pupils per teacher.

When it is remembered that girls of twenty start to teach classes averaging forty pupils, varying in nationality, training, and intelligence, it may readily be seen that the average child in an average class of forty has little chance to receive personal attention. He merely becomes one cog in a well-disciplined machine — the classroom.

With classes averaging forty small children, discipline is essential. If a group of forty children once break from the control of the teacher, all is lost, Bedlam is the result. In consequence, all teachers, but particularly the younger and less experienced ones, are laboring under a constant strain. The problem with them is not "How shall I teach?" but "How shall I maintain discipline?" This discipline

becomes irksome. It is, for the child, a burden grievous to bear, and, revolting under the burden, the children leave school, preferring the comparative freedom of the factory and the mine.

Thus the school system with its defective curriculum, its imperfect, overworked machinery, its young, inexperienced teachers, and its repressive discipline forms in the aggregate an ogre from which the child shrinks in terror, and in whose place he accepts thankfully the burdens and the soul-destroying monotony of factory work.

VII. *The Remedy*

Here, then, are two causes, the needy family and the defective school system, which are immediately responsible for child labor. Personal causes, — greed, ignorance, and indifference of manufacturer, parent, and child are insignificant factors. The causes of child labor are primarily economic. Child labor involves social cost, its causes are economic, and it is unquestionably remediable. A rise in wages and standards would eliminate that portion of child labor which is due to lack of income, and a revision of the school curriculum, the elimination of the uniform system of education, and the establishment of a system of education differentiated along the lines of modern industry would provide incentive for school attendance.

An active campaign against child labor, extending over a decade, has aroused great public interest and focused public opinion on the subject. No maladjustment has received more attention from magazine and press, and no problem has been more discussed by women's clubs, teachers' associations, civic leagues, and other societies which aim at the elimination of maladjustment. Education on the subject of child labor has been widely extended and the way thoroughly prepared for effective legislation.

CHAPTER XIV

UNEMPLOYMENT

I. *The Extent of Unemployment*

UNEMPLOYMENT is involuntary idleness during normal work time.

If this definition for unemployment is accepted, under the term "unemployed" are included those persons who are forced into idleness during the average working period of life, or during the average working period of the year, by personal disability such as sickness and accident; or by some adverse industrial condition, such as an industrial crisis, and the slack season in a seasonal trade. At the same time the voluntarily idle man or woman is excluded from the discussion.

What is the extent of unemployment in the United States?

There are five principal sources of material on unemployment since 1900. (1) The United States Census of 1900 (volume on Occupations) deals at some length with unemployment. The figures are defective in that they do not give the average duration of the unem-

ployment for different trades, but classify the unemployed according to the length of time during which they were idle. Thus of the 5,227,472 males unemployed in all occupations in 1900, 49.6 per cent were unemployed 1 to 3 months, 39.6 per cent were unemployed 4 to 6 months, 10.8 per cent were unemployed 7 to 12 months. That is, half of the unemployment is for less than 25 per cent of the working time, and half is for more than 25 per cent of the working time. So that in 1900 nearly 3,000,000 working males were unemployed on an average for more than one quarter of the full working time. (2) The Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1903, includes an analysis of 25,440 families. These families were carefully studied, and an expert analysis made of their condition. The total unemployment is 49.81 per cent, while the average number of days idle is 56½. (3) The Reports of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics covered about one fourth of the union members of New York. Returns are made by the secretaries of the various unions. These reports have been issued since 1897, and they show by years, by months, and by trades the amount of unemployment. (4) The United States Geological Survey issues an Annual Report in which the number of days worked by the coal mines of the United States is given. (5) Certain state reports, principally

that from Illinois, contain fragmentary material on unemployment in the mines.

"From the carefully worked out Commissioner's figures it is apparent that among the average group of workers earning less than $750 the possibilities are that in a normal year one man in every two will be unemployed, and that the unemployment will average 60 days, or one fifth of the total working time. In a normal year the average wage earner under $750, therefore, has one chance in two of losing one fifth of the working time." [1]

Granted the existence of the problem of unemployment, are the causes of unemployment economic? Does unemployment involve social cost? Is it remediable?

The causes of unemployment may be divided into two groups: —

1. Personal Causes.
2. Industrial Causes.

II. *Personal Causes of Unemployment*

The principal personal causes of unemployment are: —

1. Malnutrition.

[1] "Unemployment in the United States," Scott Nearing, Quarterly Publications of American Statistical Association, Vol. II, Sept., 1909, p. 534.

2. Sickness.
3. Accident.
4. Inefficiency.

No means are available to indicate the extent of malnutrition in the United States at the present time. The figures presented in the chapter on "Low Wages and Standards" show roughly the proportion of wage workers who do not receive an efficiency wage. That incapacity and unemployment are in part due to malnutrition, especially in children, there is every reason to believe, but the point is not susceptible of statistical proof.

Just how extensive is the unemployment caused by sickness and accidents, we have no way of knowing. That sickness and accidents exist is certain, and that they cause unemployment is obvious, but thus far the meager character of the material on the subject will not permit of more than an estimate. In his work on "National Vitality," Professor Fisher states that in the United States "there are probably at all times 3,000,000 seriously ill."[1] These figures refer only to serious illness, while no statistics exist regarding "minor ailments." Dr. Castle of Cincinnati estimates, "from an experience of many years in the medical supervision of institution employees and general

[1] Report on National Vitality, Irving Fisher, published by Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909, p. 34.

practice," that there is an average of at least three days' time lost annually for each person in the population because of such minor ailments. Similarly, Dr. J. F. Morse, of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, who has had a long experience in dealing with a large number of cases, estimates that the average "well man" loses on an average five days a year from work on account of headaches, toothaches, "colds," and similar ailments which do not come under the head of any of the diseases reported.[1]

The extent of inefficiency as a cause of unemployment is clearly indicated by the following summary based on the returns of some London distress committees under the Unemployed Workingman's Act. Of the cases of unemployment considered, 86 per cent were unskilled; 56 per cent were casual laborers; 37 per cent owed their position to one or more of these causes — age, inefficiency, or bad character; 22 per cent were of good character; 41 per cent were of indifferent efficiency; 16 per cent were or had been trade-union members; and 14 per cent were or had been members of friendly society or slate club.[2]

Disability is a personal phenomenon, but its cause lies outside of the personal element. The maladjust-

[1] Report on National Vitality, Irving Fisher, published by Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909, p. 39.

[2] "Work and Wages," Sydney J. Chapman, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1908, p. 304.

ments discussed in the preceding chapters play a large part in creating the personal disability which leads to unemployment. Dangerous trades and accidents incapacitate men, while low wages and congestion lower their standards of life and of efficiency. Maladjustment makes unemployables, and the unemployables, unable to work because of personal disability, fill up many ranks among the unemployed.[1] Unemployability is the outcome of maladjustment. Not only does it constitute, in itself, a maladjustment, but it is the result of other maladjustments.[2]

Malnutrition, sickness, accident, and inefficiency, together with other minor personal causes of unemployment are responsible for the "non-employables" who at the present time present such a problem in the larger cities. The non-employables either lack efficiency in their work or they are wholly unable to work, and their personal inability to engage in industry is responsible for their unemployment. Their condition may therefore be described as non-employment.

III. *Industrial Causes of Unemployment*

Quite a different problem is presented by the second group, — those unemployed as a result of industrial

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, p. 125. [2] *Supra*, p. 136.

causes. They are efficient, and capable of working, but are forced into idleness by circumstances entirely unconnected with their personality. They might, therefore, be termed disemployed. The non-employed are out of work because they are unable to do the work. The disemployed are out of work because there is no work for them to do.

The chief industrial causes of unemployment are: —

1. Seasonal trades.
2. Industrial crises.
3. Labor troubles.
4. Lack of stock or transportation facilities.
5. Casual trades.

Seasonal trades are common and they inevitably mean unemployment. All outside construction work as well as ice cutting and teaming are seasonal work. These trades are of necessity suspended during portions of the year. Much of the railroad construction, especially in the far West, is completely suspended during winter because of the extreme cold. On the other hand, the glass industry, the steel industry, and the coal mining industry suspend during the summer months because of the heat in the first two industries and the lack of demand for the product of the third.

A study of the available facts [1] shows that unemployment in some trades is several times as great in winter

[1] Bulletin 42, N. Y. Department of Labor, Sept., 1909, p. 314.

as it is in summer; that unemployment is less frequent in summer than in winter (except in coal mining, theaters, and clothing trades), and that in ordinarily prosperous years, some trades show winter unemployment of more than 30 per cent.[1]

The effects of crises and labor troubles upon unemployment scarcely need emphasis. The figures for England have been presented in excellent form by Chapman[2] and Beveridge.[3] In the United States they are illustrated by the figures of unemployment relating to a series of years which are procurable from the coal mine reports and from the reports of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics.[4] The coal mine figures are the most extensive, and clearly show the variations in unemployment which occur in the coal mining industry from year to year. A coal miner may expect unemployment in every year equivalent to one fourth or one third of his working time, and in years of unusual depression unemployment equivalent to five twelfths, or one half of his total working time.[5]

[1] *Supra*, p. 316.

[2] "Work and Wages," Sydney J. Chapman, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1908, p. 316.

[3] "Unemployment," W. H. Beveridge, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, Ch. 4, Cyclical Fluctuations.

[4] Bulletin 41, New York Dept. of Labor, p. 114.

[5] "Unemployment in the United States," Scott Nearing, Quarterly Publications of American Statistical Association, Vol. 11, Sept., 1909, pp. 530–535.

The New York figures show a steady decrease in unemployment from 1897 to 1906. From that time there was a constant increase until 1908, which gave an unemployment at the end of March for all trades of 35.7 per cent. In 1909 this figure had fallen to 21.1 per cent, which was still far above the figure for 1906, 9.9 per cent.

"It is therefore fair to conclude that for the unionized trades of New York State, for the coal industry of the United States, and, by inference, for the general industries of the United States the following points hold true: —

A. Unemployment is always a factor in modern industry.

B. The average miner can work, from year to year, about two thirds of the time.

C. In other industries the average unemployment from year to year is about one fifth.

D. In some years the unemployment is several times more severe than in others." [1]

In a sense trade-union activity gives rise to voluntary unemployment because many who strike do so as a matter of choice. On the other hand, many thousand strikers are annually forced out of work, not because of any desire to strike, but because their more

[1] "Unemployment in the United States," Scott Nearing, Quarterly Publications of American Statistical Association, Vol. 11, Sept., 1909, p. 539.

radical fellow-workers are so inclined, and they either lack the courage to stand out as nonunion men, or else feel so strongly their class responsibility that they join in an action of which they disapprove.

Again, almost any manufacturing business is liable to be left without stock with which to continue operations, and thus for a few days, until the stock is replenished, work ceases.

Unemployment due to these causes is not extensive, however. A more frequent form exists in certain trades known as casual trades. Those engaging in them are employed a day here, a week there, — never regularly or systematically.

Casual trades are made up of the reserve of labor, — the unskilled, inefficient, old, and defective groups who are unwilling or unable to keep a permanent position.[1] And casual trades are a menace to the welfare of the workers. The casual laborer is inefficient and industrially superfluous, except in the mass, and casual labor promotes inefficiency and increases industrial superfluity. It is described by Dr. Devine as "the greatest of all maladjustments." [2]

Casual labor in the United States must be guessed at rather than stated. That it exists extensively is

[1] "Unemployment," W. H. Beveridge, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, Ch. 5.

[2] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, p. 131.

unquestioned, but its extent is unascertainable. Professor Patten has very picturesquely described casual laborers as "the peripatetics of industry," constantly wandering, never long employed, discharged at the first decrease in work, leaving one place as soon as another comes in sight. The casual laborer is inefficient and cheap, and casual labor is disastrous to the casual laborer.

Thus the various elements in the problem lead ultimately to a degree of unemployment varying with the year, the season of the year, and sometimes, in the case of casual labor, with the day of the week. In each case workers are without the work upon which they are dependent for a livelihood.

IV. *Personal Effects of Unemployment*

Unemployment involves, first, the unemployed, and second, those dependent upon him, in both instances resulting in a distinct social cost.

The unemployed leads an irregular life. Accustomed to regularity of living, the man who is unemployed finds himself without any definite restraints upon his activities. The result is usually some form of dissipation. Often in his attempt to secure work he uses the freight trains as a means of getting from place to place. The free life of the "hobo" proves too attractive, and the man, freed from any restraining

influence, becomes a confirmed tramp. Thus the influences of unemployment are unsettling, and the unemployed loses one of the most desirable characteristics of an efficient worker, — methodical regularity.

The unemployed also "loses the knack" of his work. Except in the case of unskilled labor a certain knack or skill is required to carry on work. Periods of idleness, especially if prolonged, result in the loss of this knack or skill, so important to the maintenance of high efficiency.

Again, unemployment lessens by disuse, the physical capacity so important among certain groups of workers. This is particularly true of low paid men with families who have failed or been unable to save, and to whom unemployment means undernutrition.

