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Contributors

Smith, Samuel George, 1852-1915.

Publication/Creation

New York : Macmillan, 1911.

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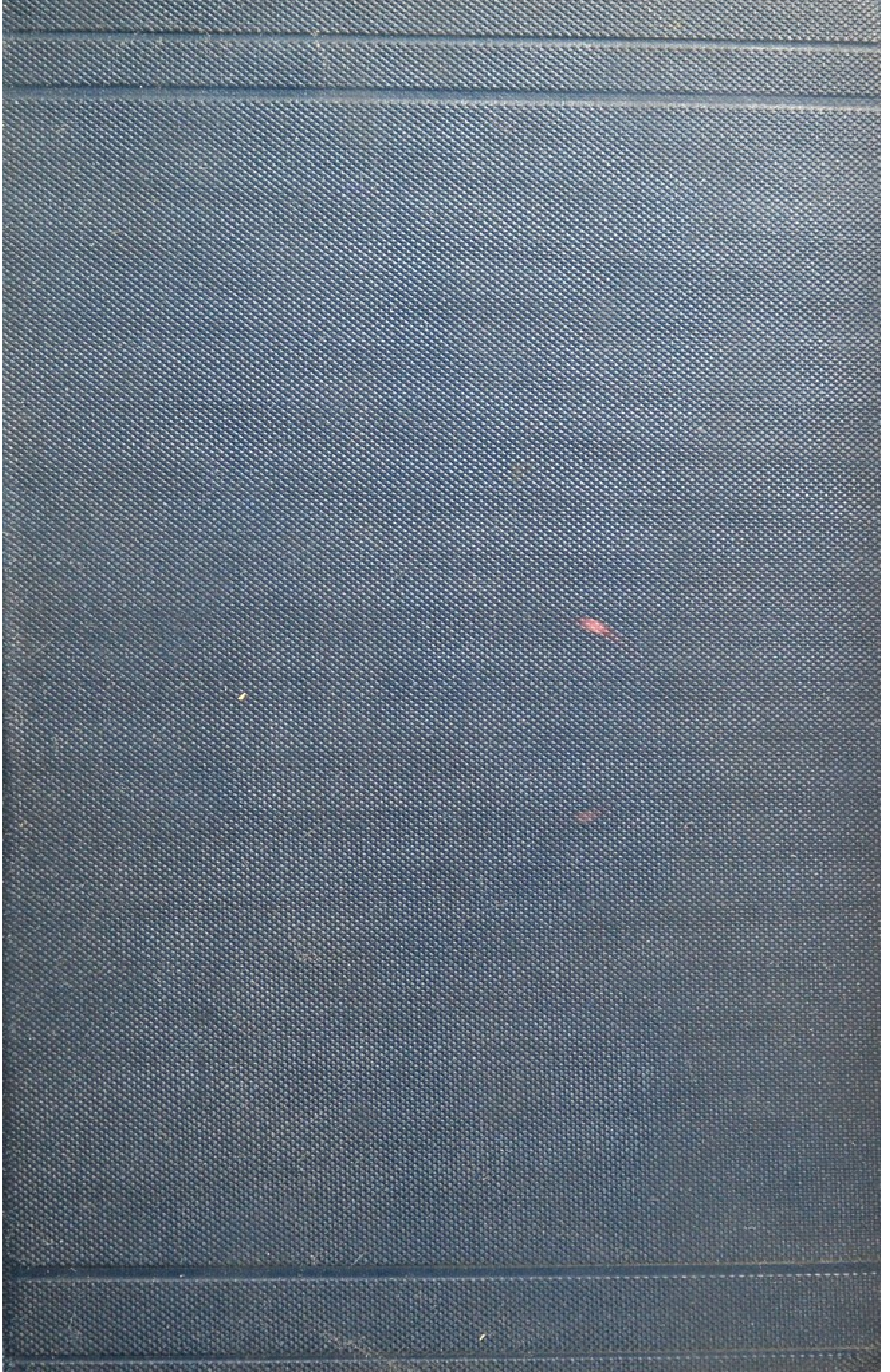

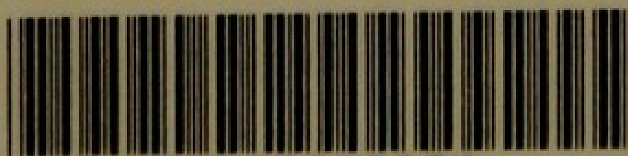
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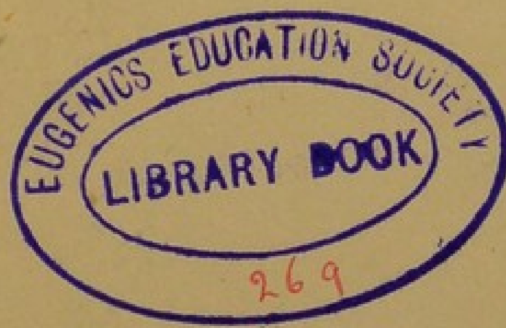

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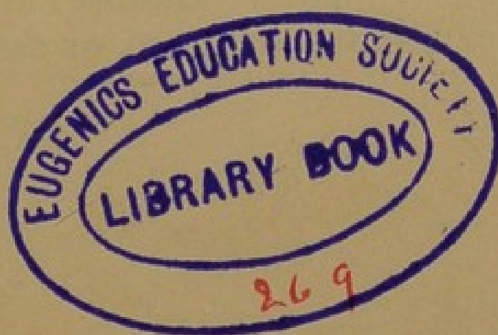
SOCIAL PATHOLOGY



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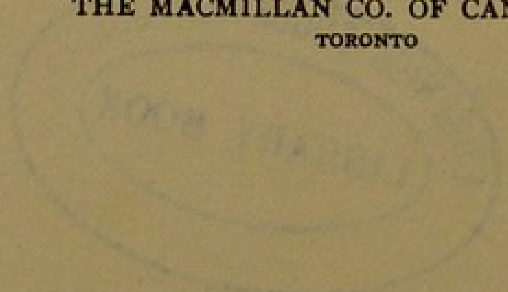

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

BY

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PREFACE

This volume is an introduction to the principal subjects connected with the defeats of human society. It is an effort to furnish points of view for the study of the problems of charities and correction. The field is so vast that it is manifest much important matter must be omitted, and the sense of proportion in such a task will depend altogether upon the nature and extent of the reader's investigations.

The central doctrine in this book is that both society and the individual are dominated by psychical influences. The civilized social group is bound together by those processes which distinguish men from the other animals. There is a great gulf between human society and the animal world. The importance of the individual depends upon the efficiency of society. The individual is successful to the extent that he is controlled by social forces. In this statement there is no denial of a certain range of individual responsibility, but the question of personal responsibility is largely academic. The insane person is not responsible for his delusions, though he may be responsible for having become insane. The pauper and the confirmed criminal, from many points of view, are no more responsible than the insane; but in the period before they became social outcasts some one was responsible.

The feeble-minded constitute a class by themselves, and state guardianship and control are indicated for a very large number.

The ordinary studies in what is known as degeneration commence too late. It is easy enough to show that the pauper, the criminal, and the insane may be included under the vague term "degenerate." The point to discover is where the departure from normal human life began, and what were the malign influences that caused it. The inductions of this book, upon which a large body of practical workers in all the various fields substantially agree, indicate that most children are well born, and are afterward ruined by physical accident or disease, or else by the failure of the home and the state.

The doctrine of heredity has been largely overworked. Environment has not been set forth in suitable terms. Social hygiene has not been enough emphasized. The most of the problems begin with the newborn child, and are usually settled for him by the time he is fourteen years of age.

Physical measurements, physical diagnosis, psychopathic laboratories, and the slaughter of the unfit are efforts in the wrong direction. The same forces that have made men walk erect, that have given the human animal his enormous advantage of brain capacity, and that have made him, in spite of all his faults, master of the world, indicate that there are no cheap and easy solutions for the diseases of society.

I am under obligations, not alone to the writers who are mentioned, but to many others also, for the literature upon the various topics discussed is very large. I am indebted quite as much to practical charity workers, superintendents of hospitals for the insane, and prison officials, who have written no books, but who have shared with me the wisdom of their experience. It is not alone to my American fellow-workers, but to those similarly engaged in nearly every European country that I must acknowledge obligation. For twenty years I have been discussing these subjects with university classes, and during the entire time, both as an investigator and as an official, I have had special opportunities for the study of these problems.

It is quite impossible that work covering so many branches of the subject should escape errors, and I shall be greatly indebted to specialists in the various fields who will favor me with their suggestions.

SAMUEL G. SMITH.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
ST. PAUL, June 17, 1911.

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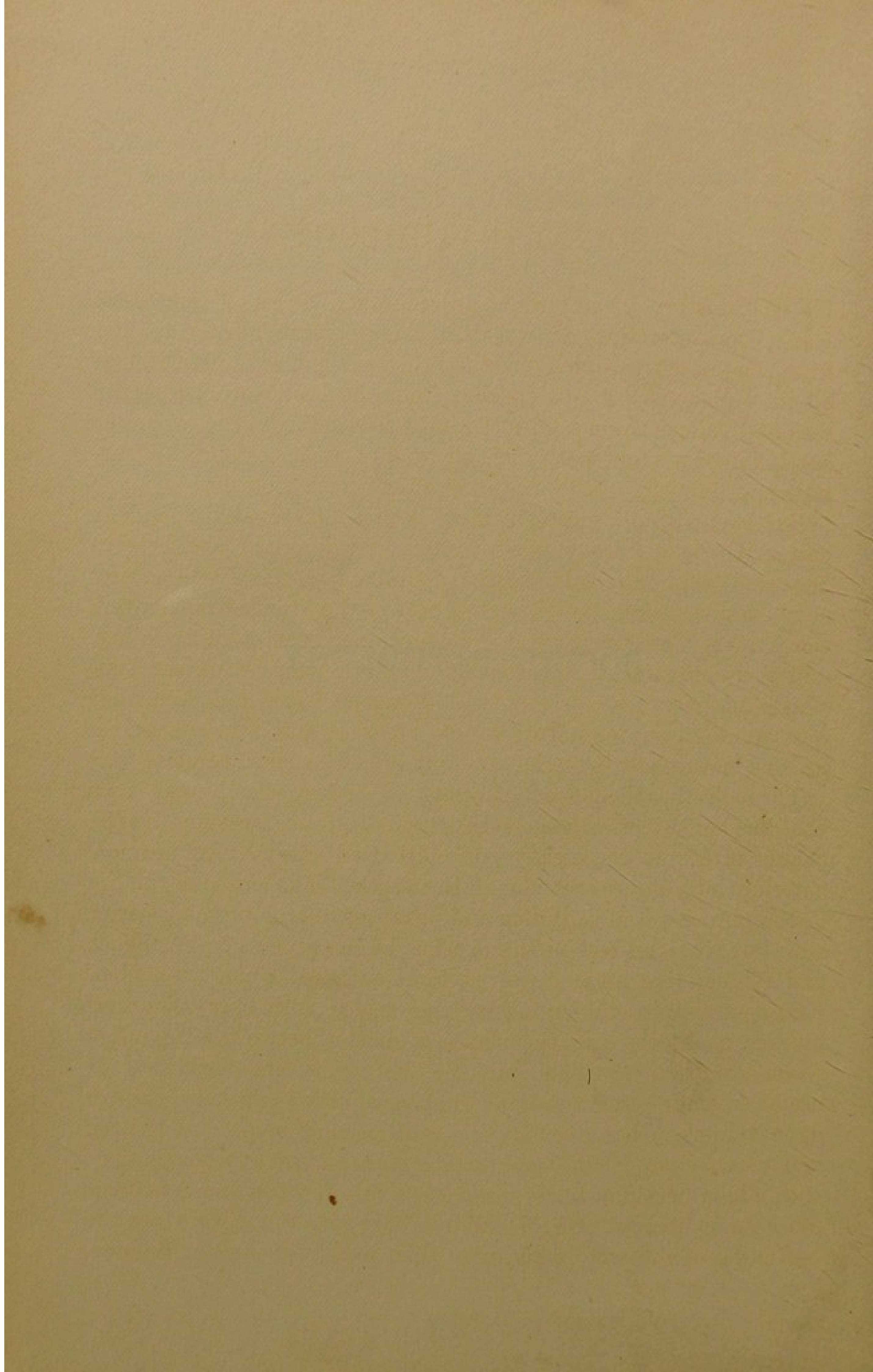


SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

THE history of nature is an unbroken series of successes. From star dust to worlds, from inorganic matter to life, from the few germs which made the root of the tree of life through all its varied genera and species, from the life swarming in the seas and valleys to its noblest triumph in the birth of man, power has followed a sunlit path marked by increasing certainty of purpose and, in every epoch, achievement of fresh victories.

But the splendid successes have been achieved at tremendous cost. We do not know what wrecks of primordial worlds were hazarded before the solar system found its place. Nor can any computation reckon the enormous cost of the life that now covers the earth. The struggle for existence has been a fierce thing, and every advance in life reveals an unmeasured pain and loss. Waste in nature seems wanton. For one successful seed that roots and grows to maturity and bloom, what myriads perish because nature seems so rich and can afford to be so careless.

Through the thousands of years of history the human race has developed from savage men in small groups grasping at the chance of life, to the steady and cultivated nations that are now entering into the possession of the earth. The outcome of the historic process is already fine and promises to be something better still, but who can reckon the expense of the process? Pestilence and famine, like hungry wolves, have fattened upon the fallen. Every success in statecraft has been sealed with oppression and murder at home, and the shock of battle between contending social groups in the field outside. For every successful tool or useful invention ten thousand human efforts have been thrown upon the scrap heap of failure. A thousand books are written and one survives. The legacy of literature and art of whole nations with a long period of life is summed up in a few fragments in some museum or library. Of the children born into the world since the beginning of the race much more than half have died in infancy.

Even nations have been born into history and have run their career with apparently no other final object than to fertilize the soil upon which some new social structure might be erected.

This would be gloomy enough were it not for the fact that the higher we ascend in the ranks of life, the less extravagant is the process and the larger is the number of successes. The struggle of the race toward civilization has indeed been painful and expensive, but the outstanding fact is that the ills of life do not increase in number, while remedies for the ills are being continually discovered and applied. In the generations past society has moved forward by impulses which it did not understand and did not seek to control, and, even so, the final results have been worth all human sacrifice and all human labor. We are coming to a time when at least the leadership of society is studying its problems as they were never studied before. The old biological view of society taught that all human planning and social guidance were essentially mischievous meddling with unseen wisdom. The psychological view of society gives firm ground for the faith that by the knowledge and control of social forces with clear aims on the part of organized social groups, it is possible consciously to build a better world. If this be true, the reformers have always been right in fact though often perverse in aim and impotent in method. Their faith in a possible world survives all their mistakes, and if they cannot always teach us, their examples may at least inspire us.

The study of social pathology is undertaken not to breed pessimism but to furnish a rational ground for faith in the future of the world. The diseases of society, like the diseases of the human body, are to be studied that remedies may be found for them where they exist, but most of all, that by a larger vitality and greater practical wisdom the number of diseases may be reduced to the lowest terms and we may set ourselves to social tasks with the ideal of finally conquering them altogether.

The defeats and the disasters that come to individuals and to nations are to be prevented. This good world is to become a better world and social pathology is to be studied in order that we may find our way to reduce to their lowest terms the evils that now plague mankind. Poverty, crime, insanity, and all the

other distressing social phenomena which burden homes and states, are subjects upon which the last word has not been said; but, more important still, in the eradication of which the last remedy has not been applied.

It is proposed in this work to study first the nature of social diseases in order to comprehend the problems with which we have to deal, and then to suggest remedies by which the wholesome and active social group may achieve self-respect by simply doing its duty toward the members of the group afflicted or threatened by misfortune.

Social pathology is a study of social defeats. In the course of history whole social groups have been annihilated. Others have shown evident marks of degeneration, and within each social group multitudes of individuals have failed to meet the requirements of normal human life. No extended discussion of the pathology of the social groups can be undertaken in this work, but its nature must be indicated. The savage and barbarous tribes now living in the world indicate an arrested development. Primitive man must be conceived as plastic and with as much capacity for progress as will account for the best human types of modern life. The present inferior races are supposed to have their origins in the same beginnings of life as the most successful modern nations. These lower tribes exhibit many of the characteristics which it is believed belonged to the most ancient men. Though they are sometimes called "child races," this characterization does not seem to be exactly correct and it is better to call them dwarfed or arrested races. Through some bad fortune the type hardened in the days of their early inferiority, and so far as we can tell, they have remained as they are unchanged for thousands of years.

The cause of this arrest in development may have been largely a matter of social geography. The successes of the early men were near to earth and depended upon advantageous climate and good food supply. Those groups who were defeated in contests with other groups were compelled to give up the fertile river valleys and to live upon the barren highlands. These contests became increasingly numerous and increasingly severe as the race multiplied. Some tribes found homes upon islands where there

was not sufficient variety in the food supply nor sufficient incentive for toil, and many of these people could never reach the iron age because there was no iron ore in the place where they lived.

Doubtless some social groups not only exhibited arrested development, but even declined on account of unfavorable conditions from the strength and activity which they once possessed. Some suffered because life was too easy and too simple, and others suffered because of the difficulties which were encountered in barrenness of soil and in severity of climate. Some anthropologists believe that the coast negroes formerly lived in the higher altitudes in the interior of Africa, but being driven down to the malarial levels by a superior force, in their new home lost their early vigor.

Degeneration of social groups is illustrated very widely in well known history. Travelers may see the Greek schoolmaster leading the boys of Athens to the summit of the Acropolis in order to talk to them about the broken fragments of sculpture and architecture that have come down from the days of Pericles, but this does not lead the boys of Greece to rival their ancestors in works of art. The modern Egyptians point to the colossal ruins of the Pharaohs, but in spite of French or English occupation they have been flung into an eddy away from the high-flowing stream of the world's life, and the valley of the Nile will never again be the center of human affairs.

The order of strength among modern nations changes from generation to generation. Auguste Compte published his Positive Philosophy before 1830, in which he presented social theories which won the admiration if not the adherence of the intellectual world, but after having discussed the various stages of history through which social groups must pass, he discards from consideration everything except western Europe, "taking no notice whatever of the rest of the human race." [1] He gives the rank in progress and importance of the five great nations, placing them in the following order: Spain, France, Italy, Germany, England; and this order represents the state of progress in national life and the significance of each in the leadership of the world. No writer at the present time would place the nations in the same order, and it is not conceivable that any one would attempt to discuss the

[1] Compte's Positive Philosophy (Harriet Martineau), vol. 3, pp. 339.

conditions of the modern world without any reference to the possibilities of the United States. Under whatever form of life the struggle for existence takes place, there must always be the defeated as well as the successful, and it is only when the struggle for existence has accomplished its function and new adjustments are made under law, that real progress begins. It is possible, though not to-day in the domain of practical affairs, that the time will come when the struggle between the nations will have worked this out and international peace will come as the natural result of these final adjustments.

Social groups exhibit conditions of social disease which may be functional and temporary or chronic and permanent.

Brinton [1] describes a number of the causes for pathology within social groups and these he sums up in two classes, — intellectual and emotional disturbance or perversion. The primary causes of group pathology always begin with individuals, and they come under the four heads: lack of nutrition, sex perversion, toxic influence, and mental shock. Nutrition is not only based upon sufficient food but upon a food supply which is varied enough to furnish the best body as well as ample enough to satisfy hunger. Sex perversion is not only to be recognized in various kinds of vice, but, even more dangerously, attaches itself to conditions of the marriage state. There can be no doubt that Russia has suffered in the quality of her population on account of the early marriages which have been promoted by the method of distribution of land. Toxic influence is to be seen in malaria as well as in the too free use of intoxicants and narcotics.

The social influence of fixed ideas creates temporary madness in the group just as fixed ideas may create permanent insanity in the individual. The enormous influence wielded by Peter the Hermit in preaching the Crusades could not have been wielded in any other period of the world's history than that in which he lived. It was essentially psychopathic, yet few historians would be bold enough to say that the total result of the Crusades was damaging to the history of Europe.

There are forms of hysteria or of undue and uncontrolled excitement affecting whole classes of the population, and some social

[1] The Basis of Social Relations, D. G. Brinton, chap. 4.

groups are very much more subject to emotional disturbance than others.

Social groups may suffer from melancholia or from permanent depression of spirits. Such mental shock may follow a decimating epidemic, but it is even more prominent after decisive defeat in war. The progress of history results from variation and there could be no perspective in history but for this fact. The successful variation adapts itself to new conditions, and the social group so fixed in time that it does not vary suffers a regression which is as real in social history as that favorable progress which is commonly regarded as the only important result of evolution.

Social groups suffer also from moral enthusiasms and exhaustions. Let the Puritan succeed in Florence, in Geneva, or in England, and he cuts the bloom of human life down to the very roots. But the future has its revenges, and when the Restoration comes the Cavalier exhibits more reckless misconduct than he had displayed before the Commonwealth. It is a world-wide fact that the enforcement of too severe standards of conduct is followed by immoral excesses and exhaustion.

Enough has been said to indicate the general relation of our subject to history, but the problems especially to be studied under the title of social pathology are those which relate to individuals and groups of individuals under the successful modern system. The large majority of the people belong to what are known as the normal classes; that is, they maintain their place in the social organization. This statement does not mean that the majority of the people occupy a common position either socially, economically, or morally. Many of them may not have high intelligence but their deficiency in intelligence does not make them dangerous to the community or prevent their association on fairly equal terms with at least some considerable number of their fellow-men. Their conduct may not be perfect, but it is sufficiently exemplary to escape the notice of the courts and the need of jails. Their possessions may not be considerable, but they earn their living, or, at least, they belong to a family group which, taken together, earns a livelihood.

On the other hand, there is a minority in every modern state who may be defined as abnormal in that they fail to fit into the social

organization, and they have been defined as the dependent, delinquent, and defective classes. The dependent does not earn his living and must be fed by others. The delinquent child or adult is conspicuous by his misconduct and must be restrained, and those defective in mind or in sense must have special provision. Strictly speaking, the abnormal are not classes in any real sense of social science, but they are individuals in whom social life is a failure.

One of the recurrent problems is how far the individual is to blame and how far society is responsible for this failure. Are pauperism, crime, insanity, and the like, the result of pathological conditions in the social group; or are they the result of the failure of the individual to take advantage of his opportunities? A very small number of those with whom society has to deal are so defective as to be manifestly outside the range of any such discussion. Social health is only possible to a social group upon the conditions of adequate natural resources with which to work, of successful labor, and the employment of these resources for the comfort of life. But the health of a social group does not rest alone upon physical foundations. There must be sound political organization in which justice is administered with equal hand and in which the rights of the poorest individual are conserved. Even that is not enough. The modern state must endeavor to give to every individual under its control an adequate opportunity for the development and for the exercise of his personality. As the ideal of physical health is reached by a very limited number of men and women, so the ideal of social health is not visibly complete in any modern state, and if the general social life is poisoned to any degree, the weak individual is bound to suffer. The relation of the individual to society is a recurrent problem, and it is with great difficulty that the responsibility of each can be pointed out. But the problem is one of the permanent elements in all discussion of pathological questions.

The fundamental difference between normal and abnormal men, whatever it may be for the individual, is essentially social in its manifestation. Normal men are self-directing, associate with their fellows, and by mutual assistance carry on the struggle of life. The abnormal classes cannot be trusted to direct themselves and

must be cared for because in strength, in conduct, or in condition they are not properly related to the social group.

Pathology in social science has a certain parallel to pathology in medical science. As the study of physical disease is essential to the maintenance of physical health, so social health can never be securely grounded without a wider and more definite knowledge of social disease. General pathology in medicine teaches that many diseases have much in common and there are morbid processes which may be discussed, as well as particular diseases.

In social pathology the interrelation of the abnormal classes is one of the most impressive facts. Paupers often beget criminals; the offspring of criminals become insane; and to such an extent is the kinship of the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes exhibited, that some have gone so far as to hold that under all the various forms of social pathology there is a common ground in the morbid nervous condition of individuals.

Medical science classifies diseases and is not content with a study of symptoms, but seeks to find out the causes of the maladies with which it deals. Social students are coming to see with increasing clearness that the study and treatment of mere symptoms in social disease have been among the great defects of philanthropists and reformers who in times past, despite the generosity of their motives and the self-sacrifice of their labors, have failed in their task because of a lack of accurate observation and definite knowledge, which are the only foundations of wise action. The social doctrine is becoming clear and convincing to many minds that the individual can only be dealt with in his relationships. The weakness of the individual mind or will, the lack of development and the lack of self-control, are all elements in the problem, but social disease so prevalent as to create a social problem is rarely found without a bad environment of some sort or other, and so the social student is compelled to study the causes of social disease.

Medical science teaches that the study of disease is only a step in the process leading to therapeutics, or the cure of disease, and instead of being the road to despair in the vast majority of physical ills, it is the only basis of hope. Nearly every disease can be cured if it is taken in time, but the crowning achievement of

medical science is not in therapeutics, but in sanitation and in the prevention of disease.

Social pathology would be a gloomy study indeed if its accurate knowledge of facts and principles did not indicate pathways out of social difficulties leading to a discovery of the means by which the social causes of disease can be removed, the weak individual be socially reënforced so that finally, as an ideal at least, the social body shall exist in the minds of social workers, radiant with health, in which there is not a living being which does not share in the general glow of wholesomeness and power.

It has already been indicated that the struggle for existence is as truly a social fact as it is a biological fact. It does not, however, follow that the saints are those who are best fitted to survive in every state of human society. Where the idealism of the individual as shown in his conduct is too far above the social average, he is almost as badly off as the one who is too far below the ideals of his group. Normal persons are those who are adapted to the social organization to which they belong and to the period in which they live. Normal conduct in its social aspects is that which is fitted for survival in the particular time and place of its performance. In economic progress, in the development of legislation, and in every other advance in human life, the social group must be considered as a unit. In some aspects of human life the family is the most important social group, and in other aspects of human life it is the state.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

THE growth of society is more like the growth of a tree than of a building. The processes are not easily observed, and variation in structure and action are continually taking place. Even in the most advanced political societies, with written constitutions and statutes, changes are constantly going on. Things no longer necessary to the social life are rejected, while new organs with new functions are continually developing. If this be true in complex modern societies, how much more evident is it in the early development of history where men were able to form, at first, very small social groups with the most rudimentary organization, and yet out of which, at length, grew strong tribes and still more powerful nations. The various hazards of life drew a small company of human beings together to form a horde, but the necessity of living upon the chase and the wild fruits of the earth compelled division among primitive men when the group became too large. Never was there such a group of men and women together without some beginnings of social organization. There were certain regulations of the domestic life, some beginnings of worship, the social leadership of the strongest men in times of stress; and the family, the church, and the state all existed in embryo.