At the end of a period of unemployment the average man is far less efficient and less capable of taking his place in industry than he was at the beginning of the period of unemployment. Unemployment and inefficiency, inefficiency and unemployment, are two interworking forces, supplementing and emphasizing each other.[1]

The personal element in unemployment is thus summed up by Dr. Devine after fifteen years' study of charitable work, in which unemployment plays so

[1] "Unemployment," W. H. Beveridge, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, p. 139.

large a part: "From the point of view of the charitable agencies, the importance of this subject is indicated by the fact that in two thirds of the families who come under the care of the Charity Organization Society in industrially normal times one or more wage earners are unemployed at the time of their application for aid." [1]

V. *Social Effects of Unemployment*

At the same time the effects of unemployment extend to the family of the unemployed. The irregular life of the father communicates itself to the children, and the lack of food resulting from a lack of income means malnutrition for the whole family. Thus the energy already expended in building up the family to a standard of efficient living is negatived by the period of unemployment involving malnutrition and family degeneracy. As Dr. Devine so effectively points out in "Misery and Its Causes," unemployment is the one, great, ever present cause leading to maladjustment and family dependence.

From the standpoint of both the man unemployed and those dependent upon him, therefore, unemployment results in social cost and may be classed as an economic maladjustment. It is, moreover, remediable,

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, p. 117.

for some of the remedies have been tried abroad and proved successful. These remedies are primarily legislative ones. Unemployment is on its face undesirable, and even the most unthinking member of the community in which it exists should seek its elimination when its presence is made known. The social conscience on the subject has been awakened, although the average member of society does not understand the gravity of the unemployment situation. The chief thing which is needed in the field of unemployment is a comprehensive system of legislation which will satisfactorily remove unemployment burdens.

VI. *Unemployment Remedies*

What are the remedies for unemployment? The personal factors in unemployment are malnutrition, sickness and accident, and inefficiency. Living wages and education for personal hygiene and efficiency will go far toward the elimination of these personal factors. The virgin field exists in the discussion, not of the unemployables, but of the disemployed.

Much attention has been devoted to seasonal trades, and many methods for eliminating the hardship involved in their continuance have been proposed. Of these remedies, no one is so prominent as the Free Employment Bureau. The Free Employment Bureau

has been established on a feeble footing in a few of the cities of the United States, but it is in Germany that it has been scientifically worked out and applied.

That this remedy will remove the danger of unemployment to those engaged in seasonal trades is not to be inferred, but that it will minimize the danger is obvious. Thus in the building trades, which have their periods of idleness during the cold winter months, little could be accomplished, because during these months many other groups of workers are also idle. On the other hand, such a system would do much to assist the coal miner who, partly or wholly idle during the summer months, could readily secure work in railroad construction gangs or at agricultural labor.

Another remedy proposed for the seasonal trades is that they be made less seasonal by a distribution of the business. There is no reason why the manufacture of spring clothing should be carried on in three months. Neither is there any reason why the manufacture of candy or paper boxes should be crowded into the few weeks immediately preceding Christmas and Easter. Some reasonable regulations of the trade could be effected, either by agreement with buyers, or by combination, which would distribute the manufacture over longer periods, thus reducing or even eliminating periods of idleness.

From the standpoint of the individual unemployed,

seasonal fluctuations can best be met by the payment of a wage during the period when the fluctuation occurs, which will enable the worker to tide over the bad season.[1]

Where possible, seasonal trades should be made non-seasonal by distributing the business. Where this is not possible, the seasonal trade should bear the responsibility for its seasonality by paying a wage for the season of work which will equal a living wage for the entire year. These two methods, assisted by the free employment bureau, will largely eliminate the burdens of seasonal unemployment.

During the last century crises occurred with a degree of regularity. Approximately every ten years there was a crisis, while about once in twenty years there was a depression of serious magnitude. The trade cycle is now recognized by many thinkers as a part of the present industrial system. It exists, it causes much unemployment, and thus far there is no unanimity of opinion either as to the cause of crises or the remedies for them.

While the causes of panics are in dispute, they are undoubtedly deep-rooted, and go to the very foundation of the present social system,[2] and the effects of crises upon unemployment are in the last measure

[1] "Unemployment," W. H. Beveridge, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, pp. 213–214.

[2] *Supra*, p. 67.

disastrous. Hundreds of thousands of workers are disemployed, with no possible means of redress. The social cost of this unemployment is very heavy and the ultimate remedy has not yet been proposed. Meanwhile the labor exchange and some form of government work for the unemployed must be relied upon to relieve the situation.

Unemployment arising out of labor troubles is remediable in part through a system of free employment bureaus. A universal strike, even in a given trade, is a rare thing, and it would be possible in the case of strikes coming in a prosperous time to distribute the strikers to localities where help was needed.

The free employment bureau would remove some of the difficulty, but it would not by any means solve the problem of unemployment due to labor troubles. For this there is but one complete remedy, the abolition of such troubles. This has been accomplished in Australia and New Zealand by the compulsory arbitration acts which forbid strikes and lockouts. Such a remedy, while drastic, is effectual, and if adopted, would eliminate this form of unemployment.

The remedy for the unemployment due to lack of stock and of transportation facilities is a matter of technical business detail. The lack of stock and of transportation facilities can be met and obviated by a more efficient organization of business.

For the unemployment in casual trades there is no direct remedy. The number of employees might be reduced and the amount of work to be done by each thereby increased. Here also much could be accomplished by the work of a free employment bureau. However, in work like the unloading of ships' cargoes, the demand for labor necessarily varies from day to day, and such trades must always be casual to a certain extent. Legislation might be so shaped as to compel the payment of a minimum wage in such trades; this would remove some of its burdens, but would not eliminate the unemployment.

VII. *Unemployment as a Maladjustment*

Unemployment is clearly a maladjustment. Its causes are economic; its effects are social cost; and partial or complete remedies have been successfully operated in other countries.

The investigations and analyses of the New York Charity Organization Society show that no single economic factor is so great an element in causing distress as is unemployment. The individual degenerates; the family suffers; and society pays the cost, either directly through taxes and philanthropy, or indirectly in the social cost which curtails efficiency and deprives the unemployed of full capacity.

The seriousness of unemployment is not, perhaps, fully realized, but its disastrous effects are appreciated, and there is a general readiness on the part of the public to enact legislation which will eliminate the social cost for which unemployment is now responsible.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATIONAL REMEDIES FOR MALADJUSTMENT

I. *General Scope of Educational Remedies*

THE greater part of the material thus far presented has dealt with concrete maladjustments. In the discussion of each of these maladjustments an attempt has been made to show, first, that the maladjustment in question was due to economic causes; second, that it was responsible for social cost; and third, that it was remediable through the awakening of the public conscience. The facts appearing in the preceding chapters show clearly the extent and seriousness of the part played by maladjustment in the suppression of capacity and the curtailment of opportunity. An attempt was made at the beginning of the discussion to indicate the existence of a feeling of social responsibility, and the natural tendency that such a feeling has to seek the elimination of social cost. As maladjustments are responsible for great social costs, the desire to express social responsibility through the elimination of social cost naturally shapes itself into a desire to eliminate maladjustments.

Remedies for social cost due to maladjustment group themselves under two general headings: —

I. The development of a more widespread and deeper feeling of social responsibility through the education of the public conscience.

II. The crystallization of this feeling in the form of adequate legislation.

The cases of maladjustment thus far presented which fall for the present under the first heading will be remedied most effectively by the development, through education, of a feeling of social responsibility. When this feeling of social responsibility is fully aroused, when the public conscience is thoroughly alive to the desirability of eliminating these maladjustments, they will fall under the second group in this volume, and will be classed among the maladjustments which are to be eliminated by legislation. Until that time is reached, however, these maladjustments, and many others which belong in the same class with them, must be held up to the public mind as examples of the social cost which is suffered because of a lack of harmony between men and their environment.

The public is not imbued with a burning desire to know the facts concerning maladjustment, but it is willing to be informed. It therefore devolves upon those who realize the severe social cost which arises out of maladjustment, to present the facts of malad-

justment in such a definite, concrete manner that some public action will be imperative.

An apt illustration of the effects of arousing public interest in maladjustment is furnished by the passage of the National Pure Food Law. Agitation looking to the passage of the pure food law had been carried on for about fifteen years, with very little result. During the Spanish War, bad meat was fed to the soldiers, but while there was some public comment, no definite attempt was made to fix the individual responsibility. The air was filled with vague rumors, but they were rumors only. In 1905 a man named Upton Sinclair went to Chicago, secured the coöperation of the packing house employees through his socialistic affiliations, collected the facts regarding meat packing in the great packing houses of Chicago, and embodied them in a heavy but fearfully realistic book, "The Jungle."

The public mind was eagerly awaiting the facts. Magazines reviewed the book; newspapers wrote editorials upon it; ministers preached about it; and the President of the United States sent a committee to investigate stockyard conditions. Their report was a revelation. In spite of bitter opposition, the pure food law was forced through Congress, and its enforcement eliminated, for the time, a serious maladjustment.

The public was unquestionably ready for some action. Much had been written on the subject of pure food and adulterated drugs, but the fulminant which discharged public indignation and led to immediate legislative action was the forceful presentation in "The Jungle" of conditions surrounding the preparation of food in the great packing houses.

The public mind is not fully prepared for action on the first group of maladjustments presented. In these instances, any popular demand for legislation must be preceded by a longer or shorter term of popular education. In the case of the "Dependence of Women," and the "Menace of Large Families," public education alone must be relied upon, because legislation would be, for the most part, inappropriate and ineffective. Popular education, soundly based and wisely given, will lead ultimately to the development of a public opinion on all vital questions as enlightened and as effective as that which secured the passage of the National Pure Food Law. The immediate questions which present themselves in the consideration of each maladjustment must therefore be: "By what methods can such a public opinion best be developed and aroused? After public opinion is aroused, what are the most reliable means for giving it intelligent direction?"

Maladjustment is widespread; the public mind

awaits information regarding it. What agencies may be relied upon to disseminate this information and through its dissemination to arouse a feeling of social responsibility for its removal?

II. *The Decline of Church Influence*

The church during the Middle Ages, and in fact down to the opening of the nineteenth century, focused and expressed the popular feeling of social responsibility. Schools, hospitals, charities, and missions were conducted by it, and all men looked to it for intellectual training and spiritual guidance. The Hebrew ate his meals under church direction, the Puritan refrained from enjoyment and the Quaker donned his somber garb because the church commanded it. Tithes were given, taxes paid, and liberal sums advanced for the work of the church in relieving misery and distress. The bishop in the first volume of Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables" is a splendid example of the power and position of the French church, even after the Revolution. So long as the bishop had money he visited the poor, when his money was exhausted, he visited the rich. "Those who have and those who want tapped at M. Myriel's door, the last coming to seek the alms which the former had just deposited. The bishop in less than a year be-

came the treasurer of all charity and the cashier of all distress."

In the United States, the church has still a dominant position in certain communities and with certain groups. Some churches have undertaken institutional work, and maintain settlements, libraries, kindergartens, and debating clubs. Generally speaking, however, the influence of the Protestant church extends little farther than church attendance, and the Sunday newspaper has replaced church attendance for great numbers of men and for some women.

So long as the race was dominated by strong church influence, the development of a feeling of social responsibility could come through church control. But since the influence of the church has been seriously restricted and its power of control over the population has been greatly lessened, it devolves upon some other agency to promulgate the feeling of responsibility for which the church has in former years stood sponsor.

Several agencies have sprung into existence in response to this demand, each emphasizing social responsibility, some in a very restricted field, and others in a much broader one. They are, first, the labor union movement; second, social panaceas; third, a group of reform movements; fourth, philanthropic movements; fifth, journalism and authorship; and sixth, the educational system. The church may still be relied upon,

to a very limited extent, for an emphasis on social responsibility, but it is to these six agencies primarily that the future must look for the development and statement of a feeling of social responsibility that will lead to the elimination of social maladjustment.

In what measure can each of these movements assist in developing public opinion? In how far will they be effective in arousing the social conscience? What educative influence does each of these forces represent? The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to an answer to these questions, in the form of a discussion of the relative educational power of these six agencies. Their merits as methods of reform will be dealt with in the last chapter of the book.

III. *Trade-unions as an Educational Force*

For a century, in the United States, the labor unions have been active, and they are, to a greater and greater degree, influencing sentiment among the group which they represent. Unions do not attempt to develop a feeling of social responsibility among any group other than the laborers themselves, and their responsibility is limited largely to the group in which they belong. While it would be unfair to say that the labor unions aim to develop class consciousness or a feeling of class responsibility, their emphasis is, nevertheless, so laid

as to make it apparent that this phrase very nearly expresses their aim.

Trade-union activity in the United States begins with the nineteenth century, but it is not until after the Civil War that the trade-union assumes its present *rôle*. The unions of the first half of the nineteenth century were general reform associations aiming at a revision of the entire social system. The American labor movement before 1850 is thus characterized in a recent book on "Labor Problems." "The flowering period of American labor organizations occurred between 1825 and 1850. The same period in England has been aptly called the 'revolutionary period,' and the term accurately defines conditions in the United States. . . . Reform was in the air; the passionate campaign for the abolition of slavery was at its height; communistic experiments were in operation at New Harmony, Brook Farm, and other places; while Robert Owen, Albert Brisbane, and the best minds in New England were boldly preaching socialistic doctrine." [1]

The American labor union of the early nineteenth century was general in scope and in membership. Its aim covered all reform; its membership was unrestricted, the theoretical basis for trade-union activity

[1] "Labor Problems," Adams Sumner, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905, pp. 217–218.

was also general and inclusive. Labor union declarations maintained that labor is the source of all wealth, that natural agents should be owned in common, that the banking system led to inequality in wealth and opportunity; that corporations and monopolies oppress the people.[1]

The labor union thus acted as an educative force in a very general sense, calling public attention to general wrongs, and striving, in a desultory way, to rectify them. The labor movement as an educative force occupied much the same position as the "reform movement" of to-day, — it was an outlet for the expression of general dissatisfaction.