Social capacity must increase in order that the adjustments of life for a group of considerable size may be made, but social capacity without an adequate economic basis could not work out definite results. The social group can grow large rapidly only in a land so fertile as to provide easily a surplus food supply, the general law being that the size of the population expands to meet the size of the food supply. In modern times the largest factor in the increase of population is cheap and abundant food. When the wild fruits and the product of the chase were not sufficient, there came the domestication of animals and the beginnings of agriculture. Early men with very little baggage were nimble nomads, but the embarrassment of tents, the gathering of household stuff by primi-

tive manufacture and, particularly, the domestication of animals, finally controlled the footsteps of the wanderer. Early agriculturists might abandon a field after it was overgrown with weeds to find easier subsistence in the first crop or two from a virgin soil; but as men increased in number, it was not so easy to parcel out the land by arbitration as it was in the Genesis story for Abraham and Lot. Under the early conditions of the world it is probable that for the most part there was peace between human beings, as the world was large and room was plenty. There were enough fertile valleys in which the race might live, and an abundance of natural resources to supply their simple wants. The struggle for existence in the history of the world has manifested itself chiefly in three ways. There was a long period of time in which men coming together with a sense of kinship fought for dominion over the earth against other living things. Within the last generation or two upon the frontiers of human life this struggle has still been going on. It is, however, now largely completed. The earth is practically conquered, and there are scarcely enough wild beasts left to satisfy the instinct for blood which shows that somewhere in the heart of the civilized man there is still some remnant of the savage. As the struggle for bread was the beginning of tools and utensils, so this struggle against untamed life was the beginning of weapons.

As social groups increased in size they subdivided and swarmed from the parent hive while still holding relationship to the old stock, and so clans became tribes. Further increase in numbers as the race grew old brought social groups so close to each other that boundary lines were formed, and they were so remote from the beginnings of time that the sense of kinship was lost and they regarded each other as aliens and consequently enemies. The golden age of peace was closed and the next movement in the struggle for existence was between group and group for the best places in the world, and then for such supremacy as would compel the subject peoples to serve their conquerors. Some writers have urged that the conflict of groups was the chief influence in the development of early civilization. However that may be, it is plain enough that the early struggles were chiefly economic struggles, and it may fairly be said that the cause of war in both ancient and modern times has nearly always been economic. The broad fact

is apparent that people do not engage in war unless they think there is something to be gained by it, and the world's conflicts have been for things rather than for ideas. Differences of race, forms of faith, perhaps even the motive of pride involved in the struggle for supremacy, have caused wars, but these are mere incidents in human conflict, and the unsheathing of the sword has been occasioned by the struggle for fields and mines, for slaves and markets.

Modern life has witnessed more than any other time that third form of the struggle for existence which takes place within the social group, and which is most intense in the highly developed societies of modern civilization. It is the competition of individual with individual, of class with class, of interest with interest, and the best fitted for the fight have thus far survived, and they usually succeed in putting the results of their success into law and social organization. Laws in the interest of private property, the right to make wills and to entail estates, as well as questions of contracts in business, have been variously settled among different peoples. The largest present struggle is that between labor and capital, employer and employee, and this has not yet reached the stage of such final adjustment as to be completely defined by law.

The conscious desire for things to which society has owed so much of its development is not static, for there is an inevitable multiplication of human wants so soon as the means to satisfy present cravings are obtained. Once a surplus of breadstuffs secured and labor is released for other purposes, laying the foundation for all economic relations. Commerce begins with the rude barter between huntsman, fisherman, shepherd, and farmer, but so soon as men have more than enough to eat and can look about them, they begin to wish for homes better than hollow trees or caves, better than dugouts or huts made of branches. Wild skins used for clothing very early received some adornment, but the desire for ornament grew with the growth of leisure. The increase of the size of the social group depended upon a division of labor giving definiteness to toil and increase to skill. Early relationships, which had been conditioned by sex and by outside danger, developed enormously with the beginnings of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Early trade had for its means of communication

the rivers near which the people lived, but as human skill gave possibility for the increase of social groups, men must grow stout to brave the sea, and industrial to build roads through valleys, and, eventually, over the mountains.

In the early struggles social organization was exceedingly crude and simple, but with the development of industrial activities came also the necessity for more definite organization of the state. Violence of various kinds had its reprisals by aggrieved individuals or families, and the only public interest in them was in fixed custom, so that the penalties might be definite. With the increase of property, however, came the definition of property rights, increasing in exactness and multiplying the sanctions for their preservation. The nature of the family was defined by custom or by law, but the family was always the economic unit and definitions of crime among all peoples are chiefly the results of efforts to protect property. The development of the state, the definiteness of its organization, and the exactness of its decrees depend upon the growth of economic influences.

The church was influenced by the growth of wealth and consequent leisure, and as the social group grew larger it was no longer a form of family life with simple rites handed down from generation to generation. It became, often, a very important factor in social organization. Large expenditures of labor and material were put into the erection of religious houses. A special class of men taken from the ranks of ordinary labor was erected into a definite priesthood. With the development of religion in pomp and circumstance, there came also a development of its authority over the consciences and minds of men. Rooted in human history as it was also in human nature, the church henceforth became a force to be reckoned with, and often assumed enormous responsibilities and exacted widespread recognition.

Various forms of family life have appeared among different peoples, but the best of the argument seems to be with those who urge that monogamy, or the union of one man with one woman, was the prevalent and primitive form of human marriage. The family as a distinct institution has little social value until property arises and is greatly affected by the increase of wealth. The so-called matriarchate, or the form of the family where the woman

is its head, seems to vanish before the patriarchate whenever property increases. The strength of the family has increased with the increased definiteness in the right of private property, and even where the right of private property has been weak, the family unit has still been the basis for the division of the common property and the employment of the public utilities.

The increase in wealth in early societies tended toward despotism or aristocracy, and so the existence of a wealthy class tended toward polygamy in domestic life. On the other hand, in mountainous and barren countries polygamy disappears and polyandry sometimes takes its place.

Even a casual study of the history of society indicates in every one of its phases the efficiency of the economic interest in the form of organization. It not only affects the character of the three primary institutions, — the family, the church, and the state, — but it affects every other social interest. The growth of civilization is based upon the growing skill of labor to satisfy increasing human wants. It is to the leisure class that the world owes its progress, but the leisure class must not be confounded with those degenerate individuals who feel no duties and assume no responsibilities because they have more than enough to eat and to drink. The true leisure class, from the social point of view, consists in those who are not necessarily employed in seeking the primary necessaries of life and who consequently give themselves to other tasks. The release of labor really takes place in this upper stratum, and the enrichment of human life comes from the successful effort to satisfy new wants on the part of those who are strongest. The differentiation in the world's work arises whenever in any employment there are too many people to fill the required demand for labor. Surplus labor must find new tasks, and new tasks mean new commodities and the broadening success of human life. Among civilized men there is a greater differentiation of individuals than among savage peoples. This is both the cause and the result of diversified labor. There are tasks for the strong that can be performed by them alone, and the weak in finding their tasks must make up in nimbleness what they lack in strength.

Human wants are never stationary unless under the greatest pressure. The man who for a lifetime has been compelled to

labor for the bare necessaries of life when by a sudden access of fortune he is relieved from this distress, discovers that there are latent desires within him of which he had never known before. If he is fortunate enough to have desires of the mind, his life is enormously enriched by his greater wealth and leisure. What is true of the individual, is also true of classes of individuals within a group and of the whole social order. The recognized wants of a people measure their development, and the ability to satisfy those wants is the measure of their success.

With the increasing success of the group there comes an increase in its size and a corresponding increase in the definiteness of its social organization. This definiteness involves the recognition of constituent organizations within the group. The clans subdivide to make other clans, but the clans taken together maintain their organization in the tribe thus formed. Tribes unite together to organize a larger society, but they maintain their tribal organization until that is merged into the organization of the province. The complexity of social life is a necessity for the large organization, and definiteness of structure and function must follow complexity. This is found in no single form of common activity, for as the industrial division of labor becomes more and more minute with the development of modern machinery, it results in a still larger socialization of labor; but this finds its parallel in the whole range of social structure and activity.

This is a brief account of the development of social institutions chiefly from the point of view of the economic interest, but the variations in social life lead to very interesting variations in the relation of these institutions one to the other. As some occupations emphasize the eye, and others the hand, and still others the strength of the body, so one condition of society will emphasize the family, another the church, and another the state. Institutions are the means by which the social organization does its work, and the nature of the tasks conditions the means to be employed for its accomplishment. This variation in the nature and employment of social institutions relates to the functions of its normal life as well as to its pathological manifestation and to the care and treatment of the pathological classes. As there is within the social group a struggle of influences between

individuals and classes, so in performing the tasks of organized social life there is a struggle between the various social organs for activity and for supremacy. As living tissues form themselves into organs for the purposes of the physical life, so institutions are the social organs by which the social life expresses its purpose and does its work. It is worth while to consider the parallel between the two and then to note the social struggle by which the family and the church, as well as the industrial organization, have in modern times become subordinate to the state, the dominant organ of social life.

Those who teach biology describe the processes by which the activities of life become definite. Whether a living thing be an individual or a cluster of individuals, it is often hard to decide. There are no definite physical organs and no well-defined processes of life. Any particular place in the jellyfish against which food floats will do for a stomach. It is a long time before the digestive apparatus with a true stomach is developed, and it is only when the higher forms of life are reached that the various organs for the bodily functions are made manifest. The ascent of life is marked by the increase in the number of organs and in the definiteness of the function of each of them. The crowning triumph of the physical life of the world is the development of the nervous system with its superb achievement in producing the brain of man.

Physiologists tell us, however, that even in the highest forms of life the work of one organ is sometimes performed by another when the proper organ is disabled. Through the nerves telegraphic communication is set up by new and unusual routes but the work goes on. If one part of the process of digestion is impaired, the other organs, though overworked, seek to supply the lack. This is doubtless an effort to revert under necessity to the conditions of life before organs were differentiated.

Physical organs seem to come into being from some undefined sense of need. From the eye point to the fully developed organ of sight the lure of light is calling the body to come into fellowship. A familiar doctrine of economics is that human wants precede the supply just as human desire precedes human action. As hitherto the consciousness of want has inspired a latent energy to supply the want, so we may dare to hope that every well-defined social desire will at last be satisfied.

As the organs of the body have been supplied to satisfy the needs of life, so the institutions of society have been developed to satisfy its social wants. Just as organs in the lower forms of life are indefinite and irregular, so institutions among the lower groups of men have the same characteristics. The need of order and authority, dimly felt in the beginning, works out in the successive ages and through various groups of men into all the complexities of the modern state. The state is at first a vague and irregular organ of service. It has neither treasury, nor army, nor throne. These only come with great economic successes and with the multiplication of visible things that need to be safeguarded.

The vague sense of awe in the presence of the supernatural and the growth of fear and hope because that supernatural may curse or bless, give rise to vague and irregular methods of religious service. But with the division of labor and the growth of orderly processes of life, ritual and priest appear and the church is an established fact.

The sex instinct among wild men results in bestial brutality. All this must be regulated. The fundamental animal instinct for the care of offspring furnishes the deepest and most original foundation of the family. Under ordinary economic conditions this indicates the mating of one man with one woman. When the family becomes the unit of property organization, its stability receives a most powerful support. Founded in the sexual instinct, sanctified by the bonds of parental love, it is at length anchored to the economic interest. The family is a permanent organ of social life.

Every common human interest tends to furnish for itself some organ for service or expression. Not alone the necessary coöperation of industrial life, but voluntary associations for the common pursuit of common ends give rise to various cultural societies for the development of art, literature, science, and whatever else strongly interests groups of people.

Voluntary institutions are subsidiary to the essential social life and easily rise or decay. The great interests of politics, religion, domestic life, and industrial relations cannot be so lightly treated. Whatever revolution may destroy one or the other for

a time, upon its ruins is speedily erected a successor to take its place and to do its work.

History largely deals with the relations of social groups — clans, tribes, and nations. It delights in heroisms, thrones, and wars. But the essential fabric of history is the making of institutions. Institutions in the beginning, like physical organs, are indefinite both in structure and function. Even when society becomes well developed and complex, it by no means follows that the institutions will have the same duties to perform generation after generation. Nor does it follow that social groups of comparatively the same size will have like institutions. Very much depends upon economic conditions, here as everywhere else, but even where economic conditions are relatively the same, the importance and the task of the institutions greatly differ. The study of society would be a simple task if the biological analogies of Herbert Spencer could be adopted in their completeness. We should know what institutions are always to be found and the nature of their tasks.

On the contrary, the most distinctive fact in the history of the structure of each social group is the struggle for existence on the part of its social organs.

This struggle changes the order of importance of those organs. Permutations in the rank of the political, religious, domestic, and industrial institutions may be expressed in the simple terms of arithmetic. The result of these changes stamps the character of each social group. The chief cause of the changes after society is well organized and history is really possible, will be found to be the changes in the mental and emotional life of the group. New ideas and new desires call for changed modes of expression. Under crude human conditions the struggle between institutions may result in open strife and bloodshed. But for the most part this struggle is carried on in a way much more subtle. Within the primitive group in which lies the germ of all possible institutions, the family is without doubt the most significant social organ. It maintains itself almost intact throughout all the generations. The church and the state involve a combination of social groups and in the full expression of their life come comparatively late in human history. In early times and in simple societies their duties are

practically performed by the family organization. The increasing richness of human interests makes this no longer possible. The relation of the church and the state, of absorbing interest to the student of social science, can only be touched upon here for the purposes of this study. In ancient Egypt, whether the state was another side of the church or the church was another side of the state may be an open question. In the Hebrew commonwealth the church was the essential fact. In Greece and Rome, however, the functions of religion were more largely performed by the state as in modern Germany.

The struggle of institutions is of special importance in the study of social pathology. In the early social groups all the functions of charity and of justice were practically performed by the family. The family was the common unit of property and it had a common obligation of conduct. If one member of a family or clan were guilty of crime, all the family were guilty until the crime was expiated. Because of its social responsibility it also had judicial authority. The care of children has been a universal human instinct, and, on the whole, we may believe that they have been about as well cared for as the adult population. But various social groups have differed very much in their care of the sick and the aged. Among some of them, even in low degrees of culture, the aged have been held in very high reverence. The basis of this reverence for the aged has often been quite as economic in early times as it occasionally happens to be in modern society.

In our western civilization it may be stated particularly that the functions of justice have been taken from the family in the increasing growth of the state.

In recent years the relation of the family to the state has undergone a profound modification. In early times the head of the family was armed with the power of life and death over his children. Their possible service was his property. All this has changed. The paternalism of the modern state insists upon the right to definite standards of education, of conduct, of labor, and of comfort which each family group must reach in order to retain possession of the children. The state invades the family group on the health side and insists upon sanitary conditions in the privacy of the home.

The growth in the functions of the modern state has supplied it with many new duties. The ancient state was chiefly concerned with its relation to other states. The modern state is chiefly occupied with the concerns of the people composing its own social group. Under the pressure of modern life the right of the family organization to maintain itself is frequently denied and the state, perhaps chiefly the municipal state, undertakes many of its neglected tasks.

The relation of the church to the pathological problems is chiefly found in the development of the Christian religion. It is here that the church has become the most independent form of social organization in the history of religion. For many centuries it has been a kingdom within a kingdom, and this is nearly as true of Protestant societies as it is of the Catholic organization. The social problems with which the church most largely has dealt have been those of the child, the sick, and the poor; though it has to some degree cared for the insane and, at times, has been so identified with the secular power that it has assumed judicial duties. In chronological order the church is the direct successor of the family in philanthropic tasks. The altruistic teaching of Jesus had much to do with the development of Christian philanthropy, but that teaching alone would never have made the church a benevolent person. The church became a definite organ of altruism as it based itself upon an independent economic foundation. With the growth of the monastic orders, the development of great estates, and the establishment of large endowments, the church became rich. Almsgiving and the erection of hospitals became easily possible.

When the church lost its principal endowments through the success of the state in its struggle for supreme power, it was not able to carry on the work of general benevolence; but the further fact is that the social functions of the church as commonly understood have been very much limited in recent times. The authority of the church to control its own affairs has been very widely questioned, and as the state in the first instance assumes authority over the family, so in its temporal matters it assumes authority over the church.

The state is slowly but surely assuming authority over all industrial organization. It is on the way toward enthronement as the supreme expression of the social judgment and the social will.

The result of the struggles of institutions rather than the history of them is all that can be stated here. That result is the supremacy of the state. With its exaltation in rank there has also come multiplication of new duties. The relation of the nation to the powers distributed in provinces and municipalities is becoming more clearly defined. The tasks to be done are being distributed. The modern state assumes duties which would have been believed impossible in the early time. The whole range of social pathology has become primarily the concern of the state, though its duties are shared by other forms of social organization.

The forms of the state are chiefly the nation, the province, and the city. In modern times the authority of the province is usually conferred by the state, and among some nations the authority of the city also comes from the same source. As the primary institutions have changed very much in their relation one to the other, so the forms of the state have undergone similar modification. The ancient city in its classical examples was the seat of authority, and the arbiter of such national life as then existed. Slowly the medieval city freed itself from the control of the provinces which had risen to authority under the feudal system. The city and the king often combined to make on the one hand a nation, and on the other hand to confer privileges upon the city. Many cities received valuable charters directly from the kings. Other cities achieved practical independence of all authority. They assumed the right to make treaties, to coin money, and to declare war.

On the other hand, much of the work now undertaken by the municipality was left to individuals. There was no water supply, no sewer system, no fire protection, no enforced street paving. In Germany the province surviving in the component parts of the empire is of great significance. In Great Britain both city and province are reduced to their lowest terms. In both France and Germany the city is chiefly under the control of the state. The nation has absorbed the rights to declare war, to coin money, and many other of the ancient civic functions. On the other hand, the cities under the direction of the state have taken on a great many new duties. In its political aspect the modern city is a great business organization to provide the essentials for the health and comfort of all its people.

The relation of the family, church, and state to those persons who are called abnormal may be briefly indicated.

The normal family takes care of its young, its sick, and its aged members. Some families, normal in other times, under pressure of disaster are compelled to yield these burdens to the state, particularly when the old are mentally affected and when the young are defective in sense or in mind.

The extent of charity work of the churches varies greatly in different countries and among different denominations. There are still in some countries large establishments for the care of the poor as well as the sick under charge of the churches. The form of charity which has most direct relation to the largest number of church organizations is probably the care of the sick through hospitals.

The state in assuming the function of a benevolent person seeking to care for all those individuals who cannot or who ought not to care for themselves, varies in its methods in different countries and in the extent of its service, as will be seen later.

There is a broad distinction between the attitude of the nation toward these problems in European countries and in the United States of America which should be distinctly pointed out. European nations have, as a rule, some bureau or governing board which has the direction of the public institutions for charity or for correction. The executive functions are performed by local officers under the direction of the national board, which practically sets the standards and furnishes the rules for the management of the several institutions. In European states the inspection of the work of the executive boards by independent agents is usually thoroughly performed. Sometimes there is local as well as general inspection.

The criminal, the insane, and the pauper are dealt with by public authorities in all civilized countries. It is probable that the hospital as a public institution has been more largely developed in the United States than in any other country. In the limits of this work a detailed account of the organization of European governments cannot be given, but is quite worthy of study from other sources.

The United States has developed its work of charities and correction in a way so different from European countries that it is

worth while to give some definite account of American methods. There is no central authority in the national government for the control of the abnormal classes. The province, as represented by the forty-five state governments, in these matters is entirely independent of the general government. National control only covers the District of Columbia, in which is located the national capital at Washington where a superintendent of charities is employed and where private charities have been aided by public appropriations. The national government cares for its own insane, that is, those members of the military or civil service who require custodial care. It also has its own prisons for those who violate the few criminal laws which it has passed to protect the public functions. The pension system of the national government for the surviving soldiers of the Civil War can hardly be described as a national system of poor relief, though it has been lavish beyond that ever known in ancient or modern times. The plunder given to the half-civilized soldiers of ancient states as the reward of victory sinks into insignificance in comparison with the bounty of the American government to its soldiers and sailors, but neither its recipients nor the givers look upon the matter of pensions from the point of view of scientific charity or even of charity at all. The pension is regarded as an honorable reward for service, much like the pensions which some countries give to distinguished artists or authors. The forty-five state governments differ very much in the methods they employ and the work which they do in practical philanthropy. There has been an advantage and a disadvantage in the American country on account of this fact. The advantage has been that the more progressive states with efficient leadership have introduced into the care of the abnormal classes better methods than are known in any other country in the world. The effect of such states as Massachusetts, Ohio, and Minnesota upon the other states has been, under the familiar law of imitation so well explained by M. Tarde, of the highest social importance. Each of the states of the nation has been a center for experiment, and while some of the states do not perform their duties as well as most European countries, on the other hand, it is not too much to say that the best of them do better than the best of the European countries, and have contributed more new

methods in the care of the unfortunate and in the management of prisons than have come from any other source whatever.

The states are subdivided into counties or parishes which have their particular functions. The cities, towns, and villages also take part in the work, but both county and city derive their authority from the state and do their work under its direction. The several states have prisons for those who have been convicted of crime, some of them have reformatories for first offences, and most of them have industrial schools, or reform schools, for delinquent children. In some states there are institutions for the care of dependent children, and these will be described hereafter. In general, the insane and those defective in sense are cared for in state institutions. Some states make provision for tubercular patients. The care of the poor under laws passed by the state is left to the counties or to the townships. The counties also have jails for those who have been convicted of minor offences and for the detention of those who are charged with crimes against the state. Almshouses for the care of indoor paupers are maintained by the counties.

The municipalities have lockups for those who have violated the ordinances, workhouses which are chiefly used for recurrent drunkards who are sentenced for short terms, and often maintain hospitals for the sick, sometimes in conjunction with the county. The care of the sick poor is divided between the hospitals maintained by religious organizations, and those maintained by the state, though the constant tendency is to reserve the hospitals under private control for those who are able to pay at least something, while the city hospitals are mainly occupied by those who can pay nothing.

The mechanism by which the charities and corrections of the various states are conducted may be briefly indicated.[1] The usual method in former times was for the governor of each state to appoint boards of trustees or managers who, without any supervision or inspection, managed the respective state institutions upon such appropriations as they were able to secure from the legislatures. In 1863 Massachusetts enacted a law creating what was known as a state board of charities and correction.

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction (Hart), 1889, p. 89 *et seq.*

Massachusetts was followed in this by many of the northern states. The state board of charities and correction was usually composed of six members, was non-political, was presided over by the governor, and had powers of investigation and recommendation only. In states where this board is successful, various executive functions have been added from time to time. The state boards acted as an organ of unification for all the institutions. They examined the appropriations asked for by the various institutions and often made recommendations of their own. They studied systems of state care of its wards and made recommendations, often enacted into laws. They were frequently authorized to suggest systems of accounting that would make the bookkeeping in all of the institutions as nearly as practicable after the same methods. These state boards were not to supersede in any way the state boards of trustees which had executive functions as distinguished from the advisory functions belonging to boards of charity.

Notwithstanding the considerable advantage secured almost everywhere through the agency of state boards of charity, a movement was initiated for the consolidation of the executive management of the state institutions under a single board of control with the abolition of the state board of charities. Such boards of control exist in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois.

The state of Minnesota after experimenting with a board of control organized a state board of visitors of public institutions having practically the functions that belonged to the former state board of charities and correction.[1] This plan was modified by the state of Illinois by creating several such boards of visitors to fit into a classification of the state institutions. The state board of visitors furnishes an independent agency of inspection for the work done by the board of control. The board of control system gives larger power in administration to the superintendents of the several institutions reserving to itself largely the financial functions. Neither Iowa nor Wisconsin has any authorized inspection except that which may be done by delegates from the state legislature or other casual committees. In the matter of regular and adequate inspection the United States as a whole is behind most of the European countries.

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction, '02, p. 367 and '07, p. 40.

The evil of the old method of separate boards of trustees was chiefly in the raid made upon the treasury at every session of the legislatures where these trustees and their friends managed to secure in whole or in part a control of the legislature. Appropriations were not made upon their merits but upon the shrewdness and persistence of the representatives of towns where such institutions were located. Boards of control by a central purchasing agency for the supplies of all the institutions are able to secure better prices than boards of trustees, who are often compelled to buy from local dealers at high rates.

In some states there are lunacy commissions for the examination once or twice a year of the insane asylums and hospitals. In some states, as in New York, these commissions are given executive functions.

In the county organization there is a board of commissioners which is the source of authority and of supply for the charity work which is done by the county. The management of the prisons is not in their hands but in those of a sheriff under state laws.

Some form of organization is maintained by the larger municipalities for the management of its charities. The almshouse and hospitals are under the charge of a commission or a board with some other title. County commissioners are elected, but the management of municipal charities is usually in the hands of those appointed by the mayor. In some states the public almsgiving in the rural districts is in the hands of township trustees rather than county commissioners.

It is manifest that in the administration of charitable and penal affairs in the various countries the organization will follow the organization of the state. Where the national government is strong, the responsibility will there be great. Where the municipality is strong, it assumes larger duties and exercises larger powers. In other words, this function of the state in the distribution of duties and powers runs parallel with the duties and powers of the three principal forms of government; that is, the nation, the province, and the city.

SOCIAL STANDARDS

WHETHER the water in a river is high or low depends upon a comparison with its average height. The law of averages has been used in the science of statistics in order to show conditions in the mass. The nature of the social law of averages must be studied in order to interpret social facts in the light of pathology.

In the content of the social mind nothing is more important than those resultants of desire and experience which make the framework of human relations. The average struck between human desires, which are very vast, and human experience, which is often very disappointing, furnishes the theoretical aim of every social group. As insurance tables deal with the expectation of human life so that a man of a certain age may know what length of days he may reasonably expect, so the experience of a social group taken together gives to every member of it the measure of his reasonable expectation of success in satisfying his desires.

As the expectation of human life differs very much for the individual at different ages, so the expectation of success will vary not alone with the differences between individuals but with the differences which exist between social groups. The whole group may be so pathological in mind, morals, or fortune that the individual is not conspicuous for any defect so long as he remains within his own group. All social problems are essentially local and concrete. They must be measured by the conditions of the social group where they are found, and the success or failure of any individual is judged by the standards of success or failure within the group. Institutions cannot be lifted bodily from one condition of culture and imposed upon an entirely different social group. What is wealth in the heart of Africa is poverty in the heart of London. In a malarial region fever is inconspicuous. Such general terms as crime and poverty must be interpreted by the time and place in which the particular problem is located. As social problems are concrete and local, so social remedies must

be adapted to particular conditions. One of the vices of reformers is to suppose that a scheme which has worked well in one place is bound to work well in other places. Every social problem must be studied locally at first hand, and must be solved by measures which are adapted to the particular situation. Because particular plans have worked well in London or New York there is no reason to suppose that they will work equally well in St. Petersburg or San Francisco.

In studying any social problem it is of the first importance to decide upon the elements of the particular social group which is the object of investigation. In working for individuals it can only be expected that they can be raised to the average condition of the group to which they belong. As individual may be compared with individual within the group, so social groups may be compared with each other to determine success or failure. But since men are men, all human groups hold certain aims in common. Conduct must be available for human relations and production must be sufficient for human needs. There are many things important to social life, but there are some things which are essential. In considering the structure of any social group, it is not possible to take in all the elements, but in order to secure scientific unity it is necessary to see what are the main conditions of success. It is not enough to know that a man is poor or to investigate whether it is through his fault or his misfortune. A much more important matter to decide is how rich he ought to be, and in reaching that level of life what part belongs to the organs of charity, how much must he do by his own effort and what must be left to that pain and passion, that romance and tragedy, which we call the struggle for existence. To decide how rich a man ought to be there must be a clear and accurate conception of what is necessary within the social group to which the individual belongs in order for him to reach normal development.

All social work, therefore, involves in the first instance, a study of the principal social standards in every society. These are the physical standard, the mental standard, the economic standard, and the standard of efficiency. A proper knowledge of these standards is essential in finding a basis for judgment in the various problems with which the social worker is called upon to deal.

It is of the first importance to note that these standards are social and are not individual. They are the result of the application of the law of averages to the social group. They are the practical working standards of the group itself. They have been inherited by each group from the generations which have gone before. They are to some extent modified no doubt by each living generation, but that modification is not at all to be compared in significance with the inheritance which has been received. Sometimes social standards seem to change rapidly, but this is due to the culmination of forces which have been at work through long periods of time. The living social group is but a minor influence in forming the tests of human life, and if this be true of the whole living group, of how much less influence is any single individual. The inventive man under the burden of some great idea or great purpose may leave behind him a social influence that will ultimately control the entire group to which he belongs, but these individuals are rare and their greatest influence is usually after they are dead. Standards that apply to those classes that are submerged, not alone in poverty, but in weakness, must be regarded as wholly social. By their numbers and by the weight of the burden which they put upon the community, the abnormal classes may lower the standards, but they never raise them and they do not fix social values.

It must not be supposed that social standards are such definite measures of persons and of life that when once apprehended they remain fixed in mathematical exactness. Ideas, motives, values, are not capable of definite expression. The social worker needs faculty quite as much as he needs knowledge. As each group has its own standards, so there can never be any exact rules for their application.

It is worth while to consider some of the influences which tend to the variation of social standards.

The most obvious influences are in the physical environment. Among them may be named the nature of the climate, the degree of fertility of the soil, the various natural resources, accessibility to water, the richness of the flora and of the fauna.

There are vital qualities within the group which vary the standards. Among them are the size and complexity of the social

group, the density of the population, the form of marriage, the degree of chastity, the birth rate, and the death rate.

There are industrial and commercial variations. Among them are the methods of production, markets for surplus, commercial mobility, and mediums of exchange.

Social standards are also affected by social institutions. The form of the state, the nature of the laws, methods of judicial procedure, and notions of justice, are some of the elements in the problem.

Though social standards are inherited by each living generation, they are also modified. In the economic world the rising market indicates prosperity and stimulates production to the end that real prosperity may follow. As markets may rise or fall, so the social standards of any group may slowly rise or fall. As prosperity follows the rising market, so human welfare depends upon the rising social standards, and when the standards are lowered, misery is increased.

The individual is compared with his group by means of these social standards. This fact gives great definiteness to the task of the social worker. His first task is to secure a rich and exact knowledge of the people among whom he works in order to become accurately acquainted with the particular standards which they hold.

There will be as many social standards as there are efficient social influences. Doubtless the number of standards will increase with increasing size and complexity of the social group. But the four measures of value which we are to consider are quite sufficient for the present purpose, and first of all there is

The Physical Standard. What is expected of the human body is more permanent and more universal than any other of the standards. This follows from the fact that the normal human body has not changed in any marked degree in historic times. One race or nation may vary somewhat in height or weight from another, but the search of the anthropologist among the pre-historic tombs has resulted in no discoveries. Where the pressure upon the means of subsistence has been considerable, or where local conditions of living have been bad, the average stature has been somewhat reduced, but a favorable change in environment soon restores it. The immediate influence of an increased food

supply is shown in the fact that descendants of foreigners in America are usually taller than their immediate ancestors, and this does not result, as some may suppose, from the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States, but is the result of easier conditions of toil and more food to eat. There are three points to be particularly noted in the physical standard. They are strength, endurance, and sense perception. The strength and endurance enable the individual to express himself. Sense perception permits him to receive impressions of the physical world, and also to respond to the influences of social life. One must reach the average in these three qualities in order to achieve social success. If the individual be unfit in one point, he must have a surplus in the others. His occupation must be adapted to his physique. A man with a weak chest may succeed as a philosopher, but he will not do as a glass blower or as an auctioneer. A man with poor eyes may succeed fairly well in Egypt, where defective eyesight seems to be the rule and there is a low standard of efficiency, but in Europe poor eyesight is a definite disadvantage that can only be overcome by special skill in some occupation not requiring good eyes. Physical endurance is very important in some occupations, but it is not so in others. The digger of sewers requires a back which may be often bent, but a bookkeeper does not require such endurance.

It is quite evident that the conventional conditions of civilized life give greater flexibility to the physical standard. In the early brute forms of life, when men were near to mother earth, the strength of the body was far more important than it is now. On the other hand, the nicety of nervous balance is a modern necessity.

There are certain causes of degeneration in modern urban life which tend to increase the number of those in the social group who do not reach the average capacity. It is the duty of society to discover and remedy these causes. Studies in the size and weight of school children at different periods and under different environments show such variations as to indicate beyond a doubt social responsibility. On the other hand, the responsibility of the individual for his personal failure must be made insistent.

The physical standard groups under it all such questions as abundance and variety of the food supply, with such applications

as the organization of diets, the teaching of food values, questions of water supply, tenement houses, sanitation, clean streets, and smokeless chimneys, as well as the length of the day's work and the conditions under which it is performed. It covers such matters as contagious and infectious diseases, and in general all the practical wisdom included under the title of Public Health. The physical standard is the primary measure of the child problem. It is useless to seek to do anything for the degenerate physique of the adult. He is maimed beyond repair, but the plastic period of childhood is the period both of hope and of danger. The badly born child may have its physical efficiency largely increased, while the well born child may and often does have his stock of strength sadly impaired.

There are certain terrible indictments which may be urged against the large cities. It may be that requirements of modern civilization compel the formation of very compact social groups. It may be that the competition of modern production compels the competitor to use every means of success in order to save the possible margin of profit. The social group must assume certain duties which have hitherto been largely neglected. It must insist that the density of population shall never be carried so far that any child born into the world may be deprived of certain benefits which were once supposed to be free to all; namely, fresh air, wholesome sunshine, and pure water. To hundreds of thousands of human beings these commodities are difficult of access and high in price.

No doubt competition in business will continue for some time and perhaps it should continue for all time, but the conditions of industrial warfare at least ought to be civilized and every producer ought to be compelled to obey the rules. The state ought to make it impossible for any producer to bankrupt his working share of the present generation by hours too long and by unsanitary conditions of labor, and most of all, he should not be permitted to mortgage the next generation by the employment of child labor or by such woman labor as becomes an insolent absorption of the physical resources of possible motherhood.

It is the business of human society to moderate the brute struggle for existence and to change its form. It may be that too many

people come into the world, but it is certain that there are multitudes who leave too soon. The appalling burden of sickness and death must be reduced by social coöperation.

The Mental Standard. In every social group the individual must reach a certain degree of mental power or seriously suffer in his mental and economic position. Some social groups suffer in comparison with other social groups because they do not manifest as great intellectual capacity, but the problem of the individual is to compare favorably with the average of his fellows. Some are mentally unfit for any share in the real social life. They are so from birth and belong to a special class known as imbeciles, idiots, or feeble-minded. Others are born with nervous instability, and the stress of active life is too great for them and they become insane. Available mental energy is demanded of every normal man. Some occupations have low requirements, it is true, but they also have restricted rewards.

Methods of education are judged by the social availability of the persons to whom they have been applied. English and American educational methods have not freed themselves from that medievalism which crowns the educational system with a professional school. There is some reason to believe that the tremendous advance which Germany has made in the last forty years is not so much due to a new self-consciousness as a world power, as it is to a new generation that has been trained in technical schools.

The social value of an individual is not measured, however, by his mental power or his efficiency through education. In practical affairs it is a question of real participation in the mental resources of the social group. Is he a participant in the social mind? What is called the social mind is not to be regarded as a real thing in itself any more than a species is a real thing in biology. The class name is given to the common qualities of individuals. So the social mind is that complex of traditions, emotions, ideas, and customs which forms the final value of any community and by which at last every individual is judged. From the social point of view the worth of the individual does not consist in the contribution which he may make to the intellectual life of the group, but it does consist in the degree in which he participates in the

contents of what is called the social mind. If the individual shares the traditions, emotions, faiths, and manners of the social group to which he belongs, his social safety is secured. The social group has performed its mission for the individual by imposing upon him a creed of life. He must think the common thoughts and perform the common duties.

There are certain conduct standards which from the point of view of social science are a part of the intellectual accumulations of society. Persons who refuse the conduct of standards of their group are called anti-social. When the variation is definitely marked, they are called criminals and are separated from the common life. There are certain social judgments which reach the highest dignity permitted to intellectual conclusions. They are framed and published as laws or "conduct defined and enforced by the state."

One of the chief difficulties of the American social problem is the incoherence of the American social mind. The widely extended territory, the varied physical conditions under which the people live, and the diverse races of which the nation is composed, add to the chaotic condition. Puritan and Cavalier, Saxon and Latin, Slav and Oriental, are not fused into a social whole. With such mental incoherence there is sure to be a very wide variety in conduct standards, as well as in the making and administration of laws. So that in America there are two very distinct problems, and the first, which is the larger task, is the socialization of the nation. But the special task of social workers is the bringing of the individual into harmony with the group. There are certain unities in America. There is a unity of the political order combining the various sections together, which has been enormously strengthened in the last generation. There is a commercial and industrial unity which has been greatly influenced by such quasi-political questions as tariffs, currencies, and banks. It has also been very much helped by modern means of transportation. As the rivers and the sea coast were chief factors in the social life of the ancient peoples, so the modern state would be impossible without the railroad.

The questions of local government, municipal reform, and philanthropy will only find their final solution in an available social

mind. That great organ in the life of the people is now in the process of making. It is already rich in possibilities, splendid with great dreams. It is like a giant in many elements of strength, but it awaits the further operation of social forces which are at last to furnish order and beauty.

The Standard of Efficiency. As social groups vary in other respects so do they vary in the standard of efficiency, or in general terms, what may be expected as the total result of a day's work by the group. Whether a man is efficient or not will depend upon what he is and where he is. As that vague thing which we call civilization advances, the standard of efficiency rises. A man valuable in a crude community loses his occupation in one that is highly organized. In a pioneer settlement any man who can saw a board and drive a nail may set up as a carpenter, but in a developed industrial community he must at least have social capacity enough to join a labor union. It is said that Oliver Goldsmith in his tramps through Europe was able to play his flute in return for hospitality, but when he reached Italy he found the whole people were so musical that his flute lost its economic value. Individual efficiency consists in the capacity to do the task that the group desires to have done. By the standard of efficiency the skill and adaptation of the individual is measured; but the question of efficiency is not only a question of the worker, it is also a question of the social order. In this iron age there is always work for the skillful blacksmith, but vain his skill or strength of arm if he is doomed to live on a South Sea Island where there is no iron to work with and no market for his wares. Efficiency of the individual workers depends upon natural resources and industrial organization. There is an increasing recognition of the place of the group in maintaining the standard of efficiency. Most scholars harbor doubt as to the value of much legislation with economic purposes. But there is a large number of enactments having to do with industrial affairs which doubtless will increase in volume. These laws seek to insist upon fair treatment for all men, a sound and elastic banking system, just and equal commercial conditions, as well as the protection of life and limb. The note of the old legislation was the protection of things; the note of the new legislation is the protection of men. The man who sells is being held

to higher standards. He must protect the ignorant buyer. The honest trademark has wide applications. The time comes when leather is leather, and butter is butter, the published railway rate is the real railway rate, corporations are bound by their charters, and a day's work when it is paid for must be honestly performed. The more highly organized society is and the more complex its forces become, the greater the obligation that such body and mind as the individual possesses shall be rendered efficient both for the sake of the worker and for the sake of the social whole. The immense acceleration in the rate of social speed during the last century calls for a little stronger kind of social machinery to stand the strain.

A normal man to find maintenance must be able to do his fair share of the social day's work. There is a new normal quality required in the activities of the state. It must seek to secure justice not in the primitive fashion of seeking to prevent group interference with the rights of the individual. The social whole must seek the highest efficiency of the individual. The mere liberty of a man is not nearly so important as his development. There is a new moral note also with respect to the worker and his task. He is under obligation to do his work in the best possible way. The doing of the task makes a social bond which unites him to his fellows. The inefficient man is socially unfit. Society must relieve herself of the responsibility for this unfitness and then must constantly hold the individual accountable.

Based upon the standards already discussed and entering more fully into the range of our practical problems is the economic standard of a community. It would take us too far afield to discuss all the elements included in the make-up of an economic standard. That form of it which has latterly been known as the "standard of living" is vital to several of the discussions in social pathology.

The standard of living is that average of comfort above which life seems opulent and below which it seems mean. In any community to live respectably is to reach the ordinary standard maintained by one's neighbors. Each social group has its own standard of living, but for this purpose the social group is probably more subdivided than for almost any other. The standard changes between

the rural and the urban communities. It varies between city and city, and it varies very much between different wards of the same city. For practical purposes the standard of living applies most strongly to conditions within a small group that is comparatively homogeneous. There is one standard for a day laborer and another for the mechanic. There are fine class distinctions among the different groups of artisans. Professional men are usually allowed to be respectable with less commodity for consumption than merchants and bankers. The standard of living is made effective by the successful satisfaction of insistent wants. A rising standard of living is secured among men by increasing the number of urgent wants and by endeavoring to satisfy them, but the urgency of the new wants will depend upon the success in satisfying the old ones. A man who finds it difficult to secure for himself food and shelter is in no position to feel the agonizing need of refined amusements. The social success of a group depends upon such adjustments as will permit a rising standard with a widening circle of wants, and increasing success in meeting them. The social success of the individual consists in securing such efficiency in his economic relations as to reach the average of the group or class to which he belongs.

Rising standards doubtless tend to an increase of individual effort and the falling standard to individual as well as social paralysis. There are wide areas in the world in which the standard of living is now lower than it once was. Almost the whole of Asia probably illustrates the point. Europe and America, on the other hand, in large part represent social groups with a rising standard. While general theory recently insists upon the importance of economic conditions in the development of the social and political organization, it is largely true that social and political organization affect very powerfully all kinds of production and consumption of commodity. While the standard of living must be measured, at the last, in terms of production, and no standard can be maintained permanently by any social group beyond the limits of effective production, on the other hand, the energy, skill, and capacity of men to combine for more successful industrial action is greatly aided by a multitude of forces, many of which may be called psychic, and some of which may even be termed artistic. The

importance of cultural motives in life is far greater than many suppose. Imitation extends from the top downward. Wise producers of commodity secure more and more perfect imitation. Things once a luxury, after their enjoyment becomes a habit, take place among the necessaries of life. The increasing consciousness of dignity and beauty in living furnishes a powerful stimulus by which the brain becomes more cunning and the hands more skillful.

The practical problem, however, before the social worker is found in the individual family living to such a degree below the standard of life that they seem to themselves and to others to be in want. There is a brute form of poverty in which there is a scarcity of food required to sustain life, and this is easy of recognition. The word "poverty" in the domain of practical charity is often more elastic than the standard of living itself. It is not a question of food or clothing; it is a question of average comfort. Whether a man has a comfortable bed depends quite as much upon the man as it does upon the bed. Of first importance to the social worker is the clear and thorough judgment as to the standard of comfort to which the poor should be raised. This will furnish a basis of investigation in all kinds of work. How the worker will feel about it depends a good deal upon the comfort which he himself enjoys, but the personal equation must, so far as possible, be eliminated. There is the scientific need to formulate a standard of living for any social group among which work is done that can be distinctly objective and fairly easy of recognition. To secure such a basis of judgment there must be studies of local conditions — the rise and fall of wages, the changes of market which affect the purchasing power of wages, classification of family expenses, and distribution of income. Fortunately, enough studies have already been made to indicate the direction the effort must take, and the value of the results which can be secured.

Having found a standard of living that is sufficiently valid for any particular social group so that there remains but little question as to how much average comfort is normal, the further question arises: Is it the duty of the community to raise each family to the proper economic level? If wages are insufficient, work is not secured, and misfortune comes, should there be a common fund to supply the wants of the "submerged tenth"? The answer to

the question will depend upon whether one takes what may be called the static or the dynamic view of the problem. Those who regard the fact of misery as complete in itself will be likely to urge with Ruskin that we are to give to people because they are poor and that no question of social worth must be taken into the account. Feed the hungry and clothe the naked are to be interpreted as social commandments. This is the static view. It will appeal to the sentimental if not to the sympathetic.

The dynamic view will hold that misery is only a symptom, just as a chill is a symptom of physical disease, and that the treatment must be something more radical than relief suggestions. It would seem to be unfair to roast a patient before a fire because he had a chill. It seems equally unfair to feed a man simply because he is hungry. It is not the effect of a good meal upon an empty stomach that must be taken into account, but the effect of a full stomach in this particular man upon his conduct of life.

The difficulty of relieving all poverty simply because it is poverty by public tax or by the funds of voluntary associations to be used in raising every family to the recognized standard of living, must at first sight appear. It will only be recognized by those who see that public tax and private gifts reduce the standard of living for the givers, and that any procedure which does not take into account questions of industry and thrift will infallibly lower the standard of living for the entire community. This is the teaching of the experience, now become classic, which led to the reform of the English poor laws. Whenever a part of the livelihood of the industrious and virtuous goes to the support of the vicious and the lazy, not only is the standard of living lowered, but all the evils of falling standard ensue. The number of those incapable of full production is increased, the margin of those in want becomes larger and larger, until the whole group descends into poverty. Public relief of want simply because it is want is nothing less than social and economic suicide. The standard of living must be maintained for the sake of those who are below it as well as for the sake of those who are above it. Special misfortune and special distress may be met by special relief, but ordinary misery must be cured by the stimulus of greater skill and better character so that there may be production larger and more economic, distribution wider and more

just, and economic socialization more complete. The doctrine must at last be understood that families cannot be raised to the standard of living of any community unless they participate in the effort of the community to the full measure of their ability and opportunity.

The social standards which have been considered are not all there are, for to discover all the social standards would be to compass the contents of the social mind. And by the same token, it will be seen that the physical standard, the mental standard, and the standard of efficiency are very closely related to each other. The world has too long regarded social problems as outside the range of practical science. What is neeeded is an intelligent scrutiny of all the facts. The first appeal is to the eyes and not to the emotions. The second appeal is to the judgment and not to the sympathies. Life as it is must be studied for the sake of the life that ought to be. The physical degeneration, the mental incapacity, the social inefficiency, and the economic failure of multitudes must be calmly recognized by those who would aid in the world's progress. The social pathologist believes in rising standards. He believes in better health and longer lives. He believes in the union of society in great traditions, great ideas, great emotions, great activities. He believes in a rising standard of living, an economic standard that shall include not alone the means of physical livelihood but, as Aristotle would teach us, the means of living nobly. It is because he is willing to face his facts that the social pathologist is at last a believer in the creed that teaches us that the race may so largely eliminate the unfit by sounder forms of living, better education, and by larger social virtue, that for practical purposes social problems will disappear. This creed is true if there be enough capacity in men and sufficient sources of wealth in the world to produce adequate and increasing comfort for every man, woman, and child. It is the aim of social pathology so to present facts and methods that the social aim for every group will be to seek such a standard of efficiency that by wisdom in the social order, and by education, virtue, skill, and self-control in the individual, the beautiful dreams which have been the especial property of poets and prophets shall become at last luminous facts in the domain of practical living.

PATHOLOGY OF CONDITION

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

POVERTY may be defined as a lack of the necessaries of life. Those are paupers who are aided by public agencies. Poor people are not always paupers, and paupers are not always poor people. Paupers are sometimes misers in disguise, and very poor people are sometimes proud. The two subjects must be treated separately.

Under what conditions a man should be called poor will depend upon the standard of living prevailing in the particular social group to which the man belongs. What is poverty in America would be regarded as luxury in Syria.

The form and density of the social group must also be considered. In a city public water, light, and sewage are elemental necessities, but the rural community does very well without them. What seems to be necessary in one country or in one social group is by no means certain to be necessary in another. The personal equation will also influence the conclusions of the investigator. His own standard of comfort becomes unconsciously the standard below which poverty exists. But it is necessary to seek a broad view of the entire problem.

Man began to work upon this planet in a condition of primitive poverty, but he did not know it, for he had no material for any comparison out of which a judgment might be made. He had his hands and his brain, but his hands were unskilled and the brain was not illumined. Slowly he learned to do more and more for himself and by himself, but as the centuries went by, the social consciousness grew, he learned to combine with his fellow-men in common tasks, and so new skill and efficiency were gained. With his successes the sense of new wants arose, and he endeavored to satisfy them. Every success made by any superior individual furnished a new incentive for his neighbors. To the extent that

men have recognized the condition of poverty, the best of men have struggled to rise out of it. This is part of that general struggle of existence recognized by all modern thinkers. It was struggle against nature, struggle of group with group, and of individuals within the group. In the fight against poverty some men have emerged to wealth, multitudes to comfort, and myriads are still in want.

Poverty is measured by economic successes, and, strictly, is a condition of civilized man only. Adam knew that he was naked when he had eaten of the tree of knowledge. It is not lack of commodity chiefly that makes poverty, but it is the attitude of the man toward his lack. In every successful community there are classes of people who have the will to live but do not wish to struggle. Mild climates furnish the best opportunity to satisfy such a modest ambition. The southern Cracker may be content with the proceeds of two bales of cotton if he may also grow a little corn for bread and shoot a wild pig when he wishes meat. A board hut in which there is no glass will do for a house, but this man is not poor, for he has no sense of poverty. In densely populated cities there are general conditions of poverty for which the individual is not wholly responsible. Leaving the discussion of the social conditions of poverty for the present, there is a condition of want keenly felt by every human being, want so abject that one lacks the present meal to satisfy the present hunger. Otherwise poverty is chiefly a state of mind.

To illustrate the psychological quality of the problem, it may be well to say that even the most manifest form of poverty, namely, hunger for food, is subject to widely different interpretations. Two men are hungry. The one is hungry because he could not work and the other is hungry because he would not work. The first man is a proper object of charity; the second man needs to be reformed. It may be true that social conditions and economic opportunity are of primary importance in a study of the economic success of the individual, but more fundamental than the social study is an investigation of the attitude of each individual toward such opportunity as he may have. Social conditions must be improved, but the right attitude of the individual is the first step in social reform.

But we are not through with the hungry man. There is a third type. Let us say it is some poor student working his way through college and he went without his dinner to buy a copy of Shakespeare. His life has become complex; he has awakened to wants such as the most princely savages never knew. Such new wants which have only lately dawned upon the mind of the race are very insistent. In his case mind hunger has conquered the body hunger. This thing happens repeatedly. Thousands of men and women day after day deny the flesh that they may have what seems to them truth or beauty.

There is another person, and it is likely to be a woman. She has denied herself that she may give to some person or to some cause valued above her own comfort.

Still another type there is, perhaps not so admirable, yet certainly worth while. This man worked, and he worked at his task with such absorption that both hunger and meal-time were ignored or forgotten. Is it not said that Socrates stood on his feet all through the night and knew not where he was, whether in the body or out of the body, until the morning sun smote his eyes and called him to his prayers? The Immortals have always had this power. They have had meat to eat that other men knew not.

Some of the foregoing will seem remote to those who depend wholly upon the senses for their knowledge and upon the visible for their facts. Those however who have been developed by hand to hand work with and for those in need are well aware that the problem must be stated in larger terms than those which are merely physical, because they know that the solution depends last of all and most of all upon the development of ambition, self-respect, foresight — that is to say, upon an adequate psychical awakening and upon new and more definite psychological relations. The millenium comes at the price of new and insistent human wants. We first must remake the individual and afterward he will reform human society.

The object of the social worker is to secure such an organization of society and such a development of the individual that adequate comfort may be secured for every man, woman, and child. This is a practical and worthy aim, though even comfort must not be

secured too easily or too rapidly or it will be secured at the expense of human development.

As the word "poverty" is capable of various interpretations, so the word "comfort," which seems so simple, may be given very various meanings. The comfort of the brute man is secured when his animal appetites are satisfied. The comfort of the father, however, is found in the manliness of his son, and the comfort of the patriot in the preservation and the glory of his country. The outstanding temptation of charity workers is to value physical comfort too highly. As man is not wholly brute, so physical comfort is not the last word about human life. It has been cunningly devised that comfort and effort should have a rather definite relation.

The best things of nature are wrapped in rough covering. This covering must be broken, and human effort to break the package is of more value to the individual and to society than the contents of the package. By human tasks the perceptions are sharpened and the rational faculty awakened. As he works the man finds out that sterile individualism must be sacrificed and that he must learn to live and work with his fellow-men. The final end of human history is individual and social development. The present of any period is only a transition. Society is continually on the search for higher ends and greater achievements. Social workers can only help on the task when they understand it. It is probable that, on the whole, the charitable agencies of the last two thousand years have done the world quite as much harm as good. The disappointments of charity have been its real triumphs. They have furnished what wisdom we have. Conditions of comfort, like standards of living, are always relative. Every generation has its own point of view. The mechanic of to-day has more real comfort than the princes of the middle ages. There would be riots in Liverpool and Birmingham if working men were compelled to live as the best people are described to have done in the England which Erasmus visited.

THE ART OF LIVING

WHEN poverty is defined as a lack of the necessaries of life, we have simply described its obvious and concrete forms. We have not explored its nature or its causes. The intellectual vice of much of the discussion of poverty results from too much attention to its outward symbols. Lack of good food and clothing and the want of a suitable tenement are not in themselves valuable teachers in the administration of charity. A crass materialism here, as everywhere else, ignores the essence of social problems.

In the meantime, much of the misery of poverty is simply the visible manifestation of ignorance. Multitudes of the poor do not know what to do with what they have. This is a failure in the use of the mind. Even larger multitudes though they know how income might be used to better advantage than they now use it, lack the self control and the earnestness required for the undertaking. This is the moral deficiency of the poor. Only those who see that a large part of poverty is a lack of intelligence or a lack of character, or both, are able even to suggest any correct or adequate remedies.