The labor union did aid in establishing one educational force, which alone would justify its early spasmodic activity. The union was largely responsible for the public school. "The chief remedy, however, is that which we find recommended by all agitators in the early days of the labor movement; namely, universal education. Public instruction was claimed by the party of the workingman, but their demand was met 'by the sneer of derision on the one hand, and the cry of revolution on the other.'"[2] The union leaders persisted, however, and the public school was

[1] "Labor Movement in America," Richard T. Ely, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1886, p. 51.

[2] *Supra*, p. 47.

ultimately established. If the early American labor movement accomplished nothing more, it did its full share of social duty in educating the public mind to insist on free public education.[1]

Trade-union policy has undergone a radical change since the Civil War. Before the war, the unions directed their efforts toward general reform. Since the war, the unions have ceased to advocate general reform, and have concentrated their activities on securing certain specific improvements in conditions of work and wages. The period before the war was characterized by the presence of many small, localized unions, without common purpose or method. Reform they advocated, but singly and ineffectively. The period since the war has been characterized by concentration of control, unification of method and purpose, and a narrowing policy to specific trade demands.

Through their magazines, organizers, and meetings, the unions are still a great educative force, but their chief efforts are devoted not to general but to specific reforms.

The labor unions were the first organized champions of the common school system. But not content with merely urging education by others, they have themselves become educators, and they are giving to their

[1] "Labor Movement in America," Richard T. Ely, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1886, p. 122.

members a training in fundamental democracy which the public schools neither gave nor pretend to give. "The propositions which I wish to prove and to illustrate in so far as this can be done in a single chapter, may be expressed somewhat as follows: To-day the labor organizations of America are playing a rôle in the history of civilization, the importance of which can be scarcely overestimated; for they are among the foremost of our educational agencies, ranking next to our churches and public schools in their influence upon the culture of the masses." [1]

The trade-unions are intensely educative. They naturally reach the skilled men in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, but they appeal to the unskilled, untrained immigrant as well. This fact was clearly brought out by a study made in 1905 of the conditions of the Chicago stockyards. In his report to the President on this investigation, Hon. Carroll D. Wright states: "It is here (in the union meeting) that the practical utility of learning English is first brought home forcibly to the immigrant. In all other of his associations, not only does his own language suffice, but, for reasons that can well be understood, shrewd leaders minimize the importance of his learning any other. . . . Not only is the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union an Americanizing influence in

[1] *Supra*, p. 120.

the stockyards, but for the Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks, it is the only Americanizing influence so far as could be determined in this investigation." [1]

The immigrant goes to few political meetings, he seldom attends school, and there is no other Americanizing influence with which he comes in contact. He has his native church and his native benefit association or lodge, but not one American agency, except the trade-union, affords him any opportunity to associate with Americans, learn American ways, and adopt American standards. The union meeting trains, in the use of English, in parliamentary procedure, in the democracy of elections and of majority rule. It affords the immigrant his only opportunity for learning how to adapt himself to the institutions which surround his new life.

The educational outcome of the labor union movement has been a general feeling of class responsibility. In fact, the brotherhood idea developed in trade-unions has spread to the whole laboring class. While in America the feeling so developed has not as yet sufficiently extended to enable the socialists to secure a strong foothold, it has, nevertheless, become general enough to give prevalence to such expressions as "Us working people," — expressions which separate the speaker very distinctively from the middle or leisure

[1] Bulletin 56, United States Bureau of Labor, Jan., 1905, p. 4.

class, and place him or her among the group of wage earners who are most susceptible to union influence.

The activity of the unions has not resulted directly in developing among the workers a spirit of social responsibility, but it has at least developed in them a feeling of responsibility for the social group to which they belong. The brotherhood idea of labor unionism has moreover led through much individual work to the elimination of many of the social costs which are imposed upon the wage workers. The labor union is an educative force; it develops its members, and through them influences the attitude and broadens the viewpoint of the laboring class.

"The labor movement, as the facts would indicate, is the strongest force outside the Christian church making for the practical recognition of human brotherhood; and it is noteworthy that, at a time when the churches have generally discarded brother and sister as a customary form of address, the trades-unions and labor organizations have adopted the habit." [1]

A series of movements for which the labor unions are responsible have led, however, to a distinct emphasis on social responsibility among large groups throughout the community. These movements, which were in many cases begun by the labor unions themselves, are

[1] "Labor Movement in America," Richard T. Ely, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1886, p. 138.

represented by child labor associations and committees, sweatshop committees, and other associations having for their goal the passage of legislation to remedy the evils in working or living conditions. These activities, which have at all times received the indorsement and, at times, the active assistance of the labor unions, have been responsible for a great amount of public education in the evils which they represent, and the remedies which may be adopted to eradicate them.

Thus the labor unions have aroused directly the class which they represent, and indirectly the whole community, to a greater desire to eliminate social cost. They are the public school of the ignorant, non-American worker, and the vehicle of expression for American workingmen's feeling of social responsibility.

IV. *The Educative Influence of Social Panaceas*

Socialism and single tax are typical illustrations of the group of reforms which are characterized as social panaceas. These movements, which will be explained in greater detail in the last chapter, have educated two groups: first, college faculties, public men, and editors; and second, the proletariat or working class.

The numerical following of these two reforms in the United States is small. The single tax move-

ment depends on single tax clubs, societies, and leagues scattered through the larger cities, and is represented by *The Public*, an ably edited weekly paper published in Chicago. The single tax societies are few in number and small in membership. The socialist party in the United States has "a dues-paying membership of about 50,000. It polled a vote of 423,969 in the presidential election of 1908." "Its press counts more than fifty periodical publications in almost all languages spoken in America." [1]

The doctrines of socialism and single tax have educated college faculties, editors, and public men, first, by revising their economics; second, by calling to their attention the inequitable system of distribution; and third, by emphasizing the presence and intensity of maladjustment. "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George, and "Capital" by Karl Marx, each marks an epoch in the development of eonnomic thought, for both present an original viewpoint, or an old viewpoint in an original way. Both books have been condemned, denounced, defended, and contradicted in attack and counter attack. Each has formed a storm center around which the contest raged. But exchange of ideas usually results in some modification in the views of both parties, and these

[1] "Socialism in Theory and Practice," Morris Hillquit, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, p. 354.

discussions have proved to be no exception. The ideas of many of the leading thinkers of the century have been more or less radically modified by the fundamental reasoning of George and Marx.

The agitation for social panaceas has educated a part of the masses by making them think. This benefit has spread farther than the few enthusiasts who are supporting the movements; it is not only the thinkers in the working class who have profited by the doctrine of George and Marx, but the entire working population has been in a measure infused with their ideas. The actual converts to the movement are few, but those actual few have acted as a leaven, and leavened the whole lump. The spirit of unrest, dissatisfaction, and a desire for the improvement of surroundings are fostered, and in many cases originated, by the agitation for panaceas. The proletariat, as a result of these movements, is demanding higher standards, more leisure, and a fairer share in the products of industry. The ideas of brotherhood, cooperation, and equality have been instilled into the working masses through the medium of the labor union, and of the doctrine of single taxer and socialist. These ideas have sunk deep and remain as thought-provoking agencies.

While showing few tangible results in the United States, these theoretical reforms have awakened men

and women to the possibilities of human capacity plus industrial development. They have prevented the privileged from sleeping the sleep of idleness and luxury, and the working classes from sleeping the sleep of exhaustion and apathy.

V. *The Educative Influence of Reform Movements*

The third group of agencies which have been working for the removal of social cost is usually known as reform movements. The movement for profit sharing and coöperation, and an improvement in the working conditions of modern industry; for the organization of women's clubs and civic societies; for the advancement of political reform, — have developed in the people actively engaging in them strong feelings of social responsibility.

Profit sharing is a European rather than an American movement. All of the greatest and most important examples of profit sharing must be taken from European experience. In a few instances profit sharing has met with moderate success in the United States, but these few cases were for the most part of short duration. Essentially paternalistic in its nature, profit sharing proves an educational factor for the employer, but a retarding factor in the development of the employee.

Coöperation is a far more fundamental reform than profit sharing. It refers to the voluntary association of persons in joint production, consumption, distribution, or purchase. As such, it is an essentially democratic movement, requiring of those who coöperate a willingness to act in unison and an ability for coöperative activity. While the coöperative movement, as a movement, has never succeeded extensively in the United States, the remarkable development of consumer's coöperation abroad has had a great influence in molding and organizing working class ideas.

Welfare work in industry — the provision by the employer of improved working conditions — has educated some employers to a sense of their social responsibility, and as such deserves mention as an educative force. The welfare work is usually undertaken, however, as a result of the education of the employer, and it is not, therefore, a primary educational factor, even for him.

The most vital of the reform movements organized during the past half century have been the women's movements, — the suffrage movement, aimed at political reform; the women's clubs, aimed at individual and civic improvement; and the mothers' clubs and parents' associations, aimed at home and school reform. Directly or indirectly these movements have resulted in educating women, who until a quarter cen-

tury ago were the least educated group in the community. Women's reform movements have, however, started women on the path to thought and have played a leading part in securing extensive improvement, particularly in the relation of women to society.

Women have worked for centuries in the home at occupations intensely individualized. Children must be cared for, cooking and cleaning done, the fire kept up, and the clothes mended. Each of these occupations called for a liberal expenditure of energy, but the energy was expended individually. Meanwhile men had begun to coöperate in industry and to secure marvelous results. Three men, each working alone, could make three pairs of shoes a day. Bring them together, let them coöperate, and they easily produced five pairs of shoes without any additional expenditure of time or energy. Coöperation meant efficiency in production. Men expanded the coöperative principle, built railroads and steel bridges, ocean liners and office buildings. Meanwhile women continued in the same individualized manner to do the tasks at home, each woman doing every task, without specialization or coöperation.

The coöperation of men made a gradual change in the home. Many things which had formerly been done in the home were transferred to the factory. Stockings, coats, bread, carpets, were taken from home

to factory and women were left in the home, with but few of their former tasks.

The leisure moments thus secured led women to think and eventually to decide on some form of co-operative action. Slowly at first — ridiculed and sneered at, particularly by their own sex — this group of women began the movement toward emancipation, which was discussed in the chapter on the "Dependence of Women." What is the relative importance and the educative effect of the movements that have taken women out of an individualized home and taught them coöperation in social activity?

The equal suffrage movement aims at securing the ballot for women. In the states where the ballot has been secured, the women have unquestionably been developed and broadened. In the states where the ballot has not been secured but has been worked for, women have also been broadened and developed. In both instances they have been called upon to co-operate.

Voting is an education. It demands an intelligent interest in public affairs, and women have endeavored to maintain such an interest. In her recent book on equal suffrage, Helen Summer asserts that the granting of the franchise in Colorado resulted in an unprecedented sale of books dealing with political science and economics. "One firm in Denver sold a larger

number of books on political economy during the first eight months after the equal franchise victory than it had sold during the twenty years before."[1] The responsibility of the ballot has been keenly felt by women, and they have made a conscious endeavor to prepare themselves for wise political decisions.

The ballot has been granted in only four states of the Union, however, and the suffrage movement is largely an organized effort to secure equal voting rights. The mere fact of the existence of such an organization founded and maintained by women marks a great forward step, for it is only recently that women have learned to coöperate at all. The movement for equal suffrage has therefore had a widespread educative influence among women, first, because as voters they have been compelled to come together and decide public questions; second, because they have been led to coöperate extensively in their attempts to secure the franchise.

The influence of women's clubs and of parents' associations and mothers' clubs has been along similar lines. Coöperation has been the watchword of these activities, and coöperation has meant for women an education of the most fundamental character.

General political and civil reform in municipality

[1] "Equal Suffrage," Helen L. Summer, New York, Harper & Bros., 1909, Introduction, p. 25.

and state have played a part in developing a sense of social responsibility, particularly among the small group which always directs such reforms. In general, however, neither movement has proven broadly educative.

Reform movements have thus played an insignificant part in social education, with the exception of the women's movements, — the influence of which in educating one half of the human race to a sense of their social responsibility has been stupendous. Women participate extensively in civic reform movements, either as individuals or as clubs; they assist individually in the philanthropic movements which will be discussed in the next section; but the women's movements, as such, stand as the most widely educative of all of modern reform movements.

VI. *Philanthropy and Education*

The reform movements under the third group have been largely responsible for the philanthropic activities noted in the fourth group. In this group can be included charitable societies, settlements, children's aid societies, and various other institutions which have for their object the personal benefit of those with whom they come in contact. Such societies and institutions are the direct outcome of the reform movements

which have led the well-to-do group in the community to see the existing maladjustments and the desirability of eliminating them. Every year the gifts to philanthropy through donation and bequest are larger and represent on the part of the possessors of great masses of wealth a growth in the feeling of social responsibility. While the funds which are provided for philanthropic purposes often represent the incomes from life- or health-destroying industry, and while they are thus expressions of an incomplete feeling of social responsibility, they nevertheless indicate a strong tendency in the right direction.

The funds subscribed by philanthropic persons may be of great value in educating the public to a sense of its responsibility for the elimination of maladjustment. The typical method of accomplishing this is through gifts to institutions, — particularly universities and colleges, — which have the training of the men and women who in many cases will be the leaders of the next generation. Unfortunately many students secure a college degree without feeling in any manner their obligations, in return for the benefits conferred on them, to help in the elimination of maladjustment and the establishment of universal opportunity for the college education which they have secured. On the other hand, in some of the newer departments of sociology, social science, political economy, political

science, education, and history, a broad social viewpoint has been developed, and the students are brought into contact with men and women who are emphasizing the elimination of social cost and maladjustment, and the desirability of adjustment.

Philanthropic gifts which result in the upbuilding of such college departments are unquestionably an aid in educating the future against maladjustment; but there is another way in which philanthropy can have an even greater educational influence, and that is through the investigation of the facts of maladjustment, and the publication of these facts in accessible forms. Consumers' leagues, child labor committees, educational associations, and children's societies have collected and published these facts of maladjustment in a myriad of forms, but nowhere more successfully or more ably than in the "Pittsburg Survey."

Charities and the Commons, the official organ of the philanthropy of New York City, recently investigated the industrial, civic, educational, and living conditions of Pittsburg. This investigation, which was financed in part by the Russell Sage Foundation, aimed to discover and interpret the influences surrounding the lives of the workers, and the civic conditions prevailing in a typical industrial center. The results of the investigation were briefly stated in three monthly numbers of *Charities and the Commons*, appearing in

January, February, and March, 1909, and the same material is being published in book form by the Russell Sage Foundation.

The investigation is probably the most complete investigation of the kind ever undertaken by a private or public agency. Experts were employed, and the results of the work are thoroughly reliable and representative. The facts brought to light were astounding, — overwork, bad housing, lack of school facilities, and congestion were disclosed on every hand. These facts, given the widest publicity through the press of the country and used extensively in college classes and as source material for studies on social topics, have had a great influence in attracting public attention to maladjustment, and the desirability of its elimination.

Particular note has been made of the "Pittsburg Survey" because it is the most recent and most complete investigation attempted, and because as a type of the useful philanthropic expenditure it is without a parallel.

Through gifts direct to educational institutions, and through investigations which are made by private gifts, philanthropy has unearthed the facts of maladjustment, emphasized the extent and severity of social cost, and pointed to the possibility of adjustment through a wise education of public opinion.

VII. *Journalism and Authorship*

During the last century the press has developed as a great, unifying, coördinating force in the shaping of public opinion, and its power has extended until no town is without its local newspaper or the newspapers of some great city.

Newspapers which wish to exert great public influence are constantly investigating and probing into the sources and effects of maladjustment and into the maladjustments themselves. Many of the leading papers make a conscious attempt to educate the public away from maladjustment. Thus one metropolitan daily published recently as its leading editorial the advice from a great specialist against allowing babies to put their fingers into their mouths. The editorial dealt at length with the dangers involved in children touching playthings, the floor, and other objects, and then thrusting their germ-laden fingers into their mouths. This instance is but one typical example of the many journalistic attempts to educate public opinion toward adjustment.

While the press still exerts a wide influence in disseminating information and in educating public opinion, its functions in these directions have been eclipsed in recent years by the rise of the ten- and fifteen-cent magazine, with an enormous circulation,

and dealing with social and economic maladjustment in a bold, daring way that completely surpasses the activity of the average newspaper. These magazines secure the best writers, and, taking social and economic topics in which there is, or should be, general public interest, they state the facts and discuss the probabilities frankly and openly.

The press and the cheap magazine both have a great field and are being used to arouse public opinion to the evils connected with maladjustment. An equally potent factor in this work is the activity of book writers. There are two classes of books dealing with maladjustment, — those which are read by the public at large, and those which are read only by editors, speakers, and others who are attempting to influence public opinion. There is really a third class, — the books which are not read at all, but they may be eliminated from the present discussion.

The books read by the public arouse public opinion, and mold it more quickly than those books which go to a few people, — and sometimes only to library shelves. "The Long Day," "Yeast," "Les Miserables," "The Jungle," "Hard Times," "The Common Lot," all have their influence. It is broad and immediate, and is the real, vital influence which is now needed to focus public attention on social cost, maladjustment, the possibility of adjustment, and the necessity of immediate public action.

The author who is to be effective must stop writing treatises and state popularly a few plain simple truths. In his presidential address before the American Economic Association in 1908, Dr. Patten makes this point clearly and emphatically. "A three hundred page thesis not only does not fit a man to be an economist; it really incapacitates him for work."[1] On the positive side Dr. Patten says: "He [the economist] should cultivate visual expression by using charts and diagrams and arouse the imagination by striking phrases and vivid contrasts. His vehicle should be the newspaper and the magazine, not the scientific journal. The public want what we have, and if we have something it does not want it is not worth having. To be scientific is to be popular. There is no renown worth having but that of the newspaper and the magazine and the class room. . . . The place of the economist is on the firing line of civilization; his product must be clear, concise, and impersonal, instead of being submerged in bulky volumes and formal treatises. Our real affinity is with the journalist, the magazine writer, and the dramatist, and not with writers who, separated by time and space from what they describe, function as critics of persons and events instead of being actors in the momentous struggles of the present."[2]

[1] Proceedings of the 21st Annual Meeting of American Economic Association, Atlantic City, N.J., Dec., 1908, p. 9.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 7–8.

This truth applies, not to economics alone, but to all of the social sciences as well. Popular attention can be called to maladjustment and the desirability of eliminating it in only one way, — by placing before the public in a striking, unanswerable way the facts of human capacity and the possibilities of social adjustment.

Journalism can well be made the vehicle of great educational influence. It can be so used, however, only by men of ability who are familiar with modern economic and social facts and who will state them clearly and decisively.

Journalism and authorship are the two tools upon which every movement must rely for the education which alone can firmly establish its contentions. The facts of investigation and the theories of reform alike depend upon clear, definite statements for any public influence they may have.

VIII. *The Educative Machinery of the School*

These methods of educating the public are of varying merit, yet all of them will be ineffective unless there is laid a fundamental basis for the development of public sentiment. This basis can only be created and maintained through an efficient educational system.

Emphasis on social responsibility, to be of perma-

nent value, must be laid on the teachings of the schools which furnish a vast system of working machinery developed and perfected on its mechanical side, and well calculated for the propagation of ideas on the broadest basis.

The latest report of the United States Commissioner of Education places the total number of scholars in all of the schools of the United States at 19,346,381. Of this army of learners, 17,373,852 are in the elementary schools; 961,768 are in the secondary (high) schools; 149,700 are in universities and colleges; 63,256 are in professional schools; 70,439 are in normal schools; and 727,348 are in miscellaneous schools.[1] Less than two million of the students are in private schools, — the remainder being in public institutions.

The most significant factor in this table of statistics is the overwhelming proportion of students in the elementary grades — seventeen of the nineteen millions — and the comparatively small number who reach colleges and normal schools — less than three hundred thousand.

This entire school system is not under public control, but all of the common schools are, and with their 17,382,188 students, they present a vast opportunity for developing a spirit of social usefulness that will go far toward eliminating maladjustment.

[1] Report, Commissioner of Education, 1908, Vol. 1, p. 27.

There are in the public schools 481,316 teachers (104,414 men and 376,902 women), who are at work in 259,355 school buildings, valued at $858,655,209; each year $355,016,173 is turned over to this educational machine, and the amount has been increasing steadily year by year.[1]

This great school system is a savings bank in which the country has decided to invest its funds. Each year the nation spends upon the public schools a sum sufficient to construct a Panama Canal, or a trans-continental railway system. The school system is the greatest public investment in the United States, and the country expects from it a return commensurate with its investment. The schools present a great established network of influence, evolved and perfected through half a century of experiment, failure and success. No more potent instrument of reform exists than that which the schools present.

The secondary schools with a million students, and the universities, colleges, and professional schools with more than two hundred thousand, are an important factor and will increase in importance; but the broadest influence must be wielded by the elementary schools, which hold more than four fifths of the students. There is a great educational mortality between the first year in the grammar school and the first year in

[1] *Supra*, Vol. 2, pp. 397–400.

the high school. The school grows irksome, the dollar calls, the home commands, the child is anxious, and leaves at the end of the elementary grades or during the elementary course. Four fifths of the children who enter American schools never go beyond the elementary grades. Any serious attempt to use the public school system as a vehicle for social education must, therefore, be directed toward the primary school. It is there that the great mass of pupils is enrolled, — it is there that the real work must be done.

IX. *The School — the Basis of Reform*

Any reform of social ideas or ideals that is to be developed through the public schools must, for the present at least, be developed in the elementary grades. Any system which has for its aim the development of a feeling of social responsibility must be grounded in the elementary public schools, and developed with the public school curriculum through the high school to the university; but the most emphasis must be laid where there are the most children, — in the elementary years. Through the medium of the public schools the possibility of developing a system of ideas or ideals in the general population is far greater than by means of newspapers, magazines, or any other agency that the country possesses. This

is primarily because the public schools reach people while they are young, and because the impressions made upon children are far more lasting than those made upon adults. It is through the public school system that the most lasting impressions of social responsibility can be established.

The agencies which have already been named, such as unions, reform movements, and reforming societies, all lay a one-sided or incomplete emphasis on social responsibility. This follows of necessity from their partisan character. A wholly unprejudiced person is most unusual, but those who are engaged in reform movements are, as a rule, the most prejudiced, bigoted members of the community. The teachings of the movements are, therefore, incomplete, in that they furnish a misdeveloped or partially developed feeling of social responsibility.

It is not to be inferred from this that the movements above mentioned have been barren of result. On the contrary, they have brought about practically all of the reforms that have been effected during the last century; furthermore, any feeling of social responsibility that has been developed in the community has been due to their efforts. But the time has now come when the community is prepared to regard social responsibility on a much broader, saner basis than heretofore, and of this broader concept, of

its character and function, none of the partisan movements offers an adequate statement.

The public school presents practically the only organization which can be depended upon to develop and evolve a broad, sane feeling of social responsibility in the body politic. It is through the agency of the public school, provided the proper methods are employed, that the social conscience can and will be aroused. It is not sufficient to teach the three R's to children, and to regard them as having then completed their educational career. Neither is it sufficient to institute a course in word and phrase memorizing or learning the Constitution verbatim. Such courses, while giving the children the idea that such a thing as a constitution exists, go a very little way toward making of them good citizens. It will be necessary, if the school is to fulfill its function in the establishment of adjustment, to have introduced into the elementary grades courses in biology, hygiene, politics, economics, and social problems, which will furnish instruction in three essential fields: —

I. Personal hygiene.

II. Parental duty and responsibility.

III. Social responsibility for securing adjustment.

All of the maladjustments thus far analyzed are the result of ignorance regarding personal standards, a failure to intelligently perform parental duties, or a

lack of an intelligent feeling of social responsibility. A uniform, inefficient form of education is accepted because the community is not intelligent on the school problem; low wages are paid because the employer does not recognize his social responsibility for the payment of living wages; congestion exists because families are willing to live under insanitary and unhygienic surroundings, and because of land speculation and an ignorance of the elements of city planning; women are dependent because of the failure of parents to train their daughters for independence; parents have children, with no thought of the means which are to be used for their support; and accident, disease, malnutrition, ignorance, and inefficiency shorten life, and create misery, vice, and poverty.

There is scarcely a first-hand student of maladjustment who does not cry out in astonishment that a society which professes civilization should tolerate the conditions which exist in the United States to-day. The conditions exist because the society is ignorant. An enlightened society would eliminate maladjustment as an enlightened housekeeper eliminates dirt. Maladjustment is the dirt of the social household, and from it are bred the disease, misery, poverty, and wretchedness from which society suffers.

Not one of these things pays. Maladjustment is an expensive luxury, as Bernard Shaw very well points

out in his "First Aid to Critics." Neither ignorance nor misery nor poverty would be tolerated were the people at large apprised of the facts of maladjustment, — of the real causes and the real results by which maladjustment is preceded and followed.[1]

The elementary school should teach all of the great mass of material which now exists on the subject of personal hygiene, — the care of the body, food, exercise, clothing, fresh air, sex knowledge, and mental discipline. Every child has a right to be well, — born well and trained well, — and the duty of training devolves upon the schools. The need of education for parenthood was sufficiently emphasized in the chapter on "Uniformity in Education." It is only necessary to say here that the work of the schools will be ineffective unless the child has been born well and trained well at home.