Notwithstanding the public school system in America, which is the boast of the nation and is supposed to be the envy of many other countries, there is very little information among the people with respect to the most important of all practical subjects, namely: the art of living. By the art of living is meant that disposition and use of commodity which secures the greatest comfort at the lowest cost. This is its most obvious meaning, but the range of the art is vastly wider. It includes, for example, a knowledge of what to do in the beginnings of sickness; how to dispose of time and strength when the years begin to impair the vitality, and, in brief, how to maintain the family group in the maximum of power at the minimum of effort. The native American population is probably more lacking in this important branch of knowledge than any other people in the world. Other people have been

taught by their misfortunes and their lack of resources. The native American population, with the tradition of inexhaustible natural wealth at its disposal, has developed a talent for wastefulness that has almost become an economic curiosity. The native American population has furnished methods of living that by the law of imitation are controlling the national life. It has followed that those sections of our population that have come recently from European countries, where of necessity stricter economy must be practiced, have often degenerated by contact with American society. In hotels and restaurants of all grades food is served in barbaric profusion unknown to other countries. In American kitchens enough broken food is often wasted to provide a dainty banquet for a thrifty French family.

The failure of the public schools to properly educate the future wives and mothers is one which requires national consideration. It is useless to understand the delightful intricacies of quadratic equations and to have the most superficial knowledge of household economics. The public schools should prepare the boys for earning and the girls for the wise and economical use of the income.

The girls who reach the high school are taught what is called physiology, but all the girls in the grammar schools should be taught the simple rules of hygiene upon which health depends and which are quite level with their intelligence. The chemistry of foods has yielded a knowledge of food values and the resultant information, without the process by which it is obtained, can easily be imparted, so that any one who knows how to read may find out what is required to build a body and to maintain its efficiency. It is nothing less than criminal upon the part of the state to allow any girl to grow up within the social group who does not have that kind of information. Academic education is well, but as between the two, it is far better that a girl should know how to organize a dinner than how to parse a sentence, and how to build a body rather than how to draw a diagram.

The death of children in infancy is one of the most serious occasions of human sorrow and of economic loss. Most of these children are killed by bad food. In spite of the severe labor and unwholesome conditions of unknown thousands of mothers, children

live through the nursing period to die soon after being weaned. Such experiences make life a tragedy and the home an inferno.

The art of living includes sufficient knowledge and the development of judgment necessary to buy proper clothing. Plenty of people spend money enough for good clothing and seldom have it. They do not know what to buy or how to buy. A pair of shoes at a cheap price are worthless in two weeks, when for a little more money a good pair could have been had that would have lasted for months. Of course it is elementary to say that cheapness is a thing of proportion. It is the proportion between the cost of an article and its possible service, but it is these elementary facts that the poor need to know. What is true of shoes is true of every other article of clothing. What is true of clothing is true of furniture. Only the rich can afford to buy low-priced things that must soon be thrown aside. The poor must practice an economy that insists upon quality in the things purchased.

The art of living involves the education of good taste. A rational self-respect lends dignity to life however limited the resources. Self-respect depends upon the development of the faculties. The woman who knows how to make a home attractive upon the smallest amount of material resources is as real an artist as the painter or the singer. It is a comparatively easy task to feed the hungry. It is not a task beyond our resources to impart knowledge with respect to food, clothing, and housekeeping. It is more difficult to furnish the degree of cultivation that will choose the best things. There is little time to read and little money for books. Shall the time and money be spent for the best? There is little money for pictures, and may the poor be taught to like cheap and beautiful copies of great works? Beauty and order are not dear commercially, and yet they are expensive. The cost is in the development of the eye to see and the trained intelligence to select. The most revolting thing in the homes of the poor is their contentment with brutal ignorance. When we find poor people who have the sense of order and who are determined to be clean, it is with difficulty that we think of them as being poor at all. There are shanties occupied by working people of the lowest grade economically, where the wives have been trained in the art of living, that are such models of good order and good taste that no visitor would

ever put the inhabitants in the needy class. In the same row of shanties, with practically the same amount of money to spend, there are homes which show every evidence of poverty and degradation.

Of all the economic virtues perhaps the thing we call foresight is the most fundamental. This virtue leads the father and mother to consider what the annual income will be and to endeavor to spend it by a plan. Recent investigators have been endeavoring to find out the average income of each family.

Particular inquiries have been made as to the necessary income required by a family to maintain a suitable standard of living. These studies are of the utmost value, and when a sufficient number of them have been made with sufficient accuracy, they may be depended upon for a good deal of guidance. It may be noted, however, that the money size of the income will vary greatly in different localities. Every such study must be based upon local conditions and must be locally applied. The same amount cannot be set aside, for example, for rent, and made to fit the requirements of every community. The cost of fuel will vary according to climate, and so on throughout the entire list. No foot-rule can be devised that can be mechanically applied.

The capacity for the use of the income is essentially artistic. It is based upon a sense of order and proportion. The Indian is said to sell his hammock at a cheaper price in the morning. He does not need it then. The psychological vice of the poor is the lack of foresight. The pressure of the immediate pleasure is intense and weakness succumbs.

The knowledge of budgets is well; the artistic sense is more. But to take a year's wages and to plan a year's expenditure, and then hold to the plan, requires more than a knowledge of statistics or the feeling for beauty. It demands a development of character. There are places in life where the moral and the artistic overlap. It is only the sensitive that are shocked by what is ill-timed or vulgar. The art of living must be spread by sympathy, by contagion, by imitation. The mind and body can produce commodity. It requires the strength of the best possible men and women to use it wisely. The whole nature of the men and women who are in poverty must be molten to receive new theories of practical

living based upon high considerations. There is no force available for this task except that of love. This treasure is the most valuable of all alms.

There is a social sacrifice of commodity called for by the state which in some cases becomes more of a burden upon the individuals than the entire dependent population is a burden upon the state. Where Government, either general or local, lays unnecessary burdens of taxation upon production, it tends to increase the area of poverty and to deepen its misery. Current taxation must be paid from current production whatever be the methods employed or whatever the theory upon which they are based. If labor is withdrawn from the ranks of the producers to serve the pride and ambition of municipalities, bread is dearer and rents are higher. If in the lust for power a nation builds war ships and maintains vast armies, the standard of living is lowered and the distress of the poor is increased.

As the art of living for the individual involves securing the greatest comfort at the lowest cost by the wise production and the careful use of commodity, so it is the business of the state to furnish the greatest protection for its citizens at the lowest cost in taxation and in military service.

A wise paternalism is the wisdom of the modern world. Whatever the individual cannot do for himself, which ought to be done, should be undertaken by the state. Municipal undertakings do not depend upon theory; they rest upon the urgency of fact. Public power must be used as wisely as public resources. The organized social body must find out what are its suitable functions, and with diligence must seek the means of fulfilling them. The old methods of government were exceedingly clumsy. Rulers have become more and more skillful. In later chapters some of the social conditions and remedies will be set forth.

ECONOMICS AND POVERTY

ECONOMICS constitutes a special science by itself, and this chapter does not pretend to deal even with its most important principles. It is intended only to suggest the relation of the economic order to problems of poverty and pauperism.

It is plain enough that poverty can be steadily reduced by better and more economic production. Whatever makes commodities more easily obtainable, whether it be by the use of the machine, by the machine-made machine, or by reduction of the number of unskilled, has helped in the solution of this problem. Whatever improves the physical means of production by new inventions, and by the application of new and better methods, is important. Assistance in making the conditions better under which men labor, whether it be in improved sanitation while at work or in their homes, results in improved conditions of health and secures greater efficiency. The development of higher psychological forces, and the increase of moral strength are above price.

The history of the development of legislation is largely the history of the protection of capital and its owners. The steady tendency of the last hundred years has been towards the protection of capital in hand and eye and brain. The man is continually becoming more important than the machine. This may not tend directly to economic production, but it will increase the value of human life, and will have finally beneficial economic results.

The problem of production is by no means so important as the problems of exchange and of distribution. The most evident part of the question is that all clumsy and expensive methods should be eliminated. Too much labor is used in promotion, in advertising, and in conveying the commodity to the producer and to the consumer. That road must be shorter and easier.

Some method must be devised for the more equitable distribution of the joint profit of labor and capital. This is by no means

an easy question. Where a business is very profitable, it is easy to say that the man who owns the business ought not to have the lion's share of the spoils, while those who work for him live as though the "iron law of wages" were an economic fact. But there are many business firms which are not successful. There are many failures both in the commercial and industrial world through lack of wisdom in superintendence. And even if the management is as wise and as faithful as can be, it will often happen that new methods are introduced by new inventions, or new commodities are secured, which make the business practically out of date.

Most of the theories of reform in the matter of distribution proceed upon the assumption that production and distribution are always financially successful, and that a few people receive the largest share of the profits. No study of the subject is complete without taking into account the vastly large number of wrecks that lie along the shore, while a few stately barges laden to the water's edge keep in the middle of the stream.

One of the methods proposed is that of profit sharing, and numerous examples of it are found in various industries and in various countries. The reason that profit sharing is not at all an adequate method of solution, while it undoubtedly has many points in its favor, is that the owner always decides the amount of the profits that are to be shared. On the other hand, while the employees are always willing to share in the profits, there never have been found those who were willing to take their share in the loss of any year. There is no doubt that a scientific scheme of profit sharing might be devised under which the cost of interest and superintendence should be taken out first, then the ordinary wages should follow, and what remained should be regarded as profits to be divided in proportion to the amount of the wages, as compared with the amount of interest and superintendence added together. Under such a method, a sinking fund would have to be provided to take care of years of loss in the management of the business.

Of far greater importance both in the history of social development and the possibilities of the few, is what is called coöperation. The early attempts at coöperation in England were begun under several influences, the most dominant being the personality of

Robert Owen, who, in his own business in New Lanark, began by such efforts for his own workers as would increase their moral and physical well-being, efforts that were quite new in the world at that time. This was followed by a movement for factory reform. It was seen that the factory was so much a quasi-public institution that it might rightfully be controlled by law. He followed these efforts by urging coöperation. It is only fair to say that the early history of coöperation in Great Britain, however beneficial the purposes of its promotors, and however promising its organization, was doomed to failure. By, say, 1860, almost every one of the efforts for coöperation had proved a failure. There are several reasons to account for this bad beginning. The coöperators received too much help and guidance from the outside; it was regarded as a charity rather than as an affair of business. As a result, the coöperators did not feel enough personal responsibility, and did not develop sufficient capacity as the business grew, and all through they lacked personal initiative. Perhaps quite as important is another fact, namely, that the workingmen of that time had not been accustomed to associate together in the study of social or economic questions, and they entirely lacked the intellectual discipline and knowledge required for the purposes.

Coöperation differs fundamentally from the ordinary government proposals, because it is essentially voluntary. The first object sought by coöperation was to secure the advantage of the consumer. It was an attack upon profit, and proposed that the consumer should reduce the cost of his goods by eliminating the profit of the distributor. It was also urged that coöperation improves the quality of the goods by getting rid of the ordinary motives for poor workmanship or fraudulent labels.

Coöperation has gone beyond the point of the organization of stores; it has entered upon the era of commerce. Coöperators own their own ships and buy their own cargoes. Here coöperation enters into another phase, and seeks to increase profit for the producer.

The value of coöperation is not wholly economic. It teaches large numbers of people, that is, all the stockholders, something of business methods, and therefore makes them more contented with social conditions. It encourages cash payment, and there-

fore makes it easier for people to live within their incomes. It encourages thrift, for persons seek to hold stock in these institutions in order to secure their benefits. In the great modern coöperative movement in England, the investments in stores engaged in distribution amount to a capital of not less than twenty-seven million pounds, and no member is allowed to hold more than two hundred pounds in stock.

Since 1885 a distinct movement has taken place in favor of coöperative production. The earlier methods of production by coöperative societies were largely failures, but at the present time, among other industries carried on by coöperation, are those of boot and shoe making, the manufacture of watches, bookbinding, nail making, cutlery, silk, and printing. There seems to be a theory gradually developing that the division of the profits of coöperative production should be between capital, that is, the shareholders, labor, that is, wages, and the consumer, that is, the reduction in prices. The amount and method of this distribution naturally varies. The coöperative movement in England at last has outgrown the probationary stage, but the measure of success of coöperation, as of every business carried on by every other method, depends upon the intelligence, industry, and self-control of the coöperators.

Coöperation has entered into the field of agriculture: coöperative dairying is naturally one of the easiest and most successful forms. It has been very successful in Denmark and in Ireland, and very widespread in the United States. It is also found in Germany, Italy, Belgium, and other countries. France has the largest average number of coöperators. There has also been coöperation in the sale of products of farm, dairy, garden, and orchard; these have been very successful in Denmark, and fairly successful in some parts of the United States.

One of the most interesting forms of coöperation, as well as the most important, is in the business of banking, which, at first sight, would seem to be one of the most dangerous forms. Germany has, however, shown the world how well it can be done. There is a central union of coöperative banks, which are about 11,000 in number, and about 50 per cent of the firms are stockholders in rural banks. These banks grant credit to the amount of about

800,000,000 marks. There are two kinds of banks, both called after their founders; those of the town are called Schulze-Delitzsch, and the rural banks bear the name of their inaugurator, Raiffeisen.

The popular banks in Italy also represent the value of personality, for they have all grown out of the labors of Luzatti. In 1906 there were in Italy 829 of these banks, with a capital of 133,000,000 lire. The deposits amount to 700,000,000 lire and the loans were 453,000,000 lire. (These figures are furnished by Mr. C. B. Fay.[1])

The development of Savings Banks in various countries has been one of the most remarkable things in modern times. The Savings Banks in the United States, which are incorporated under the state laws, had deposits in 1904 amounting to the enormous sum of $2,650,000,000, and is now (1910) reported at more than $4,000,000,000.

The recently established Postal Savings Banks in the United States will probably increase this vast sum. The Postal Savings Banks were authorized in England by the Act of 1861, and to the Postmaster-General is given authority to authorize local post offices to receive deposits, but government Savings Banks under the Act may also be established at other places besides the post offices. The rate of interest is 2½ per cent per annum; the minimum deposit is 1/–, and the maximum deposit is 200/–. The trades unions, however, were limited by law in their deposits in Savings Banks: they might deposit £100 a year, and £300 altogether in one bank. In 1904 in the Post Office Savings Banks in Italy there were 628,000,000 lire. Among the countries of the world, Denmark stands at the head with 209/– per capita; Switzerland follows with 158/–, Norway 104/–, Prussia 101/–, United States 88/–, England 62/–, while Spain and Russia stand at the end of the list with 2/– each. These last statistics were those of 1899 according to Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics.[2] The statistics probably continue at about the same ratio at the date of this writing.

It is beside the question to urge at this time that coöperation ought to be the final method of doing business. Even though

[1] Coöperation at Home and Abroad, C. B. Fay, chap. 2, p. 19; chap. 4, p. 63.
[2] Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, p. 76.

it were thought the safest and wisest for established enterprises, there are still new inventions to be discovered, new enterprises to be undertaken, new methods to be devised, and these will always be stimulated by men who have an opportunity for individual enterprise and individual profit. But touching the question of poverty, it can easily be seen that it is not likely that any considerable number of the coöperators in successful enterprises, though they may be comparatively poor, will ever fall into the pauper class.

Under any so-called competitive system, the wages can never be any larger than the production of the business will warrant; the same is equally true under any coöperative system; it would be true under any socialistic system. The thing to inquire is what system produces on the whole the highest and finest results. Nor would it at last be any final solution of the larger social question, though it might be a solution to the special problem of poverty, if it could be ascertained that a particular method of social organization would eliminate poverty, and at the same time eliminate all powerful effort of powerful men and reduce society to the mediocrity of a dead level.

Under the present economic organization there is every reason for encouragement. The wages of organized labor have very largely increased. R. Giffen has [1] shown that during a recent half century the prices of the principal commodities have decreased, while wages have risen from 50 to 150 per cent. The chief trouble with such statistics is that the only wages which get into the statistics are those of organized occupations. Yet there is no doubt at all that while the cost of living in the immediate past has increased, prices are rhythmic, and tend steadily to a lower level. The increase in the quantity of money points in itself to the increase of prices, and the value of money in any period must always be taken into account in considering both prices and wages. It is the relation of the amount of wages to the amount of commodity the wages will provide that is the final test.

The Savings Banks, which are private corporations, undoubtedly stimulate thrift through their advertising and other means of seeking to reach the people, and, in a larger way, do the same work

[1] R. Giffen, Economic Inquiries, vol 1, chap. 4.

that is done by the charity organization societies in their provident funds.

Following the question of thrift in relation to poverty, naturally comes the relation of poverty to debt. There are two kinds of debt. One is for the purpose of credit, in order to promote business operations. Men of business ability are able to accumulate fortunes if they can secure capital on credit, because they are able to make larger profits than the rate of interest, but there is quite another kind of debt which leads to poverty, and that is where one goes into debt for the purpose of consumption. A man may wish a better house than he can afford, better clothes than he should wear; he may buy an automobile, he may wish to imitate the standards of wealthier neighbors. This kind of debt leads to ruin. The wise man may use all the credit he can get for business purposes, but the wise man will not go into debt for consumption except under great emergency.

Another form of debt for consumption is purchase upon the installment plan; it always costs more than the interest, and in most cases persons who wish to buy should wait until they have secured the money and then pay cash, and secure the best goods at the lowest cost.

There are times, however, when all kinds of special financial difficulties arise, through sickness or other disaster, and in these cases any man may need to borrow, aside from business reasons. In some countries, particularly in America, loans are made upon chattel mortgages or advances are made upon salaries not yet earned, at ruinous rates of interest. Many a young man has been ruined by receiving circulars from some of those disreputable loan offices, saying that any one who is employed at a regular salary can receive a loan without publicity. The amount of the loan and the interest place him under an enormous burden.

In Paris the well-known public pawnshops are instituted in order to protect the casual borrower. The rate of interest is limited to the maximum of 8 per cent, and every borrower is given a register upon which is inscribed the date of the loan, the object pledged, the sum obtained, the rate of interest, and the conditions upon which the pledge may be sold, if the object is not sooner reclaimed. The loan is made for one year, unless special arrange-

ments are entered into. These public pawnshops are also found in other places, but those in Paris are regarded as quite representative. Any man goes openly and takes a share of stock or any other security and borrows at a public pawnshop with the same feeling of security that a business man borrows at his bank. There have been some American developments of banks as private corporations for a similar purpose, where both the rate of interest and the rate of profit are limited by the charter.

POVERTY AND LABOR

LABOR among civilized peoples has three objects: first, enjoyment arising from the consumption of commodity, either by the laborer alone or together with those dependent upon him; second, provision against unproductiveness, that is, the period of accident, sickness, or old age when the laborer cannot work; third the desire for power or that sense of superiority over other men arising from greater wealth and the effective means for exercising that power. The mass of men have practically only the first object. With them it is the week's work and the week's living. A respectable minority add the second object to the first and seek to provide against possible disaster. Men who are called captains of industry are led on chiefly by the third object and are driven by the lust for control. The rational proportion of these three objects and the relation of individual effort to the attaining of them furnishes the true philosophy of economic life.

The Greek philosopher said all things flow, and movement is the essence of social and individual life. It is the static view which leads investigators astray. The same social group passes through its early period of poverty, its rise to strength, its grip of resources, its larger productivity, its development of life, its consequent luxury, its final decay and downfall. The individual may pass through various phases. At one period of his life he may be guided by certain motives, and at a later period by other motives. The young man who works only that he may consume, after marriage becomes the man who by economy protects himself and his family against possible unproductivity. On the other hand, the boy set to work too early and made the slave of family consumption, at maturity may rebel from all labor and become the wandering tramp. Men grow old, sex hunger dies, but the parental motive becomes stronger and is the final bond of the family. The pleasure motive may decay when the senses weaken, but the thirst for gain or power may increase with the years. The passions of the flesh belong to youth, but there are baser passions which belong

to age. Greed grows. The cruelty of the boy is picturesque but the cruelty of the reflective man is devilish. The boy who torments animals may love his mother. The brutal capitalist may be fond of good pictures. Many are the complexities of human life. Physical needs are the basis of primitive toil, but psychological motives become more and more insistent as any society grows older and richer. The driving force of any society must be interpreted in terms of its most efficient men.

Countries differ with respect to the dominance of particular motives and also in the complexity of the economic life. English poverty is largely for those who work only that they may consume, and when they fail in productive power such men become charges upon the public. The consuming class in France is much more susceptible to the second motive, and there must be added to this the economic importance which the family assumes. The widespread importance of the dowry and the business arrangements of marriage tend to thrift. England has larger production than France, but France makes better use of savings banks and knows better how to use the surplus for social stability.

The most obvious cause of poverty is found in production insufficient to satisfy the needs of any social group. Whatever increases production, obviously increases plenty. The whole body of a people is directly interested in the success of each particular industrial enterprise. If shop or factory or farm fails to do its best, it is not only a loss to its owner, it is also a loss to the entire community. If commodity is scarce, its price is high and it is difficult to obtain. Abundance of production helps in securing wide and just distribution. When any commodity is scarce, the families without a surplus are those who feel it most keenly. Herbert Spencer and others have pointed out the rhythmic law of social and economic life. In times of prosperity there is undue encouragement to consumption. When the periods of industrial stagnation and industrial defeat ensue, the burden falls most heavily upon the poor.

Whatever is wise for the social group will be found, in the long run, to be wise for the individuals who compose the group. It is plain that for the multitude the necessaries of life can never be too abundant nor too cheap until every normal want is satisfied.

In effect, every workman is more interested in the total success of the social group to which he belongs than he is in the particular success of his own craft. A completer socialization would at once recognize the fact that abundance of commodity is at last possible to the individual only when he is a member of a successful social group.

For material well-being it is not enough that each man work to the measure of his own capacity. He is quite as much interested that all other men work to the full measure of their capacity. To secure comfort he must be able to exchange the commodity which he produces for the other commodities which he requires, and it is highly important that the things he wants be abundant and, therefore, cheap. Whoever prevents the workmen from producing the largest amount possible is a promoter of poverty and an enemy of society. There is one rational limit to production. That limit is reached when any commodity becomes so abundant and so cheap that the makers of it are economically pressed down by the difficulty of exchanging the amount that they produce for the other things which they require in order to give variety to life and satisfaction to their wants.

Successful production under modern conditions is always a form of coöperation in labor. Every hindrance to industrial socialization is an economic disaster. The dishonesty of a treasurer not only loots his own concern but weakens every other industrial institution. The incapacity of a superintendent of a factory is not only responsible for the wreck of the business over which he presides, but demoralizes and weakens every other trade. The ignorance and thriftlessness of one body of workmen is not only a damage to themselves and their employer, but it is a detriment to every other form of industrial life. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that there is a common social interest in the intelligence, capacity, honesty, and thrift of every toiler. Every able-bodied man ought to work. But that is not enough. It is also essential that every mechanical, social, and personal hindrance to efficient work should be removed.

The economic burden of all labor which is not devoted to the production of the necessaries of life must be noted. If men will paint pictures and write poems, they are still human and must

eat, and the poems and the pictures make the price of potatoes dearer. It is not necessary to argue against fine houses, but it should be seen that every stately mansion withdraws labor from the process of providing adequate shelter for the people, and makes every cottage more expensive. If some woman works a year to make a piece of lace that another woman may wear it about her shoulders, it is idle to say that the second woman feeds the first, for the lace production makes all clothing and all food for all women dearer in proportion to the amount of labor withdrawn to provide this luxury. Luxury may be defended upon artistic or cultural grounds. It may be defended as the suitable reward for unusual capacity or devotion to tasks. But it seems evident that luxury is without any economic defence until every man, woman, and child is supplied with the necessaries of life.

A social group working together produces by its labor a certain amount of commodity which is the group income. If a few people take a large share of this commodity for a limited number of families, it is plain that the rest of the group will have just that much less to divide. It is easy to see this fact in a concrete illustration, but it seems difficult for many people to apply the conclusion to the largest views of life. If ten men catch one hundred fish and one man takes fifty for his share, we see at once that the other nine must be content with dividing the remaining fifty fish. It is somewhat harder to see that if the commodity produced by a social group expressed in terms of money amounts to, say, a thousand dollars per family for the group, and a number of men secure out of this production an income of one hundred thousand dollars a year each, some of the families remaining will be reduced to beggary, and all the families will have their incomes lessened. This is not an argument for equality of incomes any more than the paragraph above was an argument for the simple life in production. While recognizing the place for luxury and the justice of a large reward for unusual capacity and industry, there is no use trying to conceal the fact that abnormally large incomes make abnormally small ones, and that extreme wealth at one end of the social scale must mean poverty at the other end of the scale.

Right thinking upon the relation of labor to poverty cannot be promoted unless the rate of wages for the laboring man receives

consideration. Confusion of thought upon the subject arises out of the reckoning of wages in terms of money. It is simple economics to say that the amount of money received for a day's work is only nominal wages. Real wages are only seen in the amount of commodity which the money will buy. Money wages may fall and real wages rise. Money wages may rise and real wages fall. It is the crudest kind of statistics to compare the money wages of one social group with the money wages of another social group and by such a standard measure the relative comfort of the working classes. Price lists must always be studied in connection with the scale of wages to reach results of any value. We cannot be led so far afield as to enter into any discussion of the wage system or of the relation of the wage fund to the total amount of production. These are questions for economists. From our point of view it is enough to insist that where production is adequate the wages should be large enough to satisfy the first two motives of labor spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

There is a doctrine in connection with wages that affects the whole problem, and it is stated by Mr. George Gunton in his Wealth and Progress.[1] His argument, condensed, runs as follows: "The chief determining influence in the rate of wages in any country or industry is the standard of living of the most expensive families furnishing a necessary part of the labor in that country or industry. The standard of living is very low in Asia, Africa, and South America, and wages are correspondingly low. Since the standard makes the wages, shorten the hours and increase the expense of living by multiplying wants. The physical wants are few. The social wants are acquired and have no conceivable limit. Shorten the hours, increase the leisure, and social wants are increased. To satisfy the higher standard of living, wages must be increased also."

This general doctrine is sound in so far as it teaches that the rate of wages must support the most expensive families that furnish a necessary part of the labor in any industry. At the same time, the standard of living in any industry cannot rise any higher than the proper expression of the value of the commodity produced by that industry in relation to the total product of a social group.

[1] Gunton, Wealth and Progress, p. 89.

The real limit of wages for any class of artisans is manifest. Under the present system interest and rent must be paid. The task of superintendence must also have its wage. Now if the wages of the workmen take all the rest of the product, there would still be set a limit to them by the general success of the industry. If the standard of living for the necessary part of labor engaged in any industry is higher than its production can provide, the industry becomes bankrupt and the standard of living must fall. The greatest spendthrift may conceivably be a necessary part of the labor for any industry, but there is no artificial provision possible against the bankruptcy of any abnormal economic institution.

The commodity produced by any community is not divided among individuals so much as it is among families. The family group at last is the economic unit.

It must not be overlooked that while every able-bodied man ought to work, there are certain classes which cannot work. Those who are too young, those who are too old, and those who are incapacitated by accident or disease. These three classes consume but they do not produce, and they must be provided for. The young are the proper care of the family. The sick and the old if possible should have made provision for themselves in some form or other, but if they have failed to do so, they become a charge upon their families. If the burden breaks down the family self-support, they must be provided for by their associates or by the community.

The question of poverty and labor cannot be dismissed without some account of that recurrent class of the working population known as the unemployed. This class is depleted in prosperous times, unduly swollen in times of depression, but it exists in all times. They are the persons who are engaged in casual employment and their number increases with the complexity of the social life and the call for personal service of various kinds. They drive carts, they carry packages, they pick up a precarious livelihood by odd jobs, and yet some of the energetic and thrifty of this class achieve a competence. These people are always out of work a part of the time.

Then there are employments which require the service of skilled labor only a part of the year. Many of the building trades in

severe climates belong to this class. Where factories or shops which employ labor are entirely closed, all classes of workmen are locked out together, but it more frequently happens that factories run upon half time. Mercantile institutions that are receiving fewer orders require a smaller number of men to fill them. Times of depression, therefore, are seasons when the employers of labor sift out their men. If a man is inefficient or old or weak or careless or dissipated, he is the man to lose his place. The fact to be reckoned with is that the unemployed represent, on the whole, the lowest stratum of the working population.

But unemployment, properly speaking, belongs of right to the fluctuations in the ordinary demand for labor. The supply remains fairly constant, and the demand for it can be met in times of business activity and prosperity, but when the rhythmic economic life reaches the lowest point of depression, factories and shops are closed. Not only are many of those engaged in these occupations thrown out of work, but the depression carries distress to a still larger circle of those with whom these employees have various business relations. When, as is frequently the case, the week's wages of the workmen are consumed either by necessity or by choice, in the week's livelihood, the lack of employment becomes very soon the occasion of misery.

The processions of unemployed, the tumultuous mass meetings, and the inflammatory speeches, must be calmly measured in view of the foregoing analysis. There are cases of genuine distress requiring proper relief. There is in every such movement a number, and sometimes a large number, of worthy persons out of work who desire to work, and would do so if the opportunity were offered. On the other hand, all the weak, the unfortunate, and unworthy gather in the train of such a movement. Tramps and idlers by the score come boldly to the front and offer themselves for work when they know there is no work to be obtained. Then they demand food and shelter from the public. It is only by the most rigid scrutiny and careful treatment of the situation that the truth may be obtained and justice may be done.

It will sometimes happen that genuine workmen who under the conditions of life have been as thrifty as possible and have sought to provide against just such a time, soon spend their surplus and

are in actual want. These cases require adequate and speedy relief given in such a way as to maintain the self-respect of the recipient, and it is far better for the agencies of relief to offer such a man a loan than to propose to bestow upon him a gift.

The trades unions, in greater or less degree, have sought to provide against these times of need. Among the provisions are the unemployed benefit which is a direct gift from the funds of the union for those who are out of work. A traveling benefit is sometimes provided to pay the expenses of those seeking work in another community. Labor bureaus are organized to transfer workmen from a place where there is no labor to some other locality in which their services may be required. The lowest form of assistance is equalization of work; that is, if there are twice as many workmen as are required, each man is put upon half time so that all may receive half pay.

The work of the unions, however, does not by any means solve all the problem even where they are able successfully to carry out their program, because a large part of the labor of any country is not organized. Much of it, from the nature of the case, cannot be organized, because it is unskilled.

Private charities of various kinds seek to assist in meeting the difficulties. Where wisely conducted, they carefully investigate the condition of the family involved. They adopt the work test in various forms to see if the applicant for aid is really ready to work. As examples of the method, wood yards are sometimes used for the men and needle rooms for the women. The work test always reduces the number of applicants. It separates the sheep from the goats. In time of distress if one town opens a wood yard and a sewing room, and the next town offers free beds and free soup, it requires no prophet to decide which will have the most business to do.

There are times when the state, particularly the municipal state, assumes relief work. Among the public tasks undertaken to absorb surplus labor are the making of roads, sewers, water works, parks, and the improving of cemeteries. It is evident at once that municipal employment ought to be the last resort in cases of distress and only works actually required ought ever to be undertaken, though it is probable that if the works of real

utility are carried forward at such times, they can be constructed more cheaply both in material and in labor than in times of general prosperity.

But municipal work for the work's sake should be undertaken with extreme caution, for there are many dangers involved. It has a bad effect upon the men who are taught to look to public authorities for the support of private individuals, and it thus tends to break down the thing which must be insisted upon, namely, that the man most interested in finding work for the unemployed must be the unemployed man himself. The danger is that such work will have, permanently, a bad effect upon the rate of wages and so will injure the workingman. It will also have a bad effect upon the normal supply and demand for labor, and retard rather than hasten the economic readjustment.

To prevent these evils public relief work should always pay a less rate of wages than is usual in such undertakings and less than the ordinary market rate for labor, so that the relief work may be devoid of attraction. It is also usually wisest to provide such work only for men who have families. These ought to be paid not in money but in such commodities as provisions and clothing. At least a large part of the wages should take that form.

Some suppose that the evil of unemployment is a feature of modern life alone, but such is not the case. John Locke, the philosopher, made a report upon the question in his day. Among his recommendations were: first, the suppression of unnecessary ale houses and brandy shops; second, if a man be found traveling about without a pass, for the first offence he should lose his ears and for the second should be transported; third, all men found begging, sound of limb and mind, were to be transported to a seaport town and impressed as seamen for three years. There was certainly vigor in these proposals. Some countries, however, to-day require a pass for any man seeking work, giving the name and address of the bearer.

One of the classical illustrations of the dangers of a government undertaking to provide work for all workmen is the national works of Paris in 1848 where it was proposed to erect government buildings, to construct railways and railway stations, and to enroll all workingmen who might apply. In a very short time 14,000 men

were registered for a franc and a half a day. The result of public generosity was that private industry came to a standstill, strikes ensued, and so great was the public disorder that the army was called in, and after three days of bloody street riots, the works were suppressed.

Various modern undertakings, both by public and private charity, have been carried on to provide refuge, particularly for the weak and unfortunate among the unemployed. Germany has taken the lead in providing what are described as farm colonies. These are supported in various ways, but generally by public and private charity combined. The population of these farm colonies is of low grade physically and mentally and the large majority of them are ex-convicts. The fare is usually of the plainest, and though they are paid a very small sum in wages these institutions, even with hundreds of residents, are not self-supporting. Since the guests are permitted to leave the colony whenever they choose, the length of residence is usually short. They are sometimes crowded in winter and do not have sufficient labor in summer for the work to be done.

Many private agencies have carried on work for those economically disabled and some of them with economic success. Among such institutions the Maison de Travail, in Paris, presided over by the sisters of charity, with its workshops, its laundries, its mattress factory, is not only self-supporting, but actually earns a profit.

In times of great demand for labor those who will not work are easily sifted out. They belong to that class of traveling public who are called tramps. In countries where free migration is allowed, these men go where work tests are unknown, where charity is not organized, and where the authorities are not vigilant. Other things being equal, they follow the sunshine and prefer to avoid winter as they avoid work. Among the number are the weak, the unfortunate, the diseased, the criminal, and the broken-hearted. Among them, also, are some cases of men originally of fine stuff who, by recurrent disappointments, have given up the battle. Others of them, overworked and stunted when children, have become economic rebels in maturity. Where communities insist upon residence and insist upon knowledge with respect to all indi-

viduals, and where food and shelter are provided on terms of work sufficiently severe, the tramp is rarely found. Repressive measures, however, are not all that is required, but sympathy and guidance and insight which are usually better obtained from private charities than from those managed by the public.

In some of the northern states of America there is a peculiar type of the partially employed which may have a parallel in some other parts of the world. This is the man who will work hard for a short time until he has laid up a considerable sum of money. He works at employments that require hard labor, but which last for a limited time. In the wheat harvests he is found anywhere between Wisconsin and Kansas, and so soon as the autumn closes his active labor, he drifts to some nearby town or city and spends his wages in riotous living. He then becomes a mendicant, receiving what alms he can find. In the latter part of the winter we may follow him to the lumber camps of the north. After performing his task he makes his way back again to the vices of civilization and soon is ready once more for the assistance of the well disposed. A few weeks later, harvest begins again. Such is the career of the American hobo.

It will be seen that unemployment is partly personal and partly social. It is personal in so far as the greatest distress falls always upon those who are weak or who lack the thrifty virtues. It is social in so far as it grows out of the complexity of the wage system with its consequent uncertainty of steady employment. Whether there be in fact a rhythmic economic law, or whether seasons of great prosperity followed by seasons of industrial depression are due, as some writers hold, to unwise economic legislation, is an interesting problem, but it is too far afield for discussion in this study.

THE CHURCH AND CHARITY

MANY persons suppose that the institutions of charity came in with the Christian religion, but charity is older. The Jewish code provided for the destitute in various ways. The land every seventh year, according to the law, was given up for the free use of the people, and many other provisions were made for common necessities.

India, especially after the time of Buddha, knew a great deal about begging, and a great deal also about giving. A saint with his bowl is one of the traditions of the Orient.

Of more importance to our present subject is the process of the development of the pagan life as characterized by Greece and Rome. Greece had no regular charitable organizations, but it had institutions for the sick and for the unfortunate, and much was done by private charity. There were political gifts by men eager for office. Gifts were also bestowed at the great festivals, whether they were political or religious.

According to Singer, the poor, who were without shelter, took refuge in the public baths, just as our poor sometimes do in the parks in summer and in city buildings in winter. There were hospitals connected with the temples, and priests acted as physicians. There were even asylums for abandoned children, provided they were children of good blood. Children of the better classes, whose parents were deceased, and who were left in poverty, were cared for. Help was sometimes given to invalids, incapable of work, and there were asylums for wounded soldiers.

Trajan, it is said, supported five thousand poor children in Rome. There were mutual insurance societies both in Greece and Rome to provide for the sick and infirm. These societies were spread throughout the Roman Empire at the time of Christ. We do not know quite enough about them, but some writers have urged that they were the models upon which the first Christian societies were organized. Even in the time of Cæsar, in the days of the Re-

public, there were "320,000 persons registered to receive distributions of bread." (Singer.)

But with these provisions it must be remembered that the basic elements in Greek principles were entirely different from those which prevailed in Christian countries. They had certain ideas of life which entered into all their activities. They believed in courage, self-reliance, and force, and there was a strong survival of the old worship of the man physically strong.

In Rome there were somewhat different conditions, but there is sufficient evidence of the rich helping the poor, especially where they were regarded as the regular clients or camp-followers of their wealthy patrons. And in times of danger, the Roman government was in the habit of propitiating its citizens by the lowering or the remitting of taxes, as well as by fixing and lowering the price of grain. Here, also, private politicians vied with the government in free gifts of wheat and oil, meat and clothing, but these gifts were reserved for Roman citizens and not for the floating population.

Lecky[1] gives us to understand that the stoics taught the value of charity. Cicero declared that "men were born for the sake of men, that each should assist the others"; "Nature has inclined us to love men, and this is the foundation of the law." Many others were eloquent with respect to good works, but it is significant that neither Cato nor Brutus nor Sallust practiced the virtues about which they wrote and spoke.

The pagans gave with a definite purpose of policy; it was the exercise of the will and of the ambition. Paganism made charity the occasional policy of the state, but Christianity made charity the first duty of the individual.

It would be fair to say that the chief characteristic of the charity of both Greece and Rome was that it was in favor of the better rather than the lower classes. Various writers have had much to say about the preservation of the Greek race in its manliness and beauty, by the neglect and exposure of children badly born. We have been taught that they carried on our modern "baby farming," but in a way more terrible and brutal. It is to be doubted whether there ever was any such general practice, covering all classes of

[1] Lecky, History of European Morals, p. 200.

the population. At the same time, the Greek ideals of strength and beauty were so strong, and the pagan virtues were themselves so heroic, that Greece developed among its citizenship probably a race of men and women the finest physically and mentally the world has ever seen.

The Christian religion was born into the world, and it came with an entirely new set of ideals. As the pagan virtues may be characterized as masculine, so the Christian virtues may be looked upon as chiefly feminine. In the place of courage was gentleness, in the place of self-reliance was self-denial, in the place of self-assertion the new brotherhood. The virtues themselves were beautiful, but they resulted in a form of charity that has been much abused.

In its development, Christianity adopted but extended the charity of the Hebrews. Their laws of charity were applicable to the individual rather than to the creation of public institutions. The Hebrew relief was by private charity under law; Christian relief was private charity by the aid of certain motives. The attitude of the early church is revealed by many of the church fathers. St. Clement says, "It is iniquity which says to one 'this is mine,' to another 'that belongs to me,' hence comes discord on mortals." St. Ambrose declared, "Nature furnishes in common everything to all men. The earth is the common possession of all; it is usurpation which has made property; why do the rich arrogate the right of property? Nature knows nothing of riches." Jerome, Augustine, Irenæus, and many other fathers of the church taught a similar doctrine. The duty of almsgiving rests upon the doctrine of the community of goods.

But another passage may be quoted from St. Clement, which is quite as important, for he teaches that "it is necessary to strip off the passions from the soul and from the disposition, as well as to bestow alms." Again he advises men "not to part with all their property, but to give a share of it, and with this share they may save themselves from fire and the outer darkness."

Says Lactantius on the evil of riches, "Transfer things about to be miserably thrown away to the great sacrifice that in return for those true gifts you may have a lasting gift from God." [1] St. Chrysostom declares to the charitable, "Christ stands ready to

[1] Lactantius, The Divine Institutes, book 6, chap. 12.

receive and to keep thy deposits for thee and not to keep only, but also to augment them and to pay them back with much interest."[1] These quotations might easily be multiplied, but it is time to state the doctrines upon which early christian charity was based.

The community of goods, established in the church at Jerusalem with the appointment of seven deacons to distribute alms to the poor, exhibits the public function of the church as a distributor of the property of its members. It went still further, however, when it indicated at a very early date that poverty and sanctity were held to be practically synonymous. To be poor was to enter the kingdom, and the rich, in giving to the poor, could secure the blessings of earth and the glories of heaven. In the new world that was born at the beginning of the christian era, the pagan virtues went down, and, while the communism of the early church at Jerusalem did not continue, nor did it spread throughout the christian world, the principles upon which it was based took on other forms. The church founded its hospitals for the sick, asylums for the poor, and retreats for children. It gave bread at the doors of the cathedrals, and the pious were invited to bestow alms upon the miserable beggars who thronged the splendid portals of the churches.

Possibly out of Egypt, the ascetic spirit spread into christendom, and from it the monasteries were founded. These great orders, with their vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, have had a distinct influence in the world's history. St. Benedict established the rule for the western monks in 515, and the beautiful-souled St. Francis of Assisi founded the great Franciscan order in 1210.

Monastic orders in their early history always exhibited many fine qualities. They took up lands that were gifts to them, or other lands that had been depopulated by war; they built great buildings with an intelligent love of architecture. Being intellectual, orderly, industrious, and economical, they learned to produce largely, and under the circumstances it was almost impossible that they should not grow rich, even if they had not been richly endowed by wealthy sinners about to die, who thought this giving the surest claim to heaven. They were able accordingly

[1] St. Chrysostom, Concerning the Statutes, homily 2, par. 16.

to care for the poor in a way that no modern charity can possibly do. Even Charlemagne was not able to accomplish much in reforming the care of the poor. He made the wise distinction between classes of the needy, which developed into the good old English phrase "sturdy beggars." These he wished to eliminate from relief, but so anxious were the people of his time to save their own souls through charity that intelligence had a very hard time.

Several of the church councils, as those of Orleans, Tours, and Macon, ordered the cities to give a part of their revenue to support the poor, thus mingling church and municipal charity. The church won the admiration even of its enemies by its gifts.

Sozomen boasts of the compliment paid by the Emperor Julian, as regards the charitable instincts of the time: "The impious Galileans provide not only for those of their own party who are in want, but also for those who hold with us; it would indeed be disgraceful if we were to allow our own people to suffer from poverty." Again he declared "the Galileans attract children by giving them cakes, and the people by charity and hospitality." "The Jews have no beggars, and the cities multiply ours. Is it not a shame for us?"[1] The Emperor went so far as to propose to send 30,000 bushels of corn and 60,000 measures of wine to the poor in Galatia as a countergift.

The various religious establishments were practically the hotels of the middle ages, with no fixed rate of charges. Indeed, pilgrims were supposed to be helped upon their way, and travelers were practically free guests. Gifts from the guests, however, were not refused then any more than they are now.

Beautiful pictures of the delightful brotherhood of the early christian churches occur frequently in fiction and in that semi-fiction which is sometimes called history. It must, however, be noted that a complete change in the management of charity came about as the simple societies were organized into the state church after the conversion of Constantine. Instead of the former charity of the simple brotherhood, it took on the form of public state charity with all its evils, and with certain special vices of its own. The indictment against the church is that she has held mistaken views on the teaching of Jesus. She has been guided by ambition

[1] Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History, book 5, chap. 16.

and not by wisdom. She has treated poverty in a spirit of materialism rather than in a spirit of regeneration, and as a result, she has come down through the ages, beautiful in purpose, splendid in deeds, but drawing after her, an ever increasing retinue, hordes of tramps and beggars. The estates of the church in most countries have been confiscated, not on religious grounds, but because they had become so large that they were a menace to the economic life of the community. It cannot be said that the confiscators have been unselfish or that they have always been righteous, but at least they have usually been popular among the people of the state.

Jesus Himself sought to reform the relief of the poor. The story of the loaves and fishes has been interpreted too literally, and on re-reading it, these words of rebuke stand out: "Ye seek me because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled; labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life."

Charity cannot afford to give up the help and guidance of the church, but the modern point of view as regards the whole question of charity must be studied in a very much broader way than most men have attempted. The world, once having had a vision of gentleness, forgiveness, and self-sacrifice, will not willingly lose that out of life. What is needed, is, along with the feminine virtues essentially christian, to preserve the masculine virtues of courage, and forcefulness, and self-help, which are the very soul of all possible achievement. Nor can it be insisted upon too strongly that the subjective view of the early church with respect to charity, which lingers so strongly even now in the attitude of many persons, was entirely wrong. Above all things charity must be regular, and not spasmodic, but it must also essentially be objective. Relief must be given with quiet nerves, steady pulses, controlled emotions, adequate wisdom, full knowledge, and solely with the good of the recipient in view rather than the self-indulgence of the donor. Nor must we even have in mind chiefly the present comfort of those who are assisted, nor simply the economic side of the question. The main thing in life for every man is the making of character, and more especially is this true in charity.

While there is this indictment against the church, there is also

a very large amount to be put to its credit. With the destruction of the Roman Empire, and after that, with the capture of Constantinople, the world, east as well as west, fell into a chaotic and turbulent state. During all this time the church was the one guiding and saving influence. Very much of what is now known as scientific charity is due to such men as St. Vincent de Paul, among the Roman Catholics, and Thomas Chalmers, among the Protestants, who represent many others.

The early church had divided its cities into districts in order to help solve their problems. It must be recognized that the problems were very great. In many cases prisoners were set free, and a floating multitude began to sleep and practically to live in the churches. The building of hospitals and asylums was undertaken, but the number necessary was very large. Constantinople alone was said to have 37 hospitals; in a population of 100,000 there were 50,000 incapable of self-support, so St. Chrysostum prescribed unto the faithful the establishment of "a room for the poor in every private house." The ravages of disease and the ravages of war added to the burden. Relief as known to modern civilization was impossible in those times, so while we criticize what was done, the criticism should be made with judgment and with knowledge.

The state has largely taken up the burden of relief of the poor, and the general tendency is to eliminate the giving of direct relief from the function of the church. The reasons for the change from church to state are very many. It is not alone the fact that the endowments were taken from the church; that was doubtless a blessing to the church, for even the church could not escape the growth of luxury that comes with the too great increase of wealth.

Unlimited power is always subject to abuse, and hence the need of administration by law; but law can only be prescribed under modern conditions by the state. Further, in order that those who need relief may have it, and those who do not need it may be eliminated, there is the necessity for strict organization, and definite punishment for fraud.

Modern democracy has made the state more and more an instrument by which it does its best work, but modern democracy has also furnished problems which cannot easily be solved by the state,

and which are far from solution at the present time. At any rate, we may believe that we have come far enough to see the chief principles upon which relief ought to be administered.

The function of the church, however, though it ceases to give direct relief, will always be vital to any successful charity. The church not only furnishes the ideals of life, but it furnishes the inspiration to endeavor to reach these ideals and in addition, it furnishes very largely the capable men and women who do the work of all the charities of every kind. The church will promote good works if it does not manage them; it will inspire charities if it does not conduct them; it will be the most efficient coadjutor for all charity workers in their final object, which is also the final object of religion and life, namely, the compelling of every man and woman to reach the climax of possible development.

THE STATE AND CHARITY

A BRIEF account of the development of the state as the chief social institution among men has already been given. It has been noted that the state in modern times has assumed new duties and taken on new functions. In the primitive development of the state, the sole function was found in war: it was either a war of defense or a war of aggression. As time went on, the state began to regulate the social order, and, as property began to increase, laws and institutions were inaugurated for the purpose of protecting property interests. Indeed, a large part of the history of the state in civilized times has been occupied in the effort to protect the interests of those who possessed more than their fellows.

Among functions that the state has entered upon in more recent times is the care of the destitute in the political interest of a better citizenship. When the church failed to fulfill the function that was demanded by the attitude of society towards the question, and when, in addition, political power, jealous of ecclesiastical resources, took away the endowments of the church, the old system broke down completely. The church had done, as we have seen, much good and also much harm. The state wanted the endowments, but on taking them, it was compelled also to assume the permanent burden of the destitute. Of course the question of endowments is not, as some suppose, the only reason that the state entered upon the new function. Social self-consciousness was flowing into the political organization, and infusing new life into it. The vast upheaval in the intellectual and moral forces of the world gave new views of what was possible to the individual human life. A social spirit such as the world had never seen began to manifest itself. The state, as the largest and most efficient of all human institutions, was compelled to assume at least its share of the burden of the unfortunate. The task involved great difficulty, and led in all countries to great disasters, but, whether

or no the disasters resulted from the transference of responsibility from church to state is an open question.

The Feudal System took care of its dependents, and had practically no charity problem. When the barons could not feed their followers, they turned them out to fight: if defeated, they were either dead or became associated with the conqueror — in either case there was no charity problem.

The system of slavery largely eliminated the problem of charity. If the slave was worth $1000, the master housed and fed him even better than he would his horse, which was only worth $200, but when the slave is free he must earn his own livelihood, for he has no value to any one except himself. If he is unwilling to work or unable to work, he sinks in the economic scale and he becomes destitute. While some negroes in the United States have amassed considerable wealth since emancipation, any one at all acquainted with the subject will agree that there are many more negroes in America who are hungry, and who live under unsanitary conditions, who are marred by disease, and pursued by misfortune, than there ever were in the time of American slavery. Nor does this mean that emancipation was not worth while, nor does it mean that freedom is not of final value to mankind: it only means that freedom, though it has its great successes, has also its great defeats. America thought in the beginning, when it adopted the philosophy of political reformation, that it was only necessary to give each man a chance in an open field, and every human ill would be abolished. We now know the deception of this doctrine, and we understand how needful it is that the state should more and more assume regulation in matters of commerce, and should see to it that the strong do not oppress the weak, and that enormous fortunes do not rob the common people of the means of sustenance.

We have in England a pretty accurate account of the development of the methods of the state in meeting its obligations to those who are in distress. Mr. Fowle puts the doctrine tersely when he says, "The state ought to provide that no person, no matter what he has done with his life, or what may be the consequences, should perish for the want of the bare necessities of existence."[1]

[1] T. W. Fowle, The Poor Law, chap. 1, p 10.

Some of the early laws were simply repressive, as, for example, the Act of 1388, which ordered that a man found begging should the first time be whipped, the second time lose his ears, and the third time be hung. The first wonder is, why all begging did not at once and forever cease in England, and probably it would have done so if the laws had been enforced, but nobody could be found to enforce such laws, even five hundred years ago.

An Act passed in 1536 declares that vagabonds and beggars have vastly increased, and this act, among other provisions, gives the order that any one who harbored or gave money to any beggar, being strong and able to work, was to be fined. A later act decreed that the fine should amount to ten times the amount of the gift.

The Act of 1551 provided that lists of poor persons were to be made in each parish. Voluntary contributions were to be solicited from the prosperous, but those who would not make them were to be haled before the justice, and were to be assessed what he thought reasonable. It cannot be denied that very soon after the economic reformation carried on by Henry VIII, English conditions became more oppressive to the unskilled and ignorant. We may agree with Professor Ashley, who says, "It is a mistake to suppose that the dissolution of the monasteries created English pauperism." At the same time with the dissolution of the monasteries, and in conjunction with the other social changes taking place, the state was compelled to do more than it had formerly attempted.

The Poor Law of Queen Elizabeth was based upon the recognition, perhaps for the first time among the Anglo-Saxons, that there were different kinds of poor. There were the idle who would not work, and the weak who could not work. The prison was the remedy for the first class, while relief was proposed for the second.

Edmund Burke once said, "It is in the power of the government to prevent much evil; it can do but very little positive good." From the latter part of the eighteenth century, it would seem that England furnished an admirable example of the doctrine of Mr. Burke. The severity of the old poor laws, and the history of nearly five hundred years, was reversed, and modern sentimentality was introduced not only into literature and life, but into legisla-

tion. Pauperism increased, the people were debased, taxes were multiplied, until the burden became intolerable.

Finally in England the classical year of 1832 was reached, a year which will always be memorable in the history of scientific charity. At this time a royal commission was formed to investigate the whole question of state relief. It found that ordinary business had broken down on account of the size of the rates. A man was actually better off to be a pauper than to be a worker. It was better economically for a child to be illegitimate than to be born in the family circle. Persons went at once to the workhouse from the marriage altar, and marriages were actually promoted in the workhouses themselves. Among all the working classes thrift was practically unknown, and public relief was regarded as a most profitable source of income for even respectable English people.