The most difficult problem confronting the schools is the teaching of a sense of social responsibility. Children should be taught that normal men and women are good, and that badness is merely an indication of abnormality. They should be shown the necessity for maintaining wages, standards, and modes of life. The schools have thus far been content with the teaching of individual morality, but it now

[1] "Major Barbara," G. Bernard Shaw, London, Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. (1907), "First Aid to Critics."

devolves upon them to instruct in social morality. It is antisocial to pay low wages, and the school children should know it; it is antisocial to maintain unhygienic living conditions in the houses which you own, and the children should be told so; the working life should be long and joyous, and the schools should make this fact a part of the consciousness of every child. In this way can the school fulfill its duty. In this way can it develop a full sense of the responsibility which every man must feel for his fellows in society.

Maladjustment exists: it is remediable. Human capacity is everywhere awaiting opportunity for development. Adjustment will provide that opportunity. The maladjustments thus far discussed can be eliminated only by an aroused public opinion, — and education alone can awaken the public to a sense of its responsibility.

Labor unions, reform movements, theories of reform and journalism, are needed to instill into the public mind a knowledge of the facts of maladjustment and a determination to secure adjustment, but the most fundamental, far-reaching, and effective work must be done by the schools, — the elementary schools, — because they reach all of the people, and reach them while they are impressionable children.

CHAPTER XVI

LEGISLATIVE REMEDIES FOR MALADJUSTMENT

I. *Philosophy of Social Legislation*

In a large, ethnically complex, and industrially developed social group, some formulation of public opinion is necessary for stability and progress. Social responsibility may be strongly felt by an overwhelming majority, yet in the absence of legislation, crystallizing social responsibility, this feeling of the majority has no effective means of expression.

Small homogeneous groups may live together in harmony without organic legislation. Each member of the community respects the rights of his neighbor, and all are concerned in promoting the social welfare. But population increases and centralizes; interests diversify; and with this growth and diversity comes a necessity for some organized expression of the sentiments of the community, — hence arise codes of laws and formulations of political principles in the shape of constitutions.

A small community can eliminate maladjustment by a strongly expressed public sentiment; a large community must depend upon the expression of public

sentiment in the form of legislative action. In a small community, knowledge of a maladjustment leads at once to its elimination; in a large community, maladjustment can be removed only by concentrating public opinion in the form of legislation. Among large groups public opinion may relieve maladjustment temporarily, but permanent reform can be effected only through legislative expression. In a small group the feeling of *esprit de corps* and group solidarity is strongly felt and frequently expressed; in a large group such a feeling is difficult to organize and almost impossible to maintain.

No better illustration of the contrast can be given than the small and the large college. A college of five hundred, isolated in some rural district, develops a remarkable "college spirit"; while a university with five thousand students, lost in the life and turmoil of a great city, may fail entirely to develop "college spirit." The spirit in the small college dictates, controls — is absolute. The spirit in the large college, if it exists, is spasmodic and ineffective.

Another excellent illustration of the same principle is furnished by the civic spirit which often exists in some of the colonies established in support of a social or religious idea. For example, in one single tax colony of sixty houses and an inn, there are only two rules of general application: first, no one may hunt or

fish; and second, no one may cut down trees. The other rules, such as that prohibiting the throwing of paper and tin cans in conspicuous places, are never mentioned in public, but form a social tradition, to which all adhere. No means of enforcing law exists in this colony, and no means of law enforcement is ever necessary, — law is public opinion and is self-enforcing.

Compare conditions in this small homogeneous group with conditions in a great city, — composed of many nationalities, many strangers and individuals, many who have been reared in a barbarous slum or tenderloin environment which has induced criminal tendencies. Henry George expresses this thought, though in a slightly different connection, on pages 4 and 5 of "Progress and Poverty": "Where the conditions to which material progress everywhere tend are most fully realized, — that is to say, where population is densest, wealth greatest, and the machinery of production and exchange most highly developed, — we find the deepest poverty, the sharpest struggle for existence, and the most enforced idleness. . . . Upon streets lighted with gas and patrolled by uniformed policemen, beggars wait for the passers-by, and in the shadow of college and library and museum are gathered the most hideous Huns and Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied."

The small homogeneous society may be governed by public opinion alone. The large heterogeneous group which makes up the modern American city must maintain a government in the shape of legislative enactments which crystallize and represent public opinion.

II. *The Necessity for Legislation*

Legislation, therefore, is a social necessity in a modern heterogeneous community, governed by discussion. An attempt has been made to point out the fact that wise legislation, efficiently enforced, would eliminate the worst features of the maladjustments here dealt with.

The chapter dealing with educational remedies for maladjustment indicated the existence of certain groups of forces which were doing most of the work of educating for the removal of maladjustment. Unfortunately, legislation cannot be so easily grouped and classified. The necessity for legislation is obvious, — the form of legislation must, however, vary with each maladjustment.

III. *The Form of Legislation*

Social legislation may be merely prohibitive, saying, "Thou shalt not"; it may be constructive, specifying

and insisting upon certain improvements. Child labor legislation which orders the child out of the factory is purely negative; but child labor legislation which orders the child out of the factory into a congenial modern school system is constructive. Negative legislation is sometimes a temporary necessity, while constructive legislation is always ultimately obligatory.

Some of the maladjustments discussed can be eliminated only through a strongly developed public opinion, or through the intelligent self-interest of those suffering from the maladjustment.

The dependence of women, the decadence of the home, and large families are typical of this class of maladjustments. Women can be made independent only by inspiring women in general with a desire for independence. The home can be rehabilitated only by an educative campaign that will convince the public at large, first, that the old type of home is fast disappearing, and second, that to be effective, the new home must be constructed on radically different lines. The family will be regulated in accordance with the income when fathers and mothers see the desirability of having quality instead of quantity in their families.

In these maladjustments, a strong public opinion and individual education will alone be effective. On the other hand, there are maladjustments in which public opinion, individual education, and legislation

must all be organized and called into play. These forces combined are essential in eliminating the maladjustment due to uniformity in education; the existence of low wages and standards; insanitary living conditions; congestion of population; infant mortality; and the short duration of the working life. Such maladjustments require, first, a thorough investigation; second, an intensive drilling into the public mind; and third, crystallization in the form of law.

There is a third group of maladjustments in which individual education has been given, public opinion developed, and which, therefore, only waits for the enactment of the necessary legislation. Overwork, dangerous trades, industrial accidents, child labor, and unemployment are all included in this group. Indeed, in the case of industrial accidents and child labor, legislation has already been passed in many states, and is in some cases being reasonably enforced.

The maladjustments due to the dependence of women and the decadence of the home can be met and mastered by public opinion and individual education, and in a small homogeneous group, all of the other maladjustments, if they exist, can be overcome by public opinion alone. In a large community, however, public opinion is not a sufficiently definite form of social disapprobation.

IV. *The Social Expert*

Social disapprobation is a loose and yielding force, and the social mind is often only partially or even erroneously informed as to the minutia of any problem which it may have under consideration. For example, child labor and sweatshop work are almost universally condemned. The social conscience has been aroused regarding them, and the social mind is very definitely set against either their continuance or the continuance of their most objectionable forms, yet the condemnation of these two maladjustments is not based upon any great knowledge, and, therefore, cannot lead to definite results. The average person who opposes sweatshops does so because he feels that they are wrong. But as to why they are wrong, or as to the extent to which they exist, he knows nothing.

These indefinite and indeterminate ideas of the social mind can be made definite and determinate only through expert investigation and analysis, and through the passage of legislation based on such investigation and analysis. This places the enforcement of the social feeling of disapproval in the hands of experts, specially trained for social work.

An illustration will best bring out the thought. The public heartily disapproves of insanitary tenement

house conditions. Thinking citizens believe that good houses should be provided and sanitation be insisted upon. They know that tenements exist; they know some of them are far below the standard which is required by decency, and they know that this standard can be attained at moderate expense and with some attention and care. Yet all of this knowledge comes, not from any personal contact with the tenements, but through second-hand information, — newspapers, magazines, tenement investigations, and the statements of interested men and women.

Nor indeed is it contended that the average citizen should have a knowledge derived from close personal contact with tenement house conditions. That, under present circumstances, is manifestly impossible. All modern development is toward expert work. In the various branches of science, of industry, and of social work so much has been written and said and done that it is physically impossible for any one man to master a great portion of the field even in a narrow, specialized line of work. And he therefore devotes his time to some particular study which is accepted by his colleagues and by the public at large as conclusive regarding the particular point under consideration.

A great scientist isolates the germ of tuberculosis after years of painstaking experiment. Other scientists and the general public do not insist upon going

over the same line of experiments, — they accept the testimony of the scientific expert and act accordingly. A group of men evolve a means of manufacturing high grade steel cheaper and better than by the old method, — their work is accepted and wherever feasible adopted. A social expert analyzes the traffic conditions, growth of population, and topography of a city; studies the construction of cities and tenements abroad; and finally, after years of investigation, he evolves a plan for the remodeling of an American city, or of a section of tenements. The opinion of such a man is taken and acted upon in exactly the same way that the discoveries and creations of the scientist and the steel expert are accepted and acted upon.

Legislatures are each year appointing commissions to investigate housing, sanitation, and other kindred social questions, with the provision that the commission secure the services of a social expert. Those who go before a legislature with a request for child labor reform are asked to present their evidence, — the facts based on expert investigation and analysis, — which proves whether child labor is harmful, and if so, at what ages and under what conditions.

Society must form a concept of its responsibility in relation to a given maladjustment; the various educational forces must supply knowledge and interest in the maladjustment under discussion; but expert in-

vestigation must precede public education, and an intelligent public opinion must be based on an expert analysis of the facts in each case.

V. *The Execution of Public Opinion*

It is necessary that the public mind reach some conclusions regarding a course of action relative to the various maladjustments, but the detail both of the conditions themselves, of the best course of action, and of the working out of the individual problems, must be left to experts. No individual members of society can be expected to devote a large portion of time to the working out of the detail of maladjustments, nor would it be reasonable to suppose that a person engaged in one line could know the detail of all of the lines in which maladjustments exist and in which, therefore, a feeling of social responsibility would lead to public action.

This is the direction which the government has taken during the past quarter century. Society has waked up to its responsibility, formed its concepts, and then committed them to specialists for detailed investigation and action. This is very plainly seen in the development of factory legislation, child labor legislation, sweatshop legislation, the organization of playgrounds, advanced forms of education, and in-

numerable other instances in which the social conscience has been aroused, and has designated a line of action. The work itself has then been carried out by experts who have made life studies of some definite field.

It is thus clearly necessary, first, that the social conscience be awakened, and secondly, that its views be crystallized in the form of legislation. In the organization of the feeling of social consciousness, and in the development of legislation, there is a widespread and recognized need for expert work. It is usually necessary, however, to combine an aroused social consciousness with legislation. There are a few instances, such as dependence of women and low standards, where it is possible to eliminate social cost and maladjustment through the development of a social consciousness alone; but in general social consciousness when unsupported by legislation is too vague and indefinite to have any marked effect. To bring results the two must work together, acting and reacting.

VI. *The Necessity for Legislative Uniformity*

Effective legislation accordingly must be based upon scientifically ascertained facts, but, in addition, it must be uniform from state to state. The inequality resulting from lack of such uniformity can

be shown by an example. West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania surround a natural gas field which extends into all three states. The glass industry depends for its supply of fuel on natural gas and locates in the gas region. In one state no boy under sixteen may work after 9 P.M.; in the second state, the minimum age is twelve; while in the third the minimum age is fourteen. As a twelve-year-old boy is as efficient, while much cheaper, than a sixteen-year-old boy, the manufacturer in the sixteen-year state can undersell either of his competitors. The manufacturers in the states having a high standard constantly threaten to leave and go to the state with the low standard, and this threat is a powerful weapon in a legislative committee.

The same situation now exists in the Southern states, each of which fears that an effective child labor law will drive the cotton manufacturing business into other states having less stringent legislation. The lack of uniform legislation may, therefore, prove an actual bar to the elimination of maladjustment. The manufacturer does not deny that child labor is harmful, but he asserts that a high age standard, by raising his expense of production, will make it impossible for him to compete in the open market.

There is still another disadvantage of nonuniform legislation. Suppose that for the relief of unemploy-

ment a series of labor exchanges be established in New York and Illinois, while none of the other states adopt such a system. The effectiveness of the exchanges would be greatly hampered. Suppose, on the other hand, that all the North Atlantic and North Central states maintained systems of labor exchanges which coöperated closely, — the efficiency of the system would manifestly be greatly improved.

Acceptable codes of employers' liability laws, and laws regulating dangerous trades and accidents, will probably never be passed until the adjoining states, or states engaged in similar industries, coöperate in their enactment.

Legislation is a necessity in a modern heterogeneous community. To be effective, this legislation must be founded on facts scientifically ascertained and analyzed, and it must be enforced by experts trained to the administration of social legislation. Finally, uniformity in social legislation is a necessity; and until uniformity is secured, social legislation cannot be made completely effective.

CHAPTER XVII

THE METHODS OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

I. *The Problem*

Two chapters have been devoted to the remedies for maladjustment, — one dealing with education, the other with legislation. The present chapter is written for the purpose of briefly outlining the various programs which have been advanced for the elimination of maladjustment, and of indicating what seems to be the most efficacious method of securing adjustment.

Adjustment is both desirable and possible: desirable because it insures a normal, healthy society; possible because the average man has a minimum of latent capacity which in the presence of opportunity will develop into achievement.