In 1834, as a result of the report of the commission a new Poor Law Act was passed, which has been ever since the practical basis of English administration. The Law provides for (1) the appointment of a central Government Board; (2) the appointment of local authorities; (3) no relief to the able-bodied except in workhouses; (4) the formation of the union of parishes to build district workhouses; (5) inspectors to examine the work of local authorities; (6) the central authority having the power to remove any official dealing with the poor.

A great point with regard to the English system is the power of the Government Board: it is not only the central authority, but it is the chief organ of scientific enlightened opinion on social questions. The directions which are given from the Government Board to the local administrators have all the value and force of the laws.

The workhouse was established as a resort of need as well as a place of refuge. The object, however, was practically to abolish all kinds of outdoor relief. The most damaging thing in the history of English Poor Law prior to this great reformation was the Act of 1796, which gave relief to the poor as a government addition to their regular wages. A great deal has been said in fiction and elsewhere about the bad quality of the English workhouse.[1] Canon

[1] The Poor Law, T. W. Fowle, chap. 4, p. 75 *et seq.*

Barnett declared that "the workhouse stands for the punishment of poverty," and without doubt the object of the workhouse was to cut down public relief of the poor. There is still a feeling of repulsion in the English mind, which has lasted for nearly a century, with regard to the workhouses. They were managed like prisons, and it is very true that for the able-bodied they are most unpleasant places. Canon Barnett says, "There was the crank to turn, stones to break, or oakum to pick." There is no doubt the ancient discipline in workhouses has very largely relaxed, though not very many of them in England have the palatial splendor that belongs to some of the almshouses in the United States.

Briefly must be discussed the essential feature of this English relief, for it was in fact the problem of the relation of what is known as outdoor relief; that is, relief to the poor in their own homes; and indoor or institutional relief, where the person goes to the almshouse itself.

Francis Peck discusses the question of outdoor relief, and gives several objections to it. It is detrimental to the character of the poor, because it weakens their provident instincts. It stands in the way of sound systems of insurance by means of benevolent societies; it vastly increases the sum of pauper population by removing checks on marriage. It is also unsatisfactory as a practical measure; it is either inadequate because guardians assume that applicants have means unknown to them, and therefore do not give them enough, or in many cases it is unnecessary because applicants have relations unknown to the guardians, who are able to assist them.

The problem of outdoor relief has been discussed in America by Mr. Seth Low,[1] who has been one of the leaders in the movement for its abolition, and by many others at various meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. It is believed by a great many of the most experienced charity workers that all outdoor relief might well be left to private charity, and that although outdoor relief may be well enough for the chronic cases of pauperism, there seems to be no question that the private charitable societies should take care of every fresh case of pauperism as it develops.

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1879, p. 200.

Doubtless one of the most essential matters in connection with the subject of pauperism is the administration of relief by the authorities. Mr. Charles Booth[1] gives a number of examples of the reduction of pauperism by wise and strong administration, and the best examples perhaps are those of Brixworth and Bradfield, where the same men had charge of the work for twenty years. At Bradfield in 1871 there were 999 paupers who were assisted in their homes, and 259 who were cared for in almshouses. In 1891 there were only 26 who received outdoor relief, and 110 who received indoor relief; the number of paupers had fallen from 1 in every 13 to 1 in every 132 of the population. In Brixworth in 1871 there were 101 outdoor paupers, and 104 in the almshouse; in 1891 there were 35 relieved in their homes, and only 93 in the almshouse. The number fell from 1 in 11 to 1 in 104. Such illustrations are found in many countries, but perhaps there are none more definite or striking than these.

It cannot be denied, however, that there are two sides to the problem. Dr. Drage[2] urges the fallacy of too strict administration. He says the practical application of such outdoor relief has had the effect of driving the old people, not into the almshouses, but into the grave, since they would rather die of want than go into The House. Once more it must be said that in the question of dealing with pauperism, as in every other social question, no merely mechanical rule will do, but every individual must be dealt with according to his needs and by the aid of social experience and wisdom. There has been, however, a very marked decrease in pauperism in England since 1834. If the amount of pauperism had stood in the same proportion to the population in 1900 as it did in 1850, there would have been about 40,000 more in the almshouses, and over a million more receiving outdoor relief.

It must not be supposed, however, that the decrease of pauperism in England, which is very real, has been wholly due to the development of legislation. Nothing is more fatal to the student of social science than to base his judgments upon such superficial things as printed laws. Doubtless many effective laws and much wise administration dates back to social judgments and the social

[1] Charles Booth, Pauperism, p. 170 (chap. 3, part 2).

[2] Drage's Problem of the Aged Poor, Sec. 103.

conscience; it is a process of the evolution of the people, of which the laws are mere manifestations. But more than that, it must be recognized that the vast increase of wealth has had very much to do with the change.

Conditions of work and wages, contrary to the popular impression, are favorable to the poor. Whitaker's Almanac[1] of 1910 shows that from 1860 to 1907 wages rose 40 per cent, and that the general level of prices for the most needed commodities decreased 24 per cent; in other words, real wages, that is to say, the power of purchasing by what a man received for his day's work, was greater than the money wages. In 1850, 56 in every 1000 of the population were receiving aid in some form; in 1908, 21 in every 1000 of the population received aid. It must be noted that the great decrease in pauperism has been in outdoor paupers, which have gone down from 50 per 1000 to 15 per 1000 of the population.

There are so many differences between different countries that comparisons are likely to be misleading. However, we may trace a few facts in the development of state relief in other countries. Coulanges[2] declares that in feudal times there was no misery in France, as there was none in Rome, because of the system of the "gens." Each man was cared for by his master or assisted by his chief. The peasant proprietorship which prevails in France, as in China and India, leaves no doubt as to the increase of production, but it does not abolish poverty.

In France, in 1516, an edict was passed that healthy beggars should work on the building of walls, ditches, and streets. Louis XIV ordered beggars to be set to work in public institutions. The result was that some 4000 of these beggars voluntarily undertook to work, though the cynical will remark that we are not told how many stayed permanently at their tasks. However, it was probably the largest number ever known in history to cease begging and commence work. Besides the 4000, many others either left Paris or ceased to beg.

A tax was levied in France under François I in 1544 to organize the "Bureau general des pauvres," which association also ordered an investigation of the hospitals. Charles IX added laymen to

[1] Whitaker's Almanac, 1910, p. 687.

[2] The Ancient City, Coulanges, book II, chap. 10.

the administration of the hospitals. Henri II established public works for vagabonds. Louis XIV, in 1656, organized a single board of directors under the name of the "Bureau general des pauvres," which had the entire control of all the poor and of all the funds for the poor, even the collection boxes on the columns of the churches.

France never had quite as bad a condition of affairs as that which prevailed in England, but Monsieur Laine, describing the poorhouses in France in November, 1818, said that they were a "horrible result of expense and mortality, bad houses, bad food, dirt, and vermin." Since that time, by better administration and wiser public opinion, as well as the enormous advancement in the economic condition of the country, pauperism has been reduced in France, as in every other civilized country, and while the number relieved has been reduced, the amount given in cases of need has often been increased.

In 1788 a royal commission of scholars and physicians was appointed to investigate the hospitals for the poor. This was the beginning of a system of inspection, which has now become more or less perfect in every European country. Nearly every country has its local unit of administration of poor relief; in France it is the "commune," in England the "parish," in the United States the "county" or the "township."

The Elberfeld system has attracted deserved attention. It is so called because it was first adopted in Elberfeld in 1852 under the lead of Von der Heydt. It was grounded upon the necessity of more knowledge of the poor, and of closer contact between them and the more prosperous citizens. It stood over against treating the paupers as if they were all alike; it proposed to individualize outdoor relief and the care of the poor. The city was divided carefully into quarters, and provision was made that no quarter should have more than four poor families, and when the number of the poor increased or diminished to an extent which required the redistricting of the city, this was to be undertaken. Visitors were appointed, who were expected to visit poor families, and inquire into their circumstances at least once in every two weeks. Conferences of these groups of working visitors or "Armenpfleger" were held for mutual consultation and education. Centralization

of the care of the poor was accomplished by dividing the management of the entire poor relief between four city officials and four citizens. There is a distinct difference between this system and the friendly visiting of the Charity Organization Society, which is in some respects an imitation of the Elberfeld method. The Armenpfleger are essentially public officials; they are armed with authority to enter homes and to make inquiries, and they come with power as well as with wisdom and mercy. This system has spread to many other cities in Germany with very beneficial results. It has been attempted in some of the arrondissements of Paris; England and America, so far as they have any such system, have it only in a partial degree, and use the voluntary visitors of the Charity Organization Society. Switzerland has a combination of the two methods. More and more it has come to be regarded as the first duty of all who distribute relief to discover the real needs of those who are helped and to guide them as far as possible towards self-help.

Edith Sellers,[1] in an account of the Danish poor relief system, shows how Denmark has a special method of dealing with the destitute. The method is based upon classification, and it furnishes a very valuable suggestion in the treatment of the poor in other countries. The general basis of poor relief is always based upon the degree of the misery. There have been many exhibitions of this in administration; it seems, however, to have been reserved to Denmark to develop a definite legal system. There are five methods of dealing with the destitute: (1) The relieving officer, with the help of the police when necessary, is bound to make a careful investigation into the character and past life of every one who applies to him for relief.

(2) If a man's record be thoroughly good, and he can show that it is only temporarily that he requires help, a grant is made to him out of the free fund.

(3) If his record, although good, is not immaculate, and it seems probable that he may require help, not for days or weeks, but for months, he is given outdoor relief.

(4) Applicants who belong to the doubtful class, who are lazy and thriftless, perhaps, rather than vicious, are sent to a work-

[1] The Danish Poor Relief System, Edith Sellers, chap. 11, p. 55–58.

house, unless they are old and feeble, in which case they are lodged in what is called a poorhouse.

(5) Applicants of the worst class of all, the drunken, vicious, and degraded, are sent to a penal workhouse.

The Danish method is included not because it is approved in all particulars, but because it is suggestive of the proper point of view, and furnishes principles for those who are called upon to investigate charity cases. It is perfectly clear that the more outdoor relief that is given, the more cases of pauperism result; at the same time this system is so much better than indiscriminate relief that it is worth while recording.

The German system of workingmen's insurance was inaugurated by Bismarck in 1881. It had three forms: insurance against sickness, insurance against accident, and insurance against old age, and was to include all wage earners receiving less than $500. All working people having an income less than $500, who are engaged in manufacture or trade, must be insured by the state law; the principle of insurance may be extended to agricultural and household industries. The money for the insurance scheme comes from three sources: a tax upon the workingman's wages, a tax upon the employer, and a contribution from the government. The invalid must have contributed for at least four years. The death payment is twenty times a day's wage. Old-age pensions are granted to those who have contributed for twenty-four years when they are seventy years of age. There is a general organization of the government to manage the scheme.

The definite benefits under the law in the insurance against sickness are free treatment, and 50 per cent of the average wages. Free treatment may be in the hospital, and half of the money may be paid to dependent relatives for 26 weeks, which is the maximum time allowed for a sick benefit. Women in childbed receive at the same rate during six weeks.

The accident insurance law in Germany was revised in 1900. Insurance is compulsory for all workmen and foremen, whose annual earnings are under $720; it may be extended to foremen and some employees with an income of more than $720. Premiums are paid by assessments on the employers, levied on the total wages paid and the scale of risk in the trade. An important

point in the arrangement by which employers themselves are compelled to carry the risk, rather than pay the premiums to outside companies, is that, under the former system, the employers would be more careful to guard against accidental injuries. They would hardly need factory inspectors to keep them up to their duty. Under this law there is granted free treatment and accident benefits.

Any employee injured is cared for by the sick fund for the first three months. If at the end of this time he is still incapacitated, he is entitled to an allowance amounting to two thirds of his wages, apart from the medical expenses, paid out of the fund provided by the employers for accident insurance. If he dies as a result of his injuries, his family is entitled to a yearly pension, not exceeding 60 per cent of his wages. In 1906 over $72,000,000 were paid in premiums for old-age pensions, over $63,000,000 for sick benefits, and over $40,000,000 for accident insurance.

By the system of accident insurance about twenty millions of working people are protected, and any one of these persons may claim an allowance as a right, and not as a charity, in case of disabling accident. Each year about 100,000 accidents are indemnified, half of which are cases of temporary disablement, and half permanent disablement or death.

Briefly put, the German law requires every employer to join a mutual insurance company, which indemnifies his employees for all personal injuries arising in the course of their employment. The question of negligence, so important on one side or the other, has very little to do with the matter. At the end of 1907 in all about 81,000,000 persons, sick, injured, and invalids, and their dependents, had received $100,500,000,000 in benefits; the workingmen had received $480,000,000 more than they had paid out.

It seems strange that the pension system should have been adopted so much sooner in Germany than in England. While in Germany sickness is usually listed as the chief reason for pauperism, in England the chief reason is old age.

The English Pension Act of 1908 is quite different from anything that has yet been done or proposed in any other country. Some twenty years ago a parliamentary commission investigated the

general subject of old-age pensions, and seemed to think that in any form they were contrary to thrift, personal responsibility, and to all development of character. It was generally thought that friendly societies, savings banks, and insurance societies were the best protection for the workman. In 1908 the English law proposed to give to every workman seventy years of age, who had been for twenty years a British subject, a pension, provided his income did not exceed $150 a year. There is a sliding scale between $150 and $100, and the amount varies from 1/– to 5/– per week to each pensioner. All the money is to be provided by Parliament, and no contribution comes from the pensioner or the employer.

There is also a prior law for accident insurance by which the workingman receives half of his average week's wages during his disablement. In case of permanent disablement compensation is paid during his lifetime. In 1906 important additions were made to this law, so that several diseases, which can be directly traced to occupations, are included in the list of disabilities. In the event of death through accident three years' wages, not exceeding the sum of $1500 and not less than $750, is paid to those directly dependent upon the deceased, or a proportionate sum to partial dependents, if there are no direct dependents. Medical and funeral expenses are to be paid, not to exceed $50.

In England the employer is personally responsible for accident insurance, though he may insure his employees in assurance companies if he so desires.

Insurance for sickness in England was almost entirely a private matter up to 1880. England gave legal protection to those injured workers under the new law of employers' liability for damages in cases of negligence. In 1897 Parliament adopted the compensation law, based upon the entirely new principle that a business must make material compensation to workingmen injured in any way in the ordinary course of employment, unless there is gross fault on the part of the employee. Practically the principle of compensation for all accidents is permanently accepted in England.

There seem to be several definite objections urged against the system of German pensions; one is that the age of the pensioner

is too advanced, and another is that the pension is too small. There are a great many difficulties in administration which is very complicated. It is urged that it is a burden upon industry too great to be borne. It is not regarded as popular among the German workingmen themselves. The German scheme does not provide in any way for men out of work, or for the breakdown of industrial efficiency and success.

The English pension scheme, once proposed, was so popular that all parties united in the passage of the law. It received much public praise; it has been received with much private misgiving. The English scheme seems bound to be popular among the beneficiaries, though an effort is now being made to provide that the paupers may also receive the pension as well as the self-supporting workman. The final opinion of the taxed public has yet to be heard, however, with regard to the whole question.

It is a problem in economics as to where the money required to pay the pensions is coming from. Will not the employer at last lower the wages to provide for his own contribution and also for the amount of taxes that he must pay the government, for the government must get its funds by some form of taxation. Production at the last must pay all the bills. It is a question whether the atrophy of personal responsibility, induced by the fact that old age will be cared for whatever may be the reason for economic failure, will not at last be the cause of inefficiency, of unthrift, and even immorality. Industrial insurance is still on trial as a form of state relief.

In America public relief is usually of two forms, the outdoor relief in the homes and indoor relief through the almshouses. Some large cities have given up outdoor relief entirely and find that begging diminishes rather than increases, and visible misery is, on the whole, lessened because private charities are more active and vigilant. The traditions of various communities and the wide differences in administration make it impossible to indicate that there is any national theory of relief. This is inevitable from the varying degree of development among the different states, and from the constitutional requirement that these functions are not to be assumed in any way by the national government, which does not even have direction over them. At various times it

has been suggested that a national board of charities should be appointed for the distribution of information and the suggestion of better methods which would perform the functions for the whole country now performed in the several states by the boards of charities and correction. The movement has, up to this time, progressed no farther than a suggestion.

The almshouses in America differ quite as much from each other as do the various methods of administering outdoor relief. Some of the almshouses are beautiful and adequate buildings where the authorities erred upon the side of lavish expenditure rather than upon that of niggardliness. Others of them are wretched places both in construction and in management. The worst evil with American almshouses is the too frequent practice of placing their management in unfit hands as a minor reward of political success. In such cases the management changes with every change of party politics. The same thing is still too true of state institutions, but a number of them have practically eliminated party politics, and the general tendency throughout the country is in that direction. This is an evident prerequisite to stability in the use of good methods and to the scientific improvement of the service. Worse even than the political management is the method often employed of securing a superintendent of the almshouse and the farm upon which it is usually placed at the lowest possible cost. The man who will agree to take care of the poor of a given county at the smallest per capita is quite often put in charge of the institution. Such a method inevitably results in an effort upon his part to make up for the low bid by cheap and insufficient food and inadequate service.

The almshouse should be well built in compliance with the requirements of modern sanitary science; it should be plainly built, and should not be so much more attractive than the homes of the self-supporting poor as to present a seductive invitation to seek its hospitable shelter. It should be kept scrupulously clean; provision should be made for the separation of the sexes. Children should never be permitted in the almshouse, nor should husbands and wives live together there in the family relation. Work of sufficient variety and amount should be provided to furnish all the inmates with full occupation in accordance with their

strength and ability. A variety of food should be furnished, and the bills of fare should be constructed with reference to the age and physical condition of the inmates.

The population of poorhouses is made up for the most part of the aged, the broken, and the unfit. It represents as much as any other of the wards of the state the final form of hopeless degeneration. The associations of the almshouse rather than the accommodations provided cause the self-respecting poor to shrink from becoming its inmates.

All forms of industrial insurance are to be regarded as preventive of pauperism. In the United States considerable public discussion has been had with respect to some system of insurance in imitation, particularly, of German methods. Thus far the suggestions have not found favor, and the obstacles seem well-nigh insuperable. The authority of the several states and limitations of the power of the national government are such as to prevent a scheme of such insurance under federal control. The several states will not, at least for a long time to come, initiate such schemes for themselves. The mobility of the American population, together with the sense of personal responsibility suggested and encouraged by its form of institutions, are ranged in opposition. There is, however, a movement of considerable proportions, and continually growing larger, for systems of pensions upon the part of large employers of labor. A number of the railroads, some of the steel corporations, and many other industries retire employees at a given age upon a definite proportion of their wages. This movement promises greater stability in occupation and promotion of better relations between employer and employee. It has, too, the advantage over a general national system in that business successes are not taxed for business defeats, since it is only the business activity with considerable surplus of profit that can engage in such undertakings.

Sickness and accident are easily prominent among the causes of economic distress. In America the movements growing out of this conviction have been many and important. The demand for good sanitary conditions in shops and factories with public inspection has been put into law in a large number of the states. The doctrine of employers' liability for accidents received while

actually engaged in work has not assumed definiteness, and is now the subject of controversy in a number of the legislatures. The old doctrine seems to have been that the employer was not liable unless it could be directly proven that the machinery was defective or there was some other fault in administration. In other words, the burden of proof that he was entitled to compensation was put upon the workman. The new doctrine, gaining ground continually, is that the burden of proof is on the employer to show that he is not responsible when an accident has happened, and it seems likely that the final form of settling the dispute will be the holding of the employer responsible for all accidents occurring in the ordinary course of business. Some occupations are more hazardous than others, and in them the profits are usually larger. It has been repeatedly urged that when a man undertakes work in a dangerous employment, he knows the condition of affairs beforehand, and he himself assumes the risk. The doctrine seems to be emerging that the unusual risks to life and limb in any occupation must be assumed by the business and paid out of its profits. A number of powerful insurance societies have been organized which for given premiums insure employers against the contingencies of accident or death.

One trouble in the practical administration of justice is the settlement of the amount of compensation in given cases by an appeal to the jury. The more skillful the advocate, and the more adroitly the sympathies of the jury are worked upon, the larger the verdict. It would seem that justice to the employers as well as to the workmen suggests that there should be a fixed scale of compensation for definite injuries in direct proportion to the economic loss which the sufferer sustains.

Another subject which is engaging attention is that of occupational diseases. Wide inquiries among certain trades indicate that the expectation of life is directly reduced by particular diseases connected with particular industries. The hazard to life by disease ought to stand upon precisely the same basis as the hazard to limb by accident. In this case, however, it would seem only just that the burden of proof should be upon the employed to show that the disease was contracted solely because of the occupation.

The entire question of the regulation of the industrial world is evidently entering into new phases. It seems clearer every day that the first duty of the state is to see that production is conducted in such a way as to safeguard to the utmost the human life to which it is related. When the question of employers' liability is definitely settled in favor of the workmen, it will mean that the goods produced under dangerous conditions will be much more expensive than other commodities. Safety devices will be employed where machinery is now left exposed and dangerous, just as fire protection is used in cities to reduce the rates of insurance. The economic interest is one of the greatest of all reforming agencies. It is in the interest of the state to distribute as justly as possible the produce of industry in order to reduce pauperism to the lowest terms. The duty of the state to care for pauperism is a recognized tenet of civilization. The self-preservation of the state indicates that the burden of taxation for this purpose should be as low as possible, for in this case, as in almost every other social question, prevention of the evil is much cheaper than the care of the defeated.

PRIVATE CHARITY AND POVERTY

WHEN the burden of charity became too great for the church, and when the state was either unable or unwilling to fulfill all the functions that seemed to be required, various philanthropic persons, associated together or acting as individuals, undertook to perform the task of caring for the needy.

The first basis of private charity in modern times was entirely different from the first basis as found in the records of the church. In modern times the person who is the object of relief is considered to a greater degree than when men strove to become saints by giving away money. At the same time motives of the soul that are essentially selfish have always played a large part in modern charity. The feeling of superiority that enables one to alleviate distress, and the good feeling about the heart when it is done, have often been more important to the giver than the extent of the need or the relief of the misery. In practice private charities, so far as they relate to the question of poverty, have left their chief result in certain relieving societies of various forms. The object of these societies in the first instance was to relieve the present distress. For a long time they had no adequate conception of anything like the permanent cure of pauperism, the development of thrift, or the sacredness of self-respect. The result was that these charities were managed very much upon the same principles as those of the early church, and it is only fair to say that many of them created poverty quite as much as they relieved it. However, with the acceptance of a sound social order and with the development of the conception of the right of every individual to maintain himself if possible, these associations have gradually been transformed —at least in America—largely on common-sense principles.

There are in America practically three forms of what are known as private charities as opposed to state relief. They are the St. Vincent de Paul societies of the Roman Catholic church, the

Jewish charities of various names, and the chief relief society of the place, which is usually under the management of Protestants; so it may practically be said that private charities are still charities of the church.

St. Vincent de Paul, a French priest ordained in 1600, is one of those men in history who make an epoch. He began by working for children, and so was the founder of the crêche. He also worked for the insane and for the poor. He founded the society known as the "Lazarites," an organization intended to work among the lower classes, and in the aid of prisoners, and also in mission work to introduce improvements into the various countries. He had established what were known as "associations of charitable ladies." These voluntary workers were the forerunners of the Elberfeld system, and also of much of the social work of the Charity Organization Society. However, there was trouble from the usual causes among these voluntary workers. Their work was not founded upon any real knowledge of the principles of charity, nor any fundamental conception of their own abilities for such services. To belong to such an association became a fad; besides, the ladies wanted to do the pleasant work, and the dirt and disease were as offensive as usual. The workers were irregular and uncertain, and, moreover, most of them had husbands, and that made trouble.

Out of these difficulties St. Vincent de Paul escaped by organizing a permanent association, made up for the most part of country girls, called the Sisters of Charity. It was the duty of these sisters to attend the sick, the wounded, the dying, the prisoner. Their mission was, of course, philanthropic, but religion was their vocation, and they took the usual vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity. To St. Vincent de Paul and to his work modern charity owes a great deal of inspiration, and his work has also furnished to the society which bears his name a great deal of wise direction. The burden of caring for the abandoned children of France adopted by St. Vincent de Paul at last became so great that in 1670 they were adopted by the state.

The St. Vincent de Paul societies of modern times are associated with each parish, and technically each parish undertakes to care for its own poor. As a matter of fact, in America the burden

is too great, as it is in almost every other country. At all events these societies, in furnishing guidance, make a very valuable auxiliary to other sources that furnish material relief only. The relieving societies of various names which are not religious in form are usually composed of leading church workers, who take up this form of practicing what they conceive to be their social duty. The Jewish societies often boast that no Jew has ever required to seek aid from other sources than among his own people. While this is not quite true, it is more largely true of this than of any other race.

As one of the reformers within the Protestant church, Dr. Chalmers deservedly takes a very high place. He declared that it was possible to extinguish pauperism, and his work was the forerunner of much that has been done by scientific charity in recent times. His parish of St. John's, Glasgow, had a population of about 10,000 persons. This he divided into twenty-five districts, and a deacon was appointed as head of the work in each district. Whenever relief was asked for, investigation was made "to discriminate and beneficially assist the really necessitous and deserving poor, to diminish and ultimately extinguish pauperism, and to foster amongst the poor the habits of industry, providence, frugality, saving, an honest desire to rise in the world, and simple dependence on their own exertions." Dr. Chalmers advocated the abolition of outdoor relief on the part of the state. His task was a very difficult one. In the first place, though he had a parish under the state, sometimes there were less than 100 out of the parish of 10,000 who attended his church, though the congregation was large. He secured terms from the civic authorities who had relieved the poor by means of compulsory contributions, and in their stead he substituted voluntary contributions, which he believed to be the basis of real charity. He spoke eloquently of the corrupt and extravagant system in England, which he wished to prevent being imported into Scotland.

Dr. Chalmers' parish was composed largely of working people, and was one of the poorest of the city districts. His plan was to take charge of the outdoor relief entirely, meeting the expense by collections for the poor, and such was the widsom and skill with which the scheme was worked that all new cases of distress

in this population are said to have been cared for with about $400 a year. He made use of other means of relief besides money relief, some of which have become permanent in constructive charity and character building.

It is now time to consider the relation of the various agencies for relief to each other in modern times. In a given case of distress, from whatever cause, it would help very much if people had a clearer idea as to the order of application for assistance. There seems to be no doubt at all that the first persons to be appealed to are the relatives of the one in want. The clan idea needs to be revived in modern life and to be very much extended. Successful branches of the family who are in comfortable circumstances ought to come to the assistance of their needy relatives. Here wisdom comes, for there is no one quite so brutal as a relative. He will find out the truth and will tell the truth, but he will usually leave the needy to do the best he can for himself. The prosperous relative must be made less brutal, but the needy relative must be made as self-reliant as possible.

After the relative, the next agency is the employer. Of course there are exceptions to this rule, as there are to all rules. Only general principles can be laid down. But if an employer has had the services of a man, and has profited by his labor, in case of distress therefore by sickness or any other need of his faithful workman he ought to be willing to share a part of the profits that he has made by his labor. If the man had not been profitable, or if the employer had not supposed him to be so, he would not have been employed at all — and this quite apart from all plans of mutual insurance, which are discussed in another place. Thus, even after the insurance has been provided for, the employer would not keep the man unless, in spite of this additional tax, he could make something out of his labor.

After the employer, but oftentimes parallel with him and with the relative, comes the craft or the lodge, and in many of these organizations there is distinct payment made for cases of sickness or necessity; but beyond even these contracts there is a basis of mutual knowledge and mutual sympathy, which are excellent foundations for assistance.

The old guilds of the middle ages had in many cases an arrange-

ment for mutual insurance. Of course, as most of these guilds became rich and powerful, they changed in form or were entirely suppressed by the state. These guilds were the forerunners of the labor unions, which have done a great deal in some countries, but particularly in England, in the matter of the relief of their own poor.

The trades-unions of England provide for cases of sickness, loss of employment, and destitute old age, but they do not in any way combine or coöperate with the employers, and their main basis for existence is economic. For this reason the organizations known as "friendly societies" are more favored by law in England than the trades-unions.

Friendly societies were authorized by act of Parliament in 1793. At first contributions to them were voluntary and for special purposes; afterwards the contributions became distinct and regular taxes, but unfortunately they were not founded on sound vital statistics. Under these friendly or voluntary societies, one could arrange for sickness, the expense of funerals, and also for a certain amount of insurance for the survivors of the deceased.

In the United States the friendly societies are known as fraternal orders, such as the Oddfellows, the Knights of Pythias, and many others.

Up to the present time no record statistics have been gathered as to the amount that is actually given and received in all these social orders. The Oddfellows, however, publish from year to year a statement of the number of their members, the income and the expenditure. These social orders have grown to very large proportions in the United States, and their influence, not only in charitable but in other problems, is very great.

After the craft or the lodge comes the church, and every church ought, after these associations have been exhausted, to seek to provide for its destitute people. The church, in the modern conception of it at least, is not organized for economic purposes. The money paid into the church is paid simply for the maintenance of the services of worship, and there is no economic scheme on behalf of any member of the church to which he belongs. On the other hand, there is, perhaps, a more powerful

and insistent demand in the doctrine of the common brotherhood.

After the church comes the relief society, which, it should be noticed, is more largely useful for the transient poor than for the settled population, although there are often life pensioners standing upon the lists.

When all these other organizations have been exhausted, the municipal state, or some other form of political organization, must be asked to bear the burden.

It seems important to lay down the principle that state relief should be the last of all. Private charity should be allowed and encouraged to solve as much of the problem of social distress as is possible. The reasons to those who are social workers are very obvious. State relief encourages idleness when men might work, and improvidence when they might save. It is not only an economic blunder in the matter of production, but it often lays a heavy burden on the virtuous and thrifty. More than the economic objection, perhaps, is the psychical objection. It not only discourages social sympathy and does harm to the character of the benevolent, but it hardens and brutalizes the poor. The seasoned pauper has very little sense of obligation for the gift that he receives from the public authorities, and often comes to demand it with a surly sense of righteousness, and with loud complaint of the amount and the quality of what he receives.

John Stuart Mill [1] declared that state relief leads to interference in the natural course of trade and employment. This may or may not be true, according to the methods used in its administration, but there is an essential difference between public and private relief. Public relief is for the purpose of relieving distress, while private relief at its best is constructive charity, and seeks to develop character. It was long ago discovered that so long as beggars were able to gain a better and easier livelihood by begging than by working, begging would naturally increase. It was a profitable industry.

With the development of the modern charitable spirit under the influence of modern religious movements, and aided by such powerful literary leaders as Victor Hugo, Charles Reade, Charles Dickens, and scores of others, the mental side of life had a real

[1] J. S. Mill, Political Economy, book 5, chap. 11.

renaissance. At last thoughtful people began to see that it was worse for the beggars than it was for the public, to be asking for help which they did not require, from sources with which they had no personal relation, and the bolder the beggar, the more he had, while the sensitive and retiring poor were often condemned to untold suffering.

The recognition of this state of affairs led to the establishment of the Charity Organization Society.[1] It began in London, but spread to other cities, and soon came to the United States, which has perhaps become its adopted country.

The theory of the Charity Organization Society is that there should be no relief without prior investigation, and that relief should be based, not alone upon present needs, but upon future possibilities. Efforts must be made to develop character as well as thrift.

Mr. Edward Chadwick, in a little tract upon Poverty. A Social Disease, describes the situation thus — "what if a sick man should have several doctors, who prescribed different remedies without reference to each other, and the poor patient took all the medicine?" He further draws a parallel between poverty as a social disease and physical sickness; there must first be diagnosis, and then treatment. It must be recognized that there are two classes — the curable and the chronic. It also must be noted that there is infection in poverty as well as in disease, and that the thrifty are often spoiled by seeing the bad example of help given to the unworthy poor. This is in brief Mr. Chadwick's statement of the case, which seems fundamental.

The Charity Organization Society proposed to investigate every case of need that was referred to it by any of the other charities of whatever nature. It proposed to have other functions besides that of investigation. As it developed, it would have a system of registration by which the pauper population should have a history; they would keep the "Who's Who" of the poor.

The next function that it proposed was coöperation between the different charities. This seemed much needed to avoid waste by giving some persons more than they required through various agencies, each of which knew nothing of what the others were

[1] C. S. Loch, Charity Organization, chap. 2, p. 10.

doing, and so save the money, needed to relieve all cases of real distress. The keynotes, therefore, of the Charity Organization Society were investigation, registration, and coöperation; upon that foundation it has established various forms of constructive charity.

It has pointed out the fact that for every woman living in a disordered home, without knowledge and without character, there is at least one other woman who understands the art of living, and who is able to give wisdom and sympathy to her unfortunate sister. This is the foundation of what is known as friendly visiting. Groups of persons, sometimes men, but more frequently women, are organized into what is known as conferences, where they meet from time to time and discuss their work and the principles upon which the whole social structure rests. Sometimes, also, they undertake important investigations into various social conditions, and have in many instances been the motive power out of which considerable social movements have evolved.

Many such societies have organized provident funds in order to teach economy. By the sale of stamps to children, through the public schools and other neighborhood associations, they have inculcated thrift, and many boys have been led to save their pennies by simply being shown one of these little books filled with stamps. It was discovered by the business world long ago that any young man who has a bank account of his own may be trusted with comparative safety in any responsible position. The thrifty are the reliable; therefore teaching thrift is a method of promoting real charity.

One of the chief occasions for poverty is, of course, sickness, and the event of sickness is often the one burden that is too heavy for the home to bear, but, besides material relief, something else is needed in such a case. The family are often unable to employ a nurse, and too ignorant to understand the ordinary needs of the sick room.

To meet this want, district nursing has been established. The nurses must know how to keep house, as well as how to care for the sick, and they must be ready for any responsibility of the home, particularly if the mother happens to be the one who is indisposed. The nurse must not only give a bath to the patient, but she must

be prepared to wash or dress the children if required. Each nurse visits a number of cases in a day, and this army of district nurses in the various cities exhibits more heroism than any band of nurses that ever went to the battlefield. In most places there is a separate society to carry on the work of district nursing, but in some places it is directly associated with the Charity Organization Society's work.

The Charity Organization Society has not escaped criticism. It has been called heartless, particularly by those who wish to secure a good deal of comfort for themselves, but who give a very small amount to those who are in need. It has also had to withstand the jealousy and suspicion of old established charities. It has been plainly told to mind its own business and that the old-fashioned charities are able to manage themselves. But during the last thirty years it has steadily won its way, until it is thoroughly intrenched in the battlefield on the most enlarged social lines. Its chief difficulty seems to be that its organization is usually entirely separate from the organizations of other charities. This is a condition of affairs that causes a great deal of trouble and that can easily be avoided

It has been avoided in some places by a change of name to that of "Associated Charities." There are a few places where the organization is really an associated charities. Perhaps the first and most successful one was established in St. Paul. As a model for the promotion of peace and efficiency, a brief account of its methods and organization is given.

After much discussion a corporation was formed, consisting of two representatives from each of the charities of the city, chosen by the several charities themselves, and in addition a list of twenty members at large. As there were about forty-five charities, this made the corporation consist of one hundred and ten persons, who represented every phase of opinion. The mayor, city physician, chief of police, and superintendent of the Board of Health were ex-officio members. This organization elected a number of trustees and the usual officers of a society which formed the executive committee, and carried on the active work. The societies contributed to the general funds, according to their means and the range of their work. It was at first expected that

all the money needed would be obtained in that manner, but as the work progressed, this was found to be impossible, and an appeal to the public was made. This society has secured the coöperation of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish societies. It does all the investigating for the outdoor relief of the city, and is paid for its services. It has secured complete unity and coöperation among all the charities, public and private, and has never had a disturbance of any kind during the twenty years of its existence. This is probably the most remarkable record of coöperation known in the world.

If the problem of outdoor relief is ever solved, it will have to be done by the private charities. It seems perfectly possible in most cities that the private charities should undertake the relief of every case that actually requires relief in the home, while the state should be left to conduct the relief that requires the institution of the almshouse.

There are some agencies that are not called charities by themselves or their friends because the word "charity" has often fallen into bad repute, but among the modern private charities, we must not omit the social settlement, which also includes the university settlement.

Toynbee Hall, in London, with its remarkable work, chiefly educational, has been the inspiration of similar work elsewhere. Connected as it has been by Canon Barnett with St. Jude's Church, it has yet managed its enterprise entirely distinct from the church services. It has some forty classes and societies, including smoking conferences for workingmen.

The People's Palace, some half mile away, founded after the suggestion of Sir Walter Besant in "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," though at first a financial failure, has received a large amount of help from one of the old guilds of London, and has an enormous influence upon the life of the people. No one could doubt that this institution, Mansfield House, and many others have greatly uplifted the lower classes in East London.

Hull-House in Chicago, and similar institutions in almost every city in America, tell the common story of the influence of social sympathy upon the common life. The social settlements stand over against all coarse and crude methods of relief; for they say emphatically that man is not an animal to be well groomed, but

he is a spirit to be enlarged and developed, and all those who have had the great advantages of life have an obligation in taking brotherhood, knowledge, and beauty, as well as thrift, down to those who are less fortunate. The social settlement is founded on the belief that the fine and vital things of life are in themselves contagious, and that what is needed in every poor neighborhood is the manifestation of better methods of living, not alone in material matters, but also in the use of time and power, in the practice of morality, and the exercise of self-control. It may be that some social settlements have been too much interested in city politics; they are often criticized for it. They are so anxious to improve things that they are seized with the old human fallacy that a new machine will make a new man, and thereby they sacrifice a large portion of their power. It may be that some social settlements have become imbued with notions of the economic life so fallacious that their practice would be fatal to the prosperity of the people. However, granting every criticism to be true, and making allowance for all the folly that besets the social worker, — just as it does every other man, — this movement has in it a regenerating spirit that promises for us at some time or other a new world.

Sir Walter Besant gives an account of the farm scheme at Hadleigh, England. The farm comprises 3000 acres, and is managed by the Salvation Army, who have taken 260 men from the gutters, and have reformed 55 per cent of them. The farm loses $20,000 a year; at the same time, however, it should be remembered that these 260 men must be maintained by some one and they are now maintained by the farm. It would cost the state at least $200 a year to maintain them. They should work, and if so, each man ought to produce about $500 a year, so that the farm should show a real profit in the neighborhood of $100,000 a year — to say nothing of the accruing profit of the 55 per cent who are reformed.

The suggestion of Sir Walter includes a general law with reference both to the reformation of adults and also to child saving. A man reformed becomes a permanent asset of economic value to the community, and at the same time he is an important danger removed. Much more does it appear, when a child has been taken from evil surroundings, and has been developed and trained to

become self-supporting, and is able, besides that, to earn a margin of profit. There is a very distinct reason why such social service should be calculated in money, as well as in the larger gain of human development in which philanthropy has its chief interest. Wise charity is at bottom sound economics, and really costs the public nothing, since it saves more in reducing taxation than it requires in voluntary contributions for the help of the unfortunate. But it is only of constructive charity, and not of common-place and inefficient giving of alms, that this statement is true.

THE CITY AND POVERTY

THE most significant fact in industry in modern times is the substitute of the machine for the hand in all kinds of production. The old workshop, with the few workmen and the master in the midst, has passed away forever. With this great industrial revolution, brought about by the age of steel and steam, the social effect has been the increase of the population in city centers. The reason for the new methods of production is economic; it is cheaper to produce by machine than it is by hand. Some of the products are better and some are worse, but, on the whole, in spite of the dictum of John Stuart Mill that "no workman has ever been benefited by the machine,"[1] the entire population has increased in wealth and in comfort. It has been, however, at the expense of very great social disturbance. With the development of railroads there came about new methods of intercommunication, and the railroads and the seaports combined to make great centers of distribution. Manufactures of related industries for the sake of profit and convenience must be in the same neighborhood, and the sources of production must be near the means of transportation.

In European countries, and in England particularly, it was found that the production of manufactures was more profitable than the produce of the land. It was cheaper to weave and to spin, to smelt and to forge, than it was to sow and to reap. The people learned to buy the necessary bread stuffs and raw materials in foreign markets, and to exchange for them their finished products. This movement meant that to a great extent the center of labor was henceforth to be established in the towns rather than in the country, as formerly, and workmen on the land found they had no longer an occupation. It was necessary for them to find

[1] J. S. Mill, Socialism, p. 15.

something to do. Work of some kind was to be found in connection with the productive industries. The men who had formerly plowed and tilled the land found there was work of great variety in the towns. If they were not adapted to be dock hands, they might be carters, and so there was a general drift of the surplus agricultural population towards the cities. What was in the first instance true of Great Britain became later true of Germany, and later on, to a considerable extent, of many other countries. Although America had vast agricultural resources and occupations, under the influence of its tariff system it developed more and more large centers of practical manufacture.

These facts, briefly stated, carried with them a whole train of social problems. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of England was about eight millions, the larger part living in the country; to-day the population of England is more than forty millions, but for the most part they live in towns. The individual must live in the town in order to make a livelihood. The social problems of the town are beyond his capacity for management, hence they must be taken up by some one else.

First of all is the house problem. Until quite recently, it was necessary for workmen who were engaged in the industries in the East End of London to live near their work, and this placed them entirely at the mercy of their landlords. They were crowded until many of their habitations were not even decent kennels.

Meanwhile, the sanitary conditions were recognized as being a public and a social question; it was the duty of the whole community to furnish to each family pure water, good sewage, pure air, and as much sunshine as the climate would allow. In all the great manufacturing and commercial cities the tenement problem became acute. Families lived in cellars; several families lived in one room; houses were built with an opening from top to bottom, in which there was no direct light or air, the windows opening on this narrow court. The result of it all was physical deterioration. To be sick usually meant soon to be dead. Above all, the system was harmful to women and children, for mothers, overworked and undernourished, brought into the world children unable to survive. With the vastly increasing wealth of the world there were large areas in which there were no proper sanitary

conditions. Intermittent work, no hope or confidence of provision against the future, too often were arguments to eat, drink, and be merry while the money lasted, for to-morrow we die.

The effect upon the morals of the people caused by overcrowding is beyond words. It was not alone the economic losses in funerals, in feebleness, in widows and orphans, but its evil was felt in destroyed hopes, weakened will, lowered purposes, and vicious life. It is well enough to say that there is a law of supply and demand, but nature has certain principles of the survival of the fittest, and the new complex social conditions heaped ridicule upon every form of the doctrine of "laissez faire." Individualism would say, if people do not like the conditions under which they live, and the wages they are paid, and the opportunities they have, let them move out — but they cannot move, there is nowhere for them to go.

In London the beginnings of improvement were very simple and only suggestive. It strikes a fine note in all this difficult problem to remember that it was a woman, Octavia Hill, who furnished the impulse, and an artist, John Ruskin, who furnished the money for the first improvement in housing conditions in London. The international spirit is also quickened by remembering that the first important movement from an economic point of view was the bequest of the American, George Peabody, for the better housing of English workingmen. His bequest now amounts to something like $5,000,000 in value.

Various building societies were organized under the patronage more or less direct of the government. Finally, when the London County Council had settled down to its work of governing the metropolitan area, it undertook on a larger scale than ever before the housing of the poor in London. The objects of the various acts passed by Parliament at that time with regard to sanitation were (1) to condemn insanitary houses; (2) to condemn insanitary areas, whether one block or several, and (3) to acquire land by condemnation or purchase and to build new houses. The houses were built largely in the block form, with little flats of two or three rooms, their size being about 12 by 12 feet in area and 9 feet in height, the average rent being about $5 a month. There were places for shops in the rear, and bare spaces for children to

play in. In one block of buildings there was a joint laundry, to be used by the occupants in common.

Glasgow undertook similar social improvements, which cannot here be described in detail; the fact, however, may be mentioned, that after the social improvements had taken place, the crimes in Glasgow were reduced from about 10,000 to 7000 per annum, while the population had largely increased. Many other cities besides those in Great Britain have undertaken similar social movements to a greater or less extent, but the general conditions in Great Britain have improved to a remarkable degree within the last twenty years.

There are many problems connected with the housing of the poor. The ideal home of the workingman was pointed out by the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain as a little house with an acre of ground. Such a place could be free from dust and noise, and from the various temptations of city life. But there are certain difficulties about plans of this kind, and among them the cost of time and money for transportation back and forth, the difficulty in developing schools sufficiently numerous and sufficiently near, and the bad effect upon family life, because the workingman must leave home so early and return home so late. On the other hand, it must be remembered that flats have no individuality, have little privacy, and are near to city evils. There arises another question: ought the workingman to rent his home or ought he to own it? There is no doubt that the ownership of one's own home is ideal. It lends itself to stability, to homogeneous population, to permanency of occupation, and to continuous citizenship. All these things are valuable, but there are also difficulties. While the fact of buying a home is often an incentive to labor and leads to thrift, the lack of surplus income even when it is stable, and the greater lack of foresight make home ownership difficult to large multitudes. Then who shall provide the homes for the people? If the individual cannot provide his own home, perhaps the labor unions will undertake the scheme; they have done so in some cases, but with very limited success. Building societies or philanthropic associations on a business basis have done a great deal better. In many industries the employers have built homes for their working people, and rented them at reasonable rents. The

Krupps, at Essen in Germany, have made a great success of the paternal method of municipal life, according to all investigators. From similar investigations we learn that the Pullman Company failed in their attempt at the town of Pullman, near Chicago.

As a type of the building societies which have been established, perhaps the People's Building Society of Berlin is one of the best examples. It builds houses to order. The insurance companies coöperate with the building societies and issue insurance policies which mature when the renter is sixty years of age. The investment produces for the building society 4 per cent interest, while the insurance rate is about 2½ per cent interest. They have built very large numbers of houses, and have furnished an example for many other cities in Germany.

Where building societies are conducted upon a business basis, and where their dividends are directly limited, in Europe they are quite sure of government encouragement. In France there are concessions in taxes and in conveyances. In England money has been loaned by the government at a low rate of interest.

The question is raised whether the building of houses by the municipal government is based upon sound principles, unless we are going direct to socialism itself. It does not mean that the rights of property and private enterprise need particularly to be protected, nor does it matter that the logical conclusion may be that if the government provides a house, it should also provide food and clothing. There is a certain noble inconsistency in practical life not be found in economic science. Men of affairs will do a thing that ought to be done, and then stop short of the thing which they think dangerous, even if it be logically consistent.

There are some things that cannot be done by the government, and a significant one is, that it cannot persuade people who do not wish to live under wholesome conditions to remain in its model houses that have been built. It is said in London when the model tenements were built, many of the original inhabitants, instead of being eager to occupy and enjoy the houses erected on the old site, moved to the south side of the Thames, and made for themselves slums of their own. The reason was they were not prepared to accommodate themselves to the rules prescribed for cleanliness and conduct for those who were to occupy the public

dwellings. They preferred the lawlessness of liberty. It is also to be doubted whether the undertaking of housing the entire population by municipal authority would not in the end lead to an economic breakdown. People think it is so easy for the government to do things that they at once relax their energies.

Without being dogmatic as to the suggestions made above, there cannot be too much stress laid upon the necessity for government control in all housing conditions. The city can control the height of its houses, the amount of air space, and should have more careful and fuller inspection in order to see that the conditions are sanitary, and that there is no overcrowding. It is another application of the old principle that the chiefest function of the government is to prevent evils.

When inspection was made some years ago in the better part of New York, it was found that there were thousands of sanitary defects not in the lowest class tenements, but among the good houses of the city.

One of the most interesting private experiments in the housing of the poor was that undertaken in Stuttgart. In 1867 there was a union formed for the benefit of the working classes, which erected a building for working women, containing 200 rooms. In 1890 a building was erected for men containing 240 rooms. About 1890, after having achieved the second success, the movement was started, as such movements often are, with a new and greater impulse. Bonds were put upon the market, subscriptions for stock were appealed for, shares were taken by individuals, by savings banks, by insurance companies, and many others, at low but somewhat varied rates of interest; they raised finally about $650,000. A suburb was built at Ostheim, where the houses were not built in blocks, as in most model tenements, but represented charming villas, though each villa contained a few families, some of whom had four rooms, some three, and some two. The rents varied from $2 to $6 a month. The suburb was laid out not in stiff but in rhythmic lines. The houses were not all of the same pattern; there were model gardens, and there was an individuality about the whole place not often seen in such enterprises. The grounds contained utilities of various kinds; a school and a church were added to the other facilities. From the beginning all the

houses have been rented. The influence of such an enterprise upon the people of any town must be enormous, and it cannot be denied that the effect upon the landlords throughout the city must also be great.

The tenement house problem in America is more marked in New York City than elsewhere because the large majority of the inhabitants live in tenements, and the tenements are, on the whole, larger, worse, and more crowded than in any European city. It is frequently stated that elsewhere in the United States there is no housing problem. Such a statement is far from the truth, for in cities where there is not such a pressure upon space as in Manhattan Island, there remains always an economic reason for broken-down residence districts. As the increase of business pushes the center of the city back, sometimes invading it with factories, there are always parts of blocks not so occupied upon which the houses remain. The ground rises in value but the houses do not, and the rents are sufficient to pay taxes while the owners wait for something better. The result is that normally in every growing city there are usually several quarters with houses out of repair and frequently in bad sanitary condition, yet near enough to industrial occupation to secure renters usually among the least desirable parts of the population. Many towns of no more than 10,000 have the beginnings of a problem of the housing of the poor.

Philadelphia is easily foremost among the large cities of America in the number of working people who own their own homes. This has largely been brought about through the efforts of building associations, and without government aid. In Boston, Brooklyn, and many other cities, the Philadelphia system has been imitated with some degree of success. No one need suppose, however, that the monotonous rows of similar small houses covering acres of animated dreariness and excluding every suggestion of art or civic beauty measure up to the requirements of the final solution of homes for the people.

The agitation, chiefly through the officers of the Charity Organization Society of New York led to the appointment of a Tenement House Commission by the state in 1900.[1] This commission sub-

[1] New York Tenement House Commission, chap. 334, laws of 1901, State of New York, Secs. 2, 11, 52, 91, 112, 121.

mitted a report to the legislature of 1901 recommending changes in the building laws and creating a new municipal department in New York City for the purpose of enforcing the new regulations with respect to tenement houses. The new code went into effect and constitutes the most important advance ever made by an American city in the direction of reforming the conditions of housing the poor.

The tenement house law of New York was the first special legislation upon the subject in the United States. It has been, however, the beginning of a movement which has extended to many other states, and nearly all cities have regulations more or less definite and extensive. The New York law defines a tenement house as one which is occupied as the home or residence of three or more families, living independently of each other and doing cooking upon the premises. Among the provisions of this law is one that every tenement house exceeding six stories in height must be fire proof, and all others must be amply provided with fire escapes. The height of tenements must not exceed one and one half the width of the widest street, and before a tenement can be constructed, the plans and specifications must be approved, and there are regulations to prevent overcrowding. There are stringent requirements for the cleanliness and sanitation of buildings. The tenement house department is given the power to vacate or tear down dangerous and unsanitary buildings. The regulations of the New York law were contested in the courts and sustained by the highest tribunal.

Neither state laws nor municipal regulations are of much value without adequate inspection which in the large cities becomes a very great task. This inspection should not only include the larger questions involved in the plan of the houses, the air space, their superficial cleanliness, and the like, but also the examination of plumbing defects and general health conditions. Public inspection needs to be reënforced by volunteer assistance upon the part of trained charity and social workers, and the health department and building department of cities have very much to do in common.

New York again offers a distinct illustration of the best that has been done in America in municipal lodging houses. A new one recently opened in that city has a capacity of nine hundred beds

for homeless men and women. It can house a thousand inmates and furnishes supper, bath, bed, and breakfast, with an offer of temporary work to each lodger, and cost nearly half a million dollars. Police station lodgings were abolished in New York in 1896, and in the twelve years following about fifty thousand persons per year were taken care of in municipal lodging houses.

A decent place of abode is the first necessity for clean and wholesome living. The cure of poverty must begin at this point, for not alone comfort and well-being, but all the elementary forces for work upon the part of men, and competent motherhood upon the part of women, as well as the whole possible future of the child have here their deepest foundations.

It is time to take some account of the city slums in order to discover the evils which ought to be cured by private philanthropy and by civic action. An interesting report was issued in 1894 by the government, on Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York. Many other studies have been made since that time on the cities of America and other countries. In most cities the slums are towards the center of the town, but in Paris they are upon the circumference of the city. More has been written about the slums of East London than about those of any other locality, partly because they have been so bad, and partly because there have been so many people wishing to make them better. The conditions of East London have vastly improved during the last thirty years. The low lodging houses, the dens of thieves, the awful squalor, has in some measure disappeared; drunkenness no doubt is still too prevalent, and the municipal authorities are more anxious to spend money upon the good quarters of the town than they are upon the bad quarters. This is one of the crying evils of almost all municipal administration, for, while the people in the good wards will not "stand" it, unless they are provided with clean streets, good sewers, and the usual appointments, the poor are so busy fighting for better means of sustenance that they are not very energetic in the larger problems, which perhaps affect them more. Various influences have affected East London. First of all, the establishment of board-schools, which offer free education to all the children, and which have formed centers of influence for the regeneration of the public. Knowledge has

spread by means of a large number of free public libraries, which are patronized far more than many would expect. The different forms of social work in the way of settlements have no doubt had a distinct influence, as well as the religious awakening through what are called the forward movements of various churches. The police control, also, is a great deal more efficient and thorough than it was thirty years ago. In other words, East London is steadily passing through a process of regeneration.