Without question this latent capacity exists. Yet the impression prevails generally in the community that human depravity, and not human capacity, is normal; that maladjustment is permanent though undesirable, while adjustment, though desirable, is unattainable.

"'Total depravity is a comfortable doctrine,' said

the old lady in a New England prayer meeting, 'and I believe in it, but I never knew any one to live up to it.' Maladjustment is a very uncomfortable doctrine, but it is easy, alas, to find many who live up to it." [1]

With maladjustment so varied in form and so distinct in type, it becomes necessary to inquire what, in general, are its causes. Why does maladjustment persist in the face of possible adjustment?

II. *The Causes of Maladjustment*

Maladjustment in the home, the school, industry, and society is a very real thing, and modern investigations indicate clearly that maladjustment is not the result of depravity, but of bad economic and social surroundings. This thought is forcefully presented in a letter from a district agent of the New York Charity Organization Society. This agent came in contact with the life of those who suffer most severely from the effects of maladjustment, and in her letter she describes the typical course of personal and family history from ignorance and inefficiency to poverty, and from poverty to misery and distress.

"Ignorance," she says, "not necessarily a lack of

[1] "Social Forces," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909, p. 50.

book learning, is one of the prime causes of poverty — ignorance of all that goes to make up life. A child reared in a very poor home has to go to work before he should. He drudges away and adds his little mite to the family budget. He is underfed and improperly fed; he has had no child life, and finally he tires of putting all his wage into the house and not having money to handle; he meets a girl who has probably a similar story to tell; they marry, thinking to better their condition, neither of them having anything like the knowledge that one should possess to enter into that bond; neither have they any regard as to whether they are physically fit to marry; no cash saved, not even reasonably sure of an income. They buy their household effects on the installment plan, and before they have had time to pay for them the husband loses his work; in the meantime the wife has had them both insured; that runs behind — the majority of the poor starve themselves that they may be in a position to have a decent burial; their rent piles up; they have had to pinch and save and run in debt to get food of any description; their bodies have been undernourished; they may have their rooms in a basement because the rent is cheap; one or the other contracts rheumatism; the wife becomes pregnant; a midwife or a maternity hospital confines her; she does not get the proper food or after attention. . . . She gets careless;

she scarcely weans the baby until another is on the way; she has never been taught her duty as a mother; she cannot recall any early training or example in this direction, . . . she has no apparent pride in herself, home, or husband, does not understand how to make the most of things; . . . she is discouraged and is beginning to show the strain; the second child fares worse than the first; she has not been taught how to prepare meals properly; she has no idea of the kind of food which is most wholesome; she has no time to prepare a meal, having spent the morning hours in gossip with neighbors; she runs to the delicatessen store and pays two or three times as much for an improperly cooked dish as it is worth, and serves it cold; it is not conducive to her husband's comfort, health, or temper; . . . in short, her home life with her husband is worse than her parental home was. The husband gets sick; if he goes to the dispensary and gets medicine, he does not follow it up and take the medicine as he should — they lack that great essential, thoroughness. He returns to work too soon; finally is handicapped by disease of some kind which prevents his working as usual, but the babies continue to come with perfect regularity. Immorality in the home results from crowded conditions; children see what is not fit for their eyes and early begin practices ruinous to them and to those with whom they come in contact. Chil-

dren are conceived while their parents are drunk — they learn the taste of drink with their mother's milk. What can be expected of the outcome? The mother knows nothing of her duty as a mother; she, too, is run down in health; the children have not had half a chance, and as soon as they are large enough, history repeats itself, and so it goes." [1]

The truth of this letter is emphasized in the report of an investigation into the "principal disabilities in five thousand dependent families in New York City." [2] Unemployment affected 4424 individuals in 69.16 per cent of the five thousand families, and of the twenty-five disabilities enumerated it occupys the leading place. Overcrowding is made responsible for disability in 44.68 per cent of the families; widowhood in 29.44 per cent; chronic physical disability other than tuberculosis or rheumatism for 27.3 per cent; temporary physical disability other than accident or childbirth for 19.87 per cent; more than 3 children under 14 for 18.88 per cent. All of these causes are external, — objective; they are not the fault but the misfortune of the individual.

Summarized under eight instead of twenty-five heads, the disabilities of 1000 families in 1906 to 1907,

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. 170–172.

[2] *Supra*, p. 204.

a normal year, are analyzed. Of the 1000 families, 764 suffered from personal disability of all kinds; 669 from unemployment; 387 from widowhood and desertion; 324 from overcrowding; 182 from strangeness to the environment; 169 from more than three children under 14; and from incapacity due to old age in 120 families.

The man on the street assumes that vicious propensities, intemperance, bad habits, and the like are responsible for disability; yet the study of these 5000 New York families shows that the most prevalent form of bad habit, intemperance, exists in only 16.66 per cent of the families; while the study of 1000 families includes under "Defect in Character" as a cause of disability only 425 families. "Defect in Character" was interpreted very broadly "in order that there might be no ground for inferring that its full weight was not given. Every family in which there was a wayward child, or a woman with a bad temper, or any one who was lazy, has been counted in, though in many of these cases, there may be physiological or external reasons for what seems to be faults." [1]

The causes of maladjustment are thus primarily economic and social. While the personal element plays a part in creating maladjustment, it is but an

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. 225–226.

insignificant part. Drunkenness, vice, criminal tendencies, depravity, — all of the old explanations of the causes of misery, poverty, and maladjustment are thrust aside by scientific investigation and analysis. The economic and social factors loom large in family life, and personal factors pale into insignificance.

III. *Adjustment is Normal and Attainable*

The maladjustments discussed all answer to the tests laid down at the beginning of the book. They are due to economic causes; they result in social cost, and they are remediable. Under the old doctrine, which held men accountable personally for social cost, little remedial work except that of improving heredity could be undertaken; but under the new doctrine, which attributes maladjustment, not to personal depravity, but to economic causes, the world is filled with opportunities for improvement. Maladjustment has become an easily preventable thing.

After many years of experience with miserable people, Dr. Devine concludes: "The question which I raise is whether the wretched poor, the poor who suffer in their poverty, are poor because they are shiftless, because they are undisciplined, because they drink, because they steal, because they have superfluous children, because of personal depravity, per-

sonal inclination, and natural preference; or whether they are shiftless and undisciplined and drink and steal and are unable to care for their too numerous children because our social institutions and economic arrangements are at fault. I hold that personal depravity is as foreign to any sound theory of the 'hardships' of our modern poor as witchcraft or demoniacal possession; that these hardships are economic, social, traditional, measurable, manageable."[1]

The poor are poor, not because they are shiftless, but because their environment has prevented them from being anything but poor. Social adjustment is possible, but it depends on normality. Normality is the natural condition of adjustment which might prevail between men and their institutions if efficient effort were made to secure the adjustment. "The depraved man is not the natural man; for in him the natural is suppressed beneath a crushing load of misfortunes, superstitions, and ill-fitting social conventions."[2]

The duty of society is plain, — remove the load, alter the conventions, reshape the traditions that rest so heavily upon men's lives, and secure for all of them a bright, open future, replete with opportunity

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. 11–12.

[2] "New Basis of Civilization," Dr. Simon N. Patten, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907, p. 205.

and the possibility of achievement. Already the trail is blazed. The doctrine of natural depravity has been interred, never again to be exhumed, and the fields, white for harvest, call for workers to take the trail, enter the fields, and open to all the opportunity for normality, to which they will respond by living normal lives.

The way is plain, the path of progress clear, and woe unto this generation if it refuse, for it must then be stamped with the mark of barbarism. "Our children's children may learn with amazement how we thought it a natural social phenomenon that men should die in their prime, leaving wives and children in terror of want; that accidents should make an army of maimed dependents; that there should not be enough houses for workers; and that epidemics should sweep away multitudes as autumn frost sweeps away summer insects. They will wonder that the universal sadness of such a world should have appealed to our transient sympathies, but did not absorb our widest interests. They will ask why there was some hope of succor for those whose miseries passed for a moment before the eyes of the tender-hearted, but none for the dwellers beyond the narrow horizon within which pity moves. And they will be unable to put themselves in our places, because the new social philosophy which we are this moment framing will have so

molded their minds that they cannot return to the philosophy that molds ours." [1]

IV. *The Factors in Adjustment*

Maladjustment is preventable, normality is attainable, all men and women may enjoy opportunity and taste of achievement. There is a way open, and the will is fast developing to render the way practicable. The way lies in the elimination of maladjustment; the will is the developing feeling of social responsibility.

After dealing at length with the problem of maladjustment and its resultant burden of misery, Dr. Devine enumerates the following as the necessary conditions of normality:—

1. "A sound physical heredity. . . ."
2. "Protected childhood. . . ."
3. "A prolonged working period for both men and women. . . ."
4. "Freedom from preventable disease. . . ."
5. "Freedom from professional crime. . . ."
6. "Some general system of insurance against all of the ordinary contingencies which now cause dependence or a sudden extreme lowering of the standard of living. . . ."
7. That "the prevailing system of elementary education shall be adapted to present-day needs and resources, freed from the incubus of outgrown traditions, and inspired by a

[1] "New Basis of Civilization," Dr. Simon N. Patten, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907, pp. 197–198.

new ideal — the ideal of an education for rational living, both on the occupational side and with reference to the use which we are to make of the incomes which we earn. . . ."

8. "A Liberal Relief System. . . ."

9. "There should be a standard of living high enough to insure full nourishment, reasonable recreation, shelter. . . ."

10. Religion. "It is the greatest thing in the world, but it is not yet social. . . ."[1]

Establish this normal environment, and, as Ward clearly shows in his "Applied Sociology," the latent human ability existing everywhere will at once develop, giving society an appreciable addition to the energy and ability already being utilized. Given this promise, the question naturally arises, "How can this be done? What methods should society pursue to gain this desired end?" The answer exists everywhere in the programs for the elimination of adjustment.

V. *Methods for the Elimination of Maladjustment*

The chapter on "Educational Remedies for Maladjustment" dealt with five groups of activities which were serving to educate society to a realization of the social cost of maladjustment and the possibilities and advantages of adjustment. These activities constitute the methods which have been advocated for the elimina-

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. 241–251.

tion of maladjustment. Any discussion of the elimination of maladjustment must begin with an analysis of these methods, and the remainder of the chapter will therefore be devoted to such an analysis, and an attempt will be made to show what advantages each of the methods suggested possesses, what useful purpose each may serve, and the limitations upon each.

These conclusions can be authenticated by examining (1) the object, (2) the operation, and (3) the result of the work of each movement.

VI. *The Labor Union*

A previous section outlined the activities of the labor union as an educative force. As such, the union performs an important function, particularly in the case of the adult immigrant. It now becomes necessary to inquire into the efficacy of the trade-union program for securing adjustment. What are the methods employed by unions to eliminate maladjustment, and in how far are these methods successful in the elimination of maladjustment?

Broadly speaking, the union program for adjustment follows two lines: first, an attempt to secure a fairer share in the distribution of wealth; and second, an attempt to improve working conditions through persuasion, coercion, and legislation.

The chief efforts of the union have been directed toward removing maladjustment by securing for their members a fairer share of the product of industry. They attempt to do this through (1) increase in wages; (2) decrease in the number of hours; (3) a bettering of working conditions; and (4) an organization that will through education elevate the members of the union so that they will see their responsibilities and privileges. Generally speaking, it is fair to say that the main object of unionism has been an increase in the economic well-being of the members who join the union, — an elimination of maladjustment and a living wage established as a basis for adjustment.

The attempts of the unions to secure a fairer share of the products of industry have led to an emphasis on the right of collective bargaining; the necessity of the closed shop in furthering the collective bargain; and the strike, the boycott, and various forms of coercion. On the employer's side the lockout, the blacklist, and the injunction have been relied upon to enforce the employer's demands and to maintain an open shop.

So long as the unions were organized on a national basis and the employers were either unorganized and competing, or else organized only locally, the power of the unions was very great, and in many cases they secured extensive concessions. In some cases one employer would pay a labor leader to call a strike on a

competitor and thus embarrass him. Then the first employer would laugh gleefully at the discomfiture of his rival and go on his way rejoicing. No sooner had the union secured concessions from one employer than it turned to the others demanding like concessions from each in return.

But two can play at almost any game. The unions organized on a national basis; the employers did likewise; and the American Federation of Labor now faces the National Manufacturers' Association. So long as the union alone was organized it succeeded. With the organization of the employers, the attempt of the union men to secure an increase in the proportion of the products of industry has usually been frustrated. In many cases a rise in the rate of wages is at once offset by a corresponding increase in the price of the commodity. In other cases the unions are overwhelmed by a great array of funds supplied by manufacturers all through the country. In case the wages are increased and the prices raised, the rank and file of the people of the country is forced to pay the bill. When force is resorted to, the unions suffer.

It is during the last twenty years that the National Association of Manufacturers, the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, and employers' associations in all sections of the country generally have been organized and put on a firm basis. The history of unionism during those

two decades has been one long succession of failures. Lost strikes, closed shops opened, injunctions of the most sweeping character, adverse court decisions, and adverse legislative action have all helped to curtail union activity.

The great success of several of the more important unions led to the formation of a manufacturers' association, representing most of the prominent manufacturing interests in the United States. In 1907 a fund of a million and a half dollars was agreed upon by the National Manufacturers' Association as a requisite amount for expenditure during the next three years in the "education" of the public to see the detrimental results of trade-unionism. Since the formation of this manufacturers' association and the various employers' associations in the cities and towns, organized labor in general has lost ground on every hand. Strike after strike has been called and lost, as the employers all over the country joined in defending the one company against which the strike was directed.

The idea underlying the union movement is that the laboring man should get a larger share of the products of industry. A larger amount of money most of the union men have secured, but with the increased prices, it buys him little or no more than did the smaller amount. The outcome of union activity therefore

means little to the average union man. For the non-union member of the community, it means the payment of a higher price for consumption goods. Such a man is therefore worse off because of union activity. On the other hand, the employer has increased the proportion of his receipts, in some cases enormously, during the twenty years when trade-unions have been most active. In short, the end which unions were organized to gain has not been achieved.

The unions as a whole have failed to secure their first and chief object, — a fairer distribution of the products of industry. Some skilled trades, like the building trades, have improved their conditions through unionism, as have some semiskilled and unskilled trades, like the miners, but the resulting high prices have meant a loss to the remainder of the community.

The attempts of the unions to improve working conditions have proved much more successful. The stronger unions, through shop agreements, strikes, boycotts, and legislative efforts, have greatly improved the conditions under which they work. Shorter hours, better ventilation, and a regulation of "speed" may all be numbered among the achievements of the unions. While they have failed in their main object, — a fairer distribution of wealth, — they have been successful in removing some of the other forms of maladjustment.

Unions have also aided in securing employers' liability laws, child labor, and sweatshop legislation, and similar enactments, which aim at the improvement of working conditions and the broadening of opportunity.

As an agency in readjusting the distribution of wealth, the unions have failed, but as an educative force, and as an agency for crystallizing working-class opinion in remedial legislation, the unions have proven markedly successful. They may justly be regarded as one of the most potent forces now working to raise the standard of public intelligence and to secure the legislative enactments necessary to remedy some of the most patent maladjustments.

VII. *Reform Movements*

There are many types of reform movements, — political, civic, industrial. They all aim at the direct or indirect elimination of maladjustment through some change in governmental, social, or industrial machinery. While often inspired by the loftiest motives, the reformer fails sadly in method. Political reforms have eliminated few maladjustments; civic reforms have assisted in a measure in the elimination of maladjustment; and industrial reforms have likewise been measurably successful.

Political reforms bear only indirectly upon the maladjustments discussed in this book. It is true that in order to secure the legislation which will finally eliminate the maladjustments described, an appeal must be made to an enlightened, efficient, and representative legislative body, yet the measures requisite to secure such a legislative body form a subject too far afield of the present restricted study. Civic reforms are more pertinent to the present work and will be discussed in the section on philanthropy. Industrial reforms are numerous and varied, but for the purpose of this study only three of them will be dealt with: coöperation, a reform by the workers themselves, and profit sharing and welfare work, — reforms of the employer.

Certain phases of coöperation have had a very thorough development in the United States. It is probable that coöperative credit associations have been more extensively developed here than anywhere else, and in no country have so many coöperative communities been organized.

Coöperation refers to the voluntary association of persons in joint production, consumption, distribution, or purchase.

There are three kinds of coöperation: First, cooperative banking through coöperative banks, building societies, assurance societies, and the like. This is

a very underdeveloped form of coöperation, and yet it is everywhere prevalent, notably in lodges, fraternal societies, and building societies.

The second kind of coöperation, which has never been developed extensively in the United States, but which has been put on a firmly established basis in many European countries, is coöperation in consumption. The principal type of this coöperation is the coöperative store.

The third form of coöperation is coöperation in production, — either in agriculture, manufacturing, or some other mode of creating utilities in economic goods. In coöperative production, the coöperating parties furnish their own capital, and the results of the sales of goods produced are divided among the participants in the coöperative movement.

If coöperation is to be developed scientifically, the following essentials must be present: First, all of the profits of the enterprise must be shared by those engaging in it. This is opposed to profit sharing in which only a portion of the profits are shared among those engaging in the enterprise. Second, the removal from the hands of the few of autocratic power to dictate the conditions of industry. Under the present system, a small group of men decide industrial policies. The idea of the coöperators is that the majority, and not the minority, should decide the more important

questions relating to the business policy of the establishment with which they are connected. Advocates of this thought hold that the average man is just as interested in industrial questions as he is in political questions. Indeed, the industrial questions are, if anything, the more fundamental. Every one should therefore have a voice in disposing of these questions. Third, this democratizing of business would give the worker a real say in the method of carrying on the business, and thus give him an interest in its development and success that is not supplied in any profit-sharing system.

The advocates of coöperation have regarded it as a sure remedy for social maladjustment. While the system has nowhere been given an extensive trial, it is fair to say that looked upon as a remedy for our social ills, coöperation has proven a failure. With the exception of coöperation in such enterprises as building-loan associations, assurance societies, lodges, and similar societies, and the considerable success attending the consumers' coöperation in England and some parts of the Continent, the coöperative system has furnished very little ground for hope that it will afford an adequate relief or an ultimate remedy for maladjustment.

Coöperation cannot be of value in eliminating maladjustment unless it can regulate the conditions under which workers work and the share of the product of

industry which such a worker receives. Consumers' coöperation can provide only for the welfare of that portion of the working group which comes into direct contact with its stores and other enterprises. For the masses of the workers it can do nothing.

The immediate future will probably not witness any great extension of coöperative activity, and the present does not, therefore, hold out any promise that coöperation will play an important part in eliminating maladjustment.

Profit sharing differs essentially from coöperation. There are several methods of profit sharing, of which the most prominent are: —

1. A system of deferred participation in profits, under which a percentage of the profits is each year credited either to the entire body of employees as a unit or to specific employees. In the cases where it is credited to the employees as a unit, it takes the form of a provident fund. In order to share in this fund, the employee must be sick, injured, or subject to some other distressed condition which makes the payment of benefits desirable. In case the profits are credited to the employees individually, they receive their share of the profits either when they attain a specified age, remain a specified time in the establishment, or suffer an unusual pressure from sickness or accident. This system has been most extensively developed in France.

In English-speaking countries it has met with little success.

2. A second method of profit sharing is that of stock ownership by employees. In cases where the employee buys the stock, paying the full market price for it, there is evidently no profit sharing in its true sense, though such a system is often described as profit sharing. The employee is in no different relation to the company than is the average investor. In cases where the company sells stock to the employees at a special price, there is an approach to profit sharing, but it is not profit sharing in the true sense of the word. It is only where the stock is given outright to the employee that it can be fairly said that the business is on a profit-sharing basis.

3. The method of profit sharing that is most generally adopted in England and the United States is the cash bonus. The portion of the profits to be divided is paid to the employees in proportion to their wages or salaries and the number of hours' work for the year.

Profit sharing must, from its nature, be limited both as to applicability and as to amount. It may be successfully used to allay discontent and to restrain hasty or radical action, but as a means of eliminating maladjustment, it cannot be seriously considered.

Welfare work includes the provision by employers

of clubs, dining halls, recreation centers, wash rooms, rest rooms, educational facilities, and the like. Employers everywhere are adopting welfare work, improving and beautifying their factories, and making industrial activity more attractive for the workers. Welfare work is by no means a fundamental or far-reaching reform. It secures to the workers little more than would normally be demanded by a good factory law, its operation is restricted to a few employers, and it inspires the workers with a feeling that some charitable dole is being handed to them.

Reform movements are disconnected and in one sense spasmodic. They aim at securing fragmentary advances in various directions without laying any foundation for them in social consciousness or social intelligence. They are a partial result rather than a fundamental cause, and their effects have been measurably but not fundamentally beneficial. They are partially educational in their development, but as methods for securing adjustment, they are negligible factors.

VIII. *Social Panaceas*

The social panacea contrasts strongly with the reform movement. The latter takes some one objectionable feature and aims to eliminate it or palliate it; the panacea analyzes the entire field of activity,

evolves a theory based on maladjustment, and then, by the operation of this theory, aims to readjust society on a same basis. The two great modern examples of this form of panacea are the movements for single tax and for socialism.

Both single tax and socialism hold to the doctrine of human capacity and its possibilities in the presence of opportunity; both point to maladjustments which seriously curtail opportunity, then each presents a theory, the application of which will eliminate maladjustment and afford universal opportunity.

Henry George, writing in his "Progress and Poverty," published in 1879, asked the question, "Why, in spite of the increase in productive power, do wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living?" Starting with this question as a basis, he attempts to solve the problem by a change in the methods of taxation.

Henry George points out the fact that in primitive communities there is little difference between the richest and the poorest. In contrast with this condition where the wealth is greatest, population densest, and machinery most highly developed, there is the deepest poverty. "The tramp comes with the locomotive, — and almshouses and prisons are as surely the marks of 'material progress' as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches.

Upon streets lighted with gas and patrolled by uniformed policemen, beggars wait for the passer-by, and in the shadow of college and library and museum are gathered the most hideous Huns and Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied."

In these words George attempts to show the relation which now exists between progress and poverty — the latter seemingly an inevitable concomitant of the former. To do away with poverty is his object, and for the attainment of this object he proposes his single tax.

To remedy the anomalous contrasts of progress and poverty and the manifest unfairness of a taxing system which falls heaviest upon those least able to bear it, Henry George proposes to abolish all taxes save "one single tax levied on the value of land irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it." All of the taxing machinery would be done away except the machinery necessary to assess and tax land values; hence the name "single tax."

In discussing the single tax, it must be borne in mind that this land tax is a tax, not upon real estate, but upon land itself. Land is a natural resource, something furnished by nature and used by man. Real estate includes both the land originally provided by nature and the improvements made upon it by man. The single tax would be a tax on land values alone

and would take for the use of the state the entire "unearned increment" of land.

The single tax would cover the full economic value of the land. It would be so high that no man could secure an income by merely holding land. All of the income derived from land itself would be returned in the form of a tax to the government. The income, on the contrary, derived from the improvement on the land would not be taxed at all. Hence the emphasis would be laid on improving land rather than holding it unused for a rise in value.

The ideas of Henry George were advanced in the latter part of the nineteenth century after the country had evolved to the most complex stage of industrial civilization to which the world had thus far attained. Had the theories been proposed for a new and developing country, they might have had more chance of adoption, but they were to be applied to a country whose institutions were thoroughly developed, and whose traditions were set in the opposite direction. Men find it hard to change habits of thought and traditionary ideas, and the scheme of Henry George has proven a failure so far as an application of its principles to the affairs of government has been concerned.

In the first place, Henry George drew his illustrations and ideas from the most extreme cases which existed during the century. He saw the great land

grants in California lying idle, while unsuccessful miners clamored for a place to earn a living. He saw the contrast between the high wages incident to the discovery of gold and the low wages which followed the private appropriation of all gold-bearing land. He saw the slums of London, Philadelphia, and New York. He saw the effect on Ireland of absentee landlordism.

Perhaps the most vital reason for the lack of growth of the single tax movement has been the rather abstract character of its doctrine. Without question, Henry George's statements of the single tax have been effective in modifying the views of economists and thinking persons in general, on matters relative to land monopoly and special privilege. It is, on the other hand, undoubtedly true that the average man finds it difficult or impossible to follow the single tax theory and see the efficacy of the remedy which the single tax advances. It is not like the labor union movement or the socialist movement, which appeals directly to the people, and from which they can see the possibility of a direct beneficial outcome. The single tax is theoretical and requires an educated man to follow its arguments. For the majority of the community it is merely a name.

Under modern conditions there has grown up in the community another force, equally important with land in the production of wealth. Machinery has come to

stay. The single taxer proposes to socialize land only, holding that when land has been socialized, the consequent rise in wages will be sufficient to secure to the laborer sufficient capital to further any enterprise in which he may be interested.

As a matter of fact, under modern conditions, with the possible exception of the man who is panning gold or the fisherman or hunter, no man can carry on a productive operation without a considerable amount of wealth invested in capital. The farmer must have machinery and animals. The woodsman must have many tools to convert standing timber into lumber. The manufacturer of almost any staple commodity requires a great mass of capital goods. The miner must be backed by a considerable amount of capital before he can begin operations. In short, all modern enterprises, while deriving their wealth mainly from the soil, must depend intimately upon machinery if they are to be successfully worked out.

The single taxer has rendered his chief service to the community by causing the thinking element to regard in a new light the problems of land monopoly and special privilege; he has pointed out the existence of maladjustment and has indicated the way in which a number of problems must be solved. But he has unquestionably failed in presenting solution for maladjustment.

The single tax depends, for its application, upon an awakened social conscience and an aroused feeling of social responsibility, but no machinery is prepared for awakening the social conscience or for arousing the feeling of social responsibility. The maladjustments which Henry George points out are apparent, but his solution depends upon an awakened social conscience, for the development of which he suggests no method.

The theories of socialism differ radically from those of the single tax. Both theories point to maladjustment, but while the single taxer proposes to take the unearned increment of land, the socialist purposes to socialize capital.

There are many different forms of socialism, but for the purpose of this brief discussion, the only form that will be considered is Marxian or state socialism. In their propaganda, the socialistic thinkers have recognized the necessity of appealing to all groups, by basing their protests against the present system on some or all of the following points: —

1. The economic interpretation of history. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, history was looked upon as the record of the deeds of great men, of their battles and sieges, their successes, and their intrigues. The thought that lay behind this doctrine was that every now and then, through some special dispensation, the gods gave to man a hero or a number of heroes

to help him along his rugged path. These heroes, by pointing out easier and better methods of controlling the earth through war, succeeded in putting mankind on a much better basis than he had been before. History was looked upon as the result of the deeds of heroes, and heroes were the result of chance.

During the last fifty years, however, history has come to be thought of, not as a record of the doings of great men, but as a record of the general progress which society makes in a given epoch. The record is now, therefore, not of individual activity, but of the activity of the social group as a whole. If this standpoint is recognized, and history is looked upon as a record of the general progress of society and not of a few individuals, a science of history is possible, and human progress, as recorded in history, may be scientifically interpreted.

2. As a part of this concept of history, the theory of the class struggle is evolved. History is seen as a record, not of the doings of a few great men, but as a record of the struggles of contending classes, each one striving for supremacy. As one class falls, another rises to a supreme position. The first historic classes are formed when one race enslaves another through conflict. From that time forward classes are always contending. The real struggles are these class struggles. History has painted a picture only of the

actions of the leaders, yet the real history was made for the leaders by the contending classes.

The other doctrines that are advanced to support the theory of the socialist thinkers, are —

3. The doctrine that labor is the source of all value, and

4. The doctrine that the average worker is creating surplus value which will be enjoyed by the capitalist.

Starting with this basis in economic theory, the socialist evolves a program for political action. Socialism, in its militant form, is represented by a political machine. In the United States, little has been gained by the socialists, but in Belgium, France, and Germany, the socialist parties have made immense strides, and have secured legislation of a fundamental and extremely valuable character. The socialist movement in the United States has not, therefore, been a factor in the elimination of maladjustment. While its platform calls for many specific forms of adjustment, its policies have not been such as to put these demands into practical form.

Many of the socialistic demands have been granted in Europe, but the theories of socialism have never been extensively applied. The single tax theory has been applied in a modified form in New Zealand and Australia. The results have probably been beneficial, but maladjustment has not been eliminated.

There is no great theory which can be applied to human society *en masse*. If the reformer has deeds without thought, the advocate of a panacea has thought without deeds. A panacea is incompatible with the "age of discussion." A great despot might force a panacea upon his people in the course of a long, vigorous reign, but the educated and uneducated, prejudiced and open-minded, religious and agnostic, progressive and conservative, members of a free speech and free thought group will not adopt a panacea. Some features of it they may accept; some phases of it they may approve; but the panacea, as a panacea, will never be applied to a democracy.

IX. *Philanthropy*

The contrast between the advocate of a panacea and the social worker is fundamental. They are as far apart as the East and the West. Both believe in human capacity; both accept the presence of maladjustment and the possibility of adjustment; but the advocate of a panacea believes that all bad conditions should be eliminated at once, while the social worker holds that reform must inevitably be advanced in dribblets. Here a little, there a little, and again a little — to make up the completed whole. The panacea advocate would reform as Lincoln freed the slaves, with

a stroke of his pen. The social worker would make slavery unprofitable by successive remedial measures.

The social workers are a great force arrayed against maladjustment, working for the elimination of the individual rather than the social cost.

Each year the social workers of the United States hold a "National Conference of Charities and Corrections." The name would indicate a remedial agency, — the conference is in fact a fundamentally constructive one. A glance at the report of its last meeting will indicate the scope of its work.

The Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, held at Buffalo in 1909, covered a wide range of topics, including children, defectives, families, and neighborhoods, health and sanitation, immigrants, law breakers, press and publicity work, the use of statistics, and administration of philanthropic work.

Under the material on children, there appeared a discussion of the work done in Ontario, of child labor in the South, the juvenile court, the problem of breaking up families, truancy, and the relative functions of the individual and the state in the care of dependent and neglected children.

The problem of defectives included a discussion on insanity, the criminal insane, institutions for defec-

tives, preventable blindness, and the study of mental defectives.

The studies of families and neighborhoods included a discussion of the social problems of smaller cities, the family, and the wages of women, community life in country districts, social betterment in Southern mountainous districts, the effect of casual work upon family life, the relation of the neighborhood to the municipality, and the character and extent of public recreation.

The summary of these three headings in the conference work which typified the other headings named, will give a very adequate idea of the extent, intensity, and social importance of the work done by the National Conference.

The movement for social work is thus a broad one, including, in fact, more movements than can be classed as strictly philanthropic. Philanthropy, as used in this connection, refers to work of an altruistic nature privately endowed and maintained. The work is varied and of importance in two ways. In the first place, philanthropy cares for human wreckage, and in the second place, it ascertains facts upon which some of the most vital social theories are erected.

Progressive movements are usually initiated by private agencies. Government authorities care for the sick and the insane, dole out a minimum of charity,

and collect statistics of accidents and mortality; but the pioneer work along any one of these lines is done by some private agency.

The United States census contains the facts on which all modern work must be based, but there is probably no single publication in the United States which presents, in such concrete form, so many valuable social facts as are presented in *The Survey*, a magazine published by the philanthropic organizations of New York City.

Philanthropy is not a panacea. Philanthropic agencies administer the tithes of the rich, and they cannot expect, with a tithe, to undo the wrong which has been involved in building a great fortune. But while philanthropy cannot be extensively preventive in its work, it can assist in caring for the unfortunate and in preparing the facts upon which future educational work may be based.

X. *The Fundamental Elements in a Program of Adjustment*

Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. For centuries wise men in every progressive country have been earnestly seeking a method of adjustment; called by whatever name, using whatever means, appealing to whatever classes, the object has been the same.

During the nineteenth century, in particular, thought has been active. When society was more primitive, producing in a constant state of deficit, adjustment seemed impossible, but the creation of vast stores of economic goods by means of the improved productive machinery has given new life to old hopes. Plato dreamed of the time when machinery should replace slavery, — that time has come. Eighteenth century philosophers dreamed of a day when opportunity should be equal, — that day is fast approaching.

Human capacity is the corner stone, and the universal opportunity which will result from adjustment is the structure which will be called progress. When that structure is complete, when maladjustment is banished forever, and the normal instincts of man develop normally, — then every man, woman, and child will have rights, privileges, and opportunities equal to those of every other man, woman, and child.

The methods of securing adjustment described at the beginning of this chapter differ in many ways, but upon one thing they are in accord, — they aim to remove maladjustment, to establish normal conditions of life and work, and thus to provide universal opportunity. Whatever else may be said of these methods, they unite in their ultimate end, — normality.

Another element common to all of the methods of

securing adjustment is the demand for education. "Our method," says each group, "depends upon an enlightened public opinion. The public must be educated to see our point of view." In short, each group believes that its method is the method of securing adjustment, but the method cannot be tried until public sanction is secured, and public sanction rests ultimately on a basis of public education.

The various methods for securing adjustment are thus reduced to a common denominator, in which there are two elements common to every one of the adjustment methods. The first of these is the elimination of maladjustment and the provision of opportunity; the second is the recognition of the necessity for education before any method of securing adjustment will be adopted.

A program for adjustment shapes itself naturally out of this analysis. The aim of all is the same, — opportunity. The methods of all are similar, — education. The fundamental element in an adjustment program must, therefore, be an education which shall be so directed as to show clearly the disastrous effects of maladjustment, the possibilities of human capacity, and the pressing necessity and the immediate possibility of establishing adjustment.

The primary necessity is a thinking population. A thinking population can be created only through a

good system of education. If men and women think, they will act. If they think wisely, they will act wisely, and in a democracy the test of the wisdom of thought is the wisdom of action. If the people of the United States believed sincerely, fervently, in the possibility of adjustment, they would secure it. Their failure to do so indicates a lack of knowledge as to the means and ends of an adjustment program.

The action of a democratic people can rise no higher than the public enlightenment. Enlighten the public, and enlightened action will inevitably follow.

What, then, is the adjustment program? How shall men work in order that they may see opportunity universalized? There are four things that follow one another "as the night the day": (1) the facts must be established; (2) they must be honestly construed and interpreted by experts; (3) they must be made a part of common knowledge through the public school system; and (4) legislation must be drawn up and passed with these facts as a basis.

There are three groups of facts that must be secured: (1) the facts about the universality of human capacity; (2) the facts of maladjustment; and (3) the facts from other lands and other ages showing the methods that must be pursued in securing adjustment. These facts have been secured, but they rest for the most part in ponderous, unreadable vol-

umes on dusty library shelves. They are not living facts, as they should be.

Expert analysis has construed and interpreted these facts. Their construction and interpretation are likewise far from the light of day — in wearisome treatises, covered by a mass of technical works and cumbrous phrases.

The public school system has not wakened to a sense of its trust or its potentialities. Its course includes the minor things, the petty details, upon which little depends. The great things of life, the social things, it wholly neglects. The school does not even prepare its pupils to live their individual lives efficiently, much less does it lay a broad basis for social action. The facts of human capacity, of maladjustment, and of the effect of universalizing opportunity are unknown to a great majority of public school-teachers, who plod on wearily from day to day neither knowing nor caring for those higher things.

The result of the lack of public education reflects itself sharply in the lack of adequate legislation. The Workmen's Insurance laws of Germany; the Old Age Pensions and Workmen's Compensation Act of Great Britain; the Industrial Disputes Act of Canada; the Unemployment Measures in Switzerland; the French legislation which has so universalized and equalized opportunity, — all of these legislative measures shame

us by their presence on the statute books of other lands and their absence from our own.

Investigation, education, and legislation are the triune of activities which will insure adjustment. Unknown facts should be investigated; the known facts should be made a part of public education. Public education should be remodeled to prepare men and women for social action, and social action will be expressed in the form of wise legislation.

A similar program is presented by Dr. Devine, who thus sums up the results of his investigation of misery in New York: —

"Not less than upon legislators, judges, and editors, perhaps even more directly than upon any of these, there rests a social responsibility on teachers and educational authorities who direct their work and determine what facilities they shall have. If my district agents are right in the opinions which I have presented from them, — that ignorance is at the bottom of the greater part of the misery which they encounter, — then is not the responsibility for that misery brought very directly home to the Board of Education and to the Board of Estimate, which decide upon the amount of the appropriation placed at their disposal? You will remember that we were speaking mainly, not of immigrants, nor of those who have moved into New York from other places. The families with whom these

district agents are best acquainted, from whom they get those strong impressions showing such remarkable unanimity, were New York families. . . . But they are ignorant of the things which as children they should have been taught. They are ignorant of things which in night schools they may even as adults be taught. They are ignorant of the best occupations to pursue, ignorant of how to earn an income and how to spend it — and the ignorance which is their misfortune and handicap they are to some extent passing on to their children." [1]

Epitomizing the entire situation, he adds:—

"The relation between increased efficiency and diminished misery is so direct and obvious that I have long looked to the teacher in the elementary schools as the one best entitled to be known as the social worker." [2]

Ignorance of the fundamental essentials of life underlies maladjustment and thwarts progress. The program for the future is stated with equal force.

"To secure the recognition of present standards, and to remove the obstacles which prevent whole groups in the community from realizing those standards in their lives, is, then, the twofold task in which

[1] "Misery and Its Causes," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. 260–262.

[2] *Supra*, p. 262.

practical citizens and philanthropists of inner vision may unite. In this task there is obviously a place for scientific research and educational propaganda on the one hand, and on the other for such environmental improvements, whether by the state or by private enterprise, as will make it possible for children to develop normally and for men and women of ordinary intelligence and efficiency to lead normal lives. . . . We must know what is now possible and practicable; we must diffuse this knowledge to the utmost extent; and we must remove the barriers, whether deliberately erected by greed and injustice or remaining because of indifference and neglect, which keep well-intentioned and physically well-endowed workingmen and their families from entering into the full enjoyment of these things which have been found to be reasonable and practicable." [1]

"Research and publicity, however effective and disinterested, do not complete the undertaking. Social work involves still another class of activities which are more apt to encounter opposition because they inevitably run athwart privilege and selfish business interests. The abolition of child labor, the restriction of the labor of women in certain industries, the regulation of dangerous trades, the maintenance of

[1] "Social Forces," Dr. Edward T. Devine, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909, pp. 63–64.

definite standards of habitation and of sanitation, the prohibition of poisonous foods and drugs, the taxation of franchise and monopoly privileges or their regulated sale in an open market so that socially created values may be shared equitably by the entire community, are illustrations of the methods by which in certain critical points normal standards must be enforced by legislation and the courts." [1]

The facts about human capacity and maladjustment presented in this volume are established beyond cavil. They are facts which should be universally known and realized.

The net result of the universalizing of these facts, and the discovery and presentation of new facts must inevitably be an elevation of the ideals and standards of the community and the consequent development of a body of effective legislation.

"Investigation, education, legislation — a program for adjustment." The consummation of the program will universalize opportunity, socialize achievement, and guarantee adjustment.

[1] *Supra*, p. 65.

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