The American report of 1894 seems to indicate that the slums in America are rather different in quality from those reported in foreign cities.[1] A slum is defined as a place of congested population, a low and dangerous neighborhood, those parts of the city whose economic, vital, moral, and educational conditions are the lowest.

As congested neighborhoods, the slums of the cities are not increasing. This is due to the influence of rapid transit of various kinds, which has been introduced within the last generation. Practically the slum population is not increasing in any of the large cities, while the population of the city at large is increasing with rapidity. The City of London proper is actually decreasing in population, though at the same time the metropolitan area is becoming enormously populous. The government report referred to indicates that crime is greater in the slums than in the rest of the city, though the curious fact is given us that in Baltimore, profane swearing as a crime is only 1 in 2588 of the population in the slums, while in the rest of the town it is 1 in 506. Of course this means that the people who indulge in profane language in the slums are not arrested, while those in the more highly refined thoroughfares are liable to be tapped upon the shoulder by a policeman.

There is more illiteracy in the slums than elsewhere, owing to the large number of foreign population; on the other hand, strange as it may appear, the economic conditions are about as good on the average, and the health of the people seems to be about as good. This analysis is by no means borne out by other studies of the same question which teach that slums are unwholesome from every point of view. The slums might be ploughed through by the

[1] U. S. Report on the Slums (1894) Seventh special report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1894, The Slums of Great Cities, p. 13.

municipality, just as Corporation Street was cut through in the city of Birmingham by Joseph Chamberlain, but the human element has to be taken into account in all these questions.

There are certain social reasons for the slums. There is the life of society. People have been removed from the bad tenements by the initiative of philanthropic persons, placed in comfortable, sanitary surroundings which are not of the social order they desired, and they have made their way back again to the slums. They have wished to find their friends, and return to the customs and to the joys of the slums. The life among those of higher ideals and ambitions appeals to those of the same class, but the joy of the slums is the very breath of life. The primitive conditions in the heart of the cities afford in many respects precisely the same form of society that is found in frontier communities of the English colonies or of the United States. Slum people will borrow and lend, as the better classes never think of doing. There is laughter and love in the slums.

They are not cursed by too great ambitions, nor are they bothered by the danger of too hard work, in spite of all that may be said regarding the sweatshops and bad labor conditions. The slums may be cured externally by sanitary improvements and by building regulations. They ought to be drained by the municipality, just as every malarial-breeding swamp ought to be drained in any community.

But the slums cannot be cured by external reforms alone, for the slum is a thing of the soul. Social settlements, industrial improvements, better education, the influence of higher moral ideals, and above all the willingness on the part of the slum population to be wakened in mind, body, and life are among the necessities of the problem. The slum is in itself an acknowledgment of defeat. The slum-dweller declines the struggle for existence, and that is the reason why the English and Scotch slums are perhaps the worst in the world. It is because these people have sold their birthright, and have missed their vocation in the history of the world.

The slums are never as bad as they seem to be. They are what may be called the overburden of the cities. For the whole of the city contributes to the life of the slums. Gentlemen go down from

the best neighborhoods to support its saloons, its brothels, and its gambling houses. The slum is a vicarious thing and suffers for the sins of others. The city itself has an overburden that comes from the rural population. It is true that it is supplied with the best blood and bone that the country districts can produce. These men even make its leaders, and take its highest places and its largest prizes.

But it is also visited by all the corrupt and vicious from the country districts. The shiftless and the wayward draw towards the city, the former because it is easier there to find philanthropy, and the latter because it is easier there to find opportunity to gratify evil desires. In like manner, the death rate of the city is raised because it has the hospitals, and sick people from the country are sent up to the city, often too late to be cured, and just in time to add to the death rate of the place where the hospital is located.

There is now a movement to put industries at some distance from the cities. In Germany it seems to have had more influence than in England; to some extent it has been tried in the United States. One of the reasons is the effort to escape from the hands of the labor unions, and the aggregations of large numbers of workingmen in a single community. Another reason is the increase of rents in the cities. Of course, if the difference between the rents is greater than the difference between the rates of transportation, the change will be made.

In the long run, all industries will be carried on at the place and in the manner in which production is the most economical.

One of the remarkable features of the last few years is the new civic spirit which has taken possession of many American cities, which in various other respects have been behind European cities. The movement for parks for the people, and playgrounds for the children has spread like a contagion from city to city. The influence of public libraries is perhaps more widely spread in America than anywhere else, because of the influence of New England. The people of New England taught the nation that it was proper for every village to have its own public library, while Europe largely regarded literature as the proper possession of every great city.

Another new movement, which is progressing particularly in the United States, is the use of public schools as social centers. It was felt that it was not enough to use the school buildings five hours a day for five days in the week, when so much money was invested in them. It was not sufficient to use them simply for the education of children in the rudiments of knowledge, when they might be placed where adults could be instructed by lectures and classes in the evenings, where entertainments might be given, and where the unity of the social life of the community might find expression, apart from all the usual conventions and apart from every hindrance due to bias or belief.

The "City Beautiful" is a phrase which expresses a feeling of aspiration developed by the modern social spirit. It is a happy phrase and might be embroidered on the banner under which many social workers could rally.

The City Beautiful means a great deal with regard to the physical improvement of urban life; the spirit of it has been at work without a name for a long time. It cut boulevards through the heart of Paris; it made the Thames Embankment in London; it has improved the river front in hundreds of European cities; it has taken old walls and fortifications, whose use was outworn, and has transformed them into tree-shaded walks of beauty.

In America the movement was somewhat slower to begin with, but it accelerates in speed year by year. It plans Larger Boston, and spends millions upon Kansas City. It proposes wider streets, more extensive and more beautiful parks; it would erect museums and art galleries, and increase in every way the joy and beauty of the communal life. All this is well, but it has still farther to go. It must develop a pride in architecture, as well as a civic pride in the number of buildings. It must make the cities cover more space, which is easily possible by modern rapid transit. It must localize its factories and industries, and move its working population towards the circumference. It must war against filth in any form, and it must create better sanitary conditions. The crusade against unnecessary noise must have the support of every right-thinking man and woman. Even though it cost the man who owns the furnace a little more, there must be smokeless chimneys, a clear sky above, and pure air in the streets for the people.

The modern city seems to be a permanent fact in our civilization. The City Beautiful must include also better health conditions. The city must be able to rear its own leaders, and continue its own population. The great industrial countries cannot much longer refresh the depleted populations of the city by seeking new armies from the rural communities. Social biology must make it possible for the city-bred to develop sound physique, steady nerves, full mentality, capacity for great tasks, and heroism for leadership.

The economic side of the City Beautiful cannot be fully treated here, but this New Jerusalem is never to come so long as there are palaces at one end of the city and hovels at the other. Civic pride must be shared alike by all the pe ple, because all the people receive adequate protection and equal benefits. It is quite probable that in time to come, the municipality may assume new and larger responsibilities, and it is also likely that the most signal victories in the struggle against privileges for the few will be won upon this battlefield.

THE FAMILY AND POVERTY

STUDIES of savage life and the resultant scientific theories with respect to primitive life all indicate that in the beginning the social group was a more or less definite form of the family. Such social forms as the church and the state existed implicitly, but not as institutions even in the rudimentary form. As the family is the primary form of human association, so it has continued to be the social and economic unit even in the most complex and developed modern societies. Wages of workmen have to take account of the family group. The care of the young and the aged and the sick was undertaken by the family in early times, unless, indeed, the dependent members were cast out and abandoned. Early social groups of comparatively the same stage of development have had very different standards with respect to the care of the unfortunate and the essential value of human life.

As the family group had the most important relation to the care of the needy in ancient times, so in modern times the first agency that should be applied to in the care of the dependents must always be their own families, and when the immediate family is unable to perform the task, it should be laid next to the door of the collateral branches of the family.

The family life has been emphasized very much by modern thinkers and charity workers. A doctrine has been formulated for charity something like the following: there is a standard of living which should be maintained by every social group for all the members of the group, and where a family is not able to provide the means for this standard of comfort, it still should be maintained by the aid of private or public charity. This is a doctrine which is very appealing to those who would banish want and have done with the problem of dependence. It seems systematic, and, at first sight it seems wise. Yet it cannot be too often stated that unless industry, prudence, and virtue can be made automatic, it

is quite impossible to provide the proper standard of living for all without lowering the standard for those who most deserve to have it elevated.

The family group enters into the discussion because of the fact that through the family children come into the world. This is a natural and immediate burden. It is also in the family that the aged heads of the house who have once been able to work and who can no longer do so receive support based upon a gratitude inspired by memory.

More than a hundred years ago An Essay on the Principle of Population was published by Professor Malthus, which dealt with the question of poverty chiefly from the point of view of the family. His doctrine was based upon the contention that the tendency of population to increase is greater than the possible increase in the means of subsistence. It is inevitable therefore that there is a natural law tending to a constantly increasing poverty. Notwithstanding the gloomy predictions of this essay during the hundred years following, production of all kinds through new and wider use of machinery and through the more perfect instrumentality of commerce has been increased. There never was a time in the history of the world when so much commodity per capita was produced among civilized peoples as at the present. Malthus [1] in connection with his discussion urges that the defeat of poverty can only be secured by a delay in marriage. While he rejects as immoral the interference of the state with early marriages, he urges that by proper education and inculcation of the moral duty of self-control, the desired result may be obtained. Malthus was an acute observer and an accomplished thinker, and though the hundred years since his book seem to have refuted it, there is a certain wisdom in his doctrine which can never be refuted. His insight can be recognized by the following paragraph in which he discusses the relief of poverty.

"There is an active charity which makes itself acquainted with the objects which it relieves, checks the hopes of clamorous and obtrusive poverty, and gives adequate relief to the silent and retiring sufferers. One of the chief differences between parish assistance and volunteer

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, chap. 10, book 4.

charity is that there is no gratitude for parish relief on the part of the recipients. The laws of nature are constant and uniform for the express purpose of telling a man what he is to trust to, and if he marry without a reasonable prospect of supporting a family, he must expect to suffer. If we say: 'Though a man will not work, yet he shall eat and his family be supported,' it is evident that we regularly and systematically endeavor to counteract the beneficial effects of the chief law of nature. The idler and the improvident are at the bottom of the scale of society. To raise them from this situation is to commit a most glaring injustice to those who are above them. They should on no account be expected to demand so much of the means of life as can be obtained by wages of common labor."

There are social forces at work to secure the results which Malthus sought in a way which was not evident to him. The chief of these is the fact that the standard of living as it continually rises makes the conditions under which a man is willing to found a home. This is seen almost everywhere in modern cities and it is particularly effective among those who are ambitious to rise in the social scale. Unfortunately this often results in immorality. The standard of living is not so obvious nor so effective among those classes of laborers who are relatively unskilled. For them we must wait the processes of development and education which increase the number of things which are to be regarded as necessaries of life.

It is not easy to escape from sympathy with the doctrine that a family having more children than can be comfortably supported by the labor of the wage earner should receive assistance, but it needs to be said that if a family with four children needs to be supported in comfort because of the four children, the burden will be still further increased by the four children becoming six. Under natural conditions there is no steady relation between the birth rate and the increase of the population. Russia has a greater birth rate than either Germany or England owing to the quasi-public land tenure which obtained among the peasantry, but Russia has a less increase in population than either of the other nations notwithstanding her much larger territory because of the larger death rate which carries with it not alone sorrow but economic loss and social degradation.

In our days the founding of the family has been left to natural instinct and social suggestion. With the family as existent, thinkers and workers have busied themselves, and such studies have been made as that of Mr. Rowntree in the town of York which with much painstaking investigation seeks to discover the actual conditions of home life, the amount and the use of the income, and to measure the height and depth of poverty. Studies, more or less complete, have been made in other cities as to the size and use of the family income with the purpose of influencing the character of the family budget which ought to be made.

The larger the number of these studies, and the wider the field of observation, the more likely are we at last to discover some useful rules that may be of general service. It has already been stated that the chief items of a budget, such as rent, food, clothing, and fuel, will vary in their due proportions just as the local conditions vary. The incident of climate makes the isothermal lines essentially economic. What affects the amount of fuel needed will affect also the character of food required. The amount of rent will follow the rate of interest. So it will be seen at once that every social group must make its own study and indicate for itself the items of its budget. Charity workers have learned to look with some suspicion upon the correctness of the information which is so carefully tabulated and which in statistical form has such seductive influence upon the student. It will always happen that some items of the budget will be understated. The amusement account and the drink account are not likely to be rendered in full. Many of the reports made to investigators will no more bear the cold scrutiny of careful analysis than will the financial statements rendered by dutiful college boys to their inquiring parents.

But budget making and budget keeping are moral functions for the individual of the highest value. Prudence and self-control are both required in the effort to place the economic life of the home upon a scientific basis. It will be a long time before it is completely done for the lower strata of the population, but every advance toward it is a real gain, and encouragement and assistance in this direction is one of the greatest services that can be rendered to the poor.

In thinking of the family we have the ordinary conception of its

normal form. The normal form consists of father, mother, and childen. Most of the theoretic discussion has the normal family as the type in mind. Meantime it is the abnormal family which furnishes the most of the problem. An abnormal family may be made by the chronic invalidism of some member of it. Without the sickness the family would be self-supporting. With the invalid self-support is only possible upon the lowest levels. But the abnormal family may consist of a woman and her children. This woman is a widow, either through death or desertion. When a woman is left to care for a number of small children, the problem always arises whether the woman should be relieved of the care of the children, who would, in that event, be placed in other homes and she left alone to support herself, or whether the family should be kept together, and the woman fulfill chiefly the function of mother. In the latter event in case of destitution some pension system must be established either by private or public charity. It is of the utmost importance that the aid given should be both regular in time and definite in amount, and based upon adequate inquiry.

The general doctrine is that the family should not be broken up except for serious reasons. The first reason for the breaking up of the family is in case of permanent dependence while the woman is still of child-bearing age. Children should not be allowed to be born into a home that is permanently dependent. The second reason for the breaking up of a family is moral, when on account of degeneration through vice the parents are not fitted for the care and education of children.

The distress of most families who are in need is temporary. It comes through some accident to the breadwinner, through some sickness, or through calamity. These are the cases that require study and consideration and the rule in their treatment is simple. The relief should be prompt and it should be sufficient and only in this way can the self-respect of the family be maintained. So soon as the distress is removed, the aid should cease.

POVERTY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

IN most modern thinking the tendency to consider human beings in groups and classes has been so strong that the individual is scarcely in evidence. It may be true that the individual whom we know as degenerate is the result of social or physical causes, and that his personal choice and action are not the largest factors, but it still remains that he himself be considered in order that we may gradually find out what changes are necessary to produce a rational social order.

There are physical reasons for poverty. The individual may have been born with defects, or, what is more likely, he may have acquired them very early in life. All the recent medical inspections of school children indicate an appalling number of defects in eye and ear, in teeth and throat. Defects intensify as time goes on and especially manifest themselves after the man has passed middle life. The man whose hearing or eyesight is no longer acute is beaten in the race. A man may have been able to maintain himself and his family, but he is stricken with disease. If he is a potter or a glass blower, it is likely to be some form of chest disease, and there are occupations and conditions under which work is done which indicate a limited period of industrial activity. A self-supporting man may meet with an accident. If he is in the railway service, he has much greater risk to run than if he is a market gardener or a farmer. But though the man may escape both accident and disease, he cannot by any means escape old age, which is sure at the last to cripple every worker. Old age is not in America regarded as a serious cause of want, though in the English statistics it is usually reckoned as a chief factor.

There are deficiencies of intellect or character which are personal reasons for poverty. Nearly all individuals in the lower economic strata are deficient in education. The few who have been to high school or college have the sort of education which is of no

practical value. It does not relate itself to the business or to the industrial world. Where a sufficient amount of knowledge has been acquired, there is a lack of that practical wisdom which enables its possessor to use the knowledge. More frequently there is a lack of what is called the will which organizes and applies strength and knowledge in a definite way. The very poor man is usually a man of vague and indefinite character, where he is not worse. He is easily a prey to the various seductions of vice because he lacks inhibition. The vicious habits in turn react upon such self-control as the man began with, and he that hath not, has taken away from him that which he seemed to have. Whether tendencies to vice are the result of some defect in the nervous structure, or whether the nervous breakdown is caused by moral incapacity, is one of those old puzzles about human life upon which it is not necessary to enter.

It is manifest that the conditions of poverty tend to perpetuate themselves. Children brought up under low economic conditions are quite likely to be defective in their turn. Ordinary observers regard intemperance, undoubtedly one of the chief vices, as the direct cause of much of the poverty, but social students and charity workers who have been trained to careful observation, while recognizing that intemperance tends to poverty, also know that intemperance is caused by low economic conditions resulting in insufficient and improper food, and by too long and exhausting hours of toil. The poverty and the broken body produce intemperance, and in turn the intemperance makes the poverty more abject and the body still more broken.

The Charity Organization societies seek to find out the causes of poverty, but the personal equation enters into the investigation, and it is quite impossible to find any exactness in the facts and figures quoted. Only about 25 per cent of the need is recognized as at all controllable by those seeking aid. In figures before me the lack of employment is put down at nearly 30 per cent, while the physical defects and accidents together only include about 7 per cent. Sickness is 20 per cent and intemperance, shiftlessness, roving disposition, and dishonesty are together only 25 per cent. Old age figures at only 3 per cent. It is quite evident that great difficulty is found in tracing the relation of dishonesty

to poverty. One is not surprised that this item is put down at a little over 1 per cent. The reason is manifest, for any needy person would be willing to admit the lack of employment or the presence of sickness, but who would frankly say, "I am in distress because I have been dishonest"?

In the study of such a subject the occasional individual must be practically neglected, and the poor man who has done the best he could, who is the victim of untoward circumstances which he could not control, who has been virtuous in spite of temptation, and always as industrious as opportunity would offer, may, and doubtless does, exist, but he is representative of a social class so small in number that he does not enter into the problem.

There is one class, however, in distress more or less temporary, and that is those who have skill for which there is no industrial market. This happens to many who have performed industrial tasks which are supplanted by the invention of new machinery enabling one person, comparatively unskilled, to take the place of a dozen or more who acquired this particular art of production by laborious toil. The question of the economic value of machinery for the social group as a whole seems to me to have passed beyond the stage of debate. Whatever multiplies the power of production in the long run must make commodities cheaper and wages higher. But in the necessary adjustment of a growing civilization where industries are revolutionized at one stroke, it is manifest that many worthy men will be in temporary distress, and if the man thrown out of work by a new machine has passed middle life, the chances of his becoming economically valuable in some new employment are not very encouraging.

It is time to speak of pauperism. Pauperism always has to do with the individual, for in the last analysis it is generally agreed that there should be no such thing as a pauper family. The words "pauperism" and "poverty" are often used interchangeably, and that is a misfortune destructive of clearness of statement. It would be far better if the word "pauper" was only applied to those who obtain relief from public funds, making a complete distinction between the assistance from private individuals, or from private charities, and the assistance which comes from the parish, the county, the town, or whatever other political unit

may be the organ of state relief. Pauperism is a parasitic form of poverty. Those who work must not only support themselves, but by taxation must give support to the non-producers. Some individuals become paupers with great ease. Others will suffer, often to the verge of starvation rather than apply for public aid. The amount of pauperism will depend largely upon the administration of relief.

Public charities may be managed in such a way as to increase the amount of pauperism, or, on the other hand, as Mr. Charles Booth has pointed out in the conspicuous cases of Bradfield and Bricksworth, England, good administration can largely reduce it. Private charities are often also at fault in the same matter. They are able to stimulate the sense of dependence to a point beyond which their own resources cannot minister, and then they turn over the debased individual to the ampler purse of public relief.

It is generally agreed that the free migration of paupers should be prevented. Every pauper should obtain relief where he has his residence, and after he has become an object of relief, he should neither be permitted to move from one country to another, nor from one unit of relief administration to another within his own country.

Laxity of administration with regard to street begging is one of the worst of evils. If the street beggar is unable to work and is in need, he should be supported, but he should not be supported by casual contributions, the amount of which will depend largely upon the picturesqueness of the appeal. The blind man on the street, the woman and the child, are debased by the process of begging, and the public is defrauded out of the performance of its real duty. That duty is to discover by suitable agencies what the need really is, and then to see that sufficient relief, and no more, is provided. The receipts from street begging are never audited.

It is well to consider briefly the results of this inquiry. Poverty is the natural condition of the primitive social group and property is a convention of civilization. The more harmoniously and effectively human beings work together, the larger the amount of production, and the more equitable the distribution, the more likely are the primary physical wants of human beings to find sufficient satisfaction.

It is the duty of the state to organize justice, and human laws should be so framed and administered as to care for those most in need of protection. The larger view of the remedy for poverty must take in all the elements of group production.

We have seen that in the administration of charity, relief begins with the family, is taken up by the church, and, in the modern world, is either controlled or administered by the state. Pauperism is defined as the receipt of aid from some form of the organized state. Individual relief and private charity should be encouraged by state officers as the wisest and best forms of charity. State relief should be as little as possible, and as soon as possible it should be reduced to the care of paupers in almshouses.

The family is the unit of human society. The concentration of modern industries and the development of urban life put a heavy responsibility upon municipal authorities for the physical conditions of family life. The municipality must purge itself of evil conditions and of slum life. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that any city government can by material means raise its people to proper standards of comfort. The best government in the world would fail without the coöperation of intelligent and virtuous people who have clear knowledge of the terms upon which life should be conducted, adequate wisdom to recognize the means for securing abundant life, and sufficient virtue to consistently work out the problem. To create such a population is a large and a long task, sufficient to tax the public resources, but also requiring the continuous aid of benevolent citizens. Material means are not sufficient for the task, for no amount of bacon and potatoes will enable a family to recognize beauty or to love order and cleanliness.

The problem of pauperism in the last analysis is the problem of the individual, because the family to maintain itself should be self-supporting, except in the emergencies of particular affliction. The pauper is a pathological person, usually of a low grade of intelligence or else weak in body or defective in character, and very often the same individual is overwhelmed by the three calamities. In the very nature of the case such a person cannot maintain family life. Along with the urgency for reforms in the social order must go an urgency still more eager for the reform of

the individual so that he shall actually use his utmost endeavors to make the best of the social order in which he finds himself. The right kind of people can always secure such social reforms as are needed, but no social reforms, however valuable, are adequate to provide the right kind of people.

PATHOLOGY OF CONDUCT

THE NATURE OF CRIME

TARDE says "The men of genius in a society belong to it, but the criminals do, too. If society honors herself with the just title to the one, she ought to blush and repent for the others. The acts of the criminal belong to himself, but the crime belongs to society."[1]

We here have stated briefly and effectively the social quality of crime, and this is a doctrine not so modern as some penologists suppose. The ancient doctrine was that the social group should be held responsible for the deeds of each one of its members, and the unit of such responsibility was usually the clan or the village organization. In many parts of the world, notably in China, there are many remains of the old order in present-day treatment of penal questions.

Under the influence of the Roman law increasing stress was laid upon the individual, and the man who committed the deed, and no one else was held responsible. The general influence of the Christian element in modern civilization has been in the same direction, owing to the greater prominence of the doctrine of sin over that of the social body which teaches in the language of Paul, "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

It is easier to feel that both society and the individual are responsible for crime than it is to state the problem so clearly that the line of cleavage becomes apparent. It may be worth while to note that there are crimes committed by society itself. Let us omit for the time those unlawful acts committed by unorganized social impulses in the form of a mob, to consider those that belong fundamentally to society in the form of the state.

[1] Tarde, Human Aggregation and Crime, *Pop. Sci.*, vol. 45, p. 446.

When a state deliberately begins a war of aggression in order to gain possession of wealth or territory, it is no less a crime than when the individual steals or commits murder, although it is impossible to persuade the responsible statesman guiding the direction of affairs that any iniquity attaches to him.

It is difficult at any point to state a doctrine which will appeal with equal exactness to every state or social organization. To modern men tyranny must be regarded as a crime preventing progress and crushing the free activity of the individual. On the other hand, a centralized government in certain stages of social evolution is useful by its mere mechanical force in making a country more united and able to utilize all its physical and financial forces, and so making the social group stronger to resist its enemies. Without doubt in certain stages of political development there is a useful place for the autocrat.

From the humanitarian point of view war is certainly a social crime, and yet war has also furnished its contribution to the enlargement of life by giving power to superior races, increasing their numbers and furnishing them new ideas and fresh motives. War is in its essence lawless, and the growth of international agreements putting this lawlessness under law is one of the curiosities of modern history. More and more nations unite in definite agreements as to what may or may not be done when two countries are engaged in conflict. There seems to be a general effort in recent years to make war as humane as possible, and the paradox between power and pity has been ignored in order to reach two important conclusions: the first is that the persons of non-combatants and their private property not munitions of war are to be inviolate. The other doctrine, not so formally stated but really implied, is that the conditions of peace between contending nations must be submitted to the great powers.

The criminal laws of early society were extremely few, for then the state chiefly sought to protect itself. There were crimes against the social customs of the tribe upheld by the dignity of religion which were severely punished, but offenses against the individual were largely left to themselves and to the family groups to which the individuals belonged. The law of revenge was recognized among all primitive peoples, and the early stage in legislation arose

from the effort to regulate the turbulent passions of men in the exercise of this natural right. Primitive justice sought to define the limits of the lex talionis, and no better definition can be found than "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

A further development in legislation introduces a system of fines whereby various offenses against individuals may be atoned for by money payments varying in amount according to the injury that has been committed. At first these payments seem to have gone to the individual, later they often went to the state, and sometimes they were divided between the one injured and the public authority. This is a further stage in the evolution of criminal law.

Political crimes have been recognized in every age, but the definition of them differs in various countries, and the treatment of the political prisoner is not so much a test of justice as of the sense of security upon the part of the administration. Hence political offenses are not founded so much upon public ethics as they are upon the social point of view. It would require an extended and special study to indicate the varieties of the laws and administration in different countries. The prison in Paris set aside for political offenders, such as libelous journalists, appears to be the most pleasant place of restraint in that city. Political offenders in Russia unsettle the foundation of public security and are treated with greater severity than most other offenders.

That special class of offenses where public officials fail in duty and in honor, though they are often permitted to continue in public offices and are never convicted of crime, acts as a source of evil contagion to the group of which they are leaders. Social unrest always arises where large numbers of the people believe that the social order is framed to give strength and advantage over weakness and greed its coveted opportunity.

Social and economic conditions are closely related to the volume of crime. Where great extremes of wealth and poverty are brought into close conjunction the very inequality of social condition increases cupidity, while the lack of resources prevents the development of the individual sufficient for the control of the ordinary social standards. Poverty is sometimes regarded as the constant companion of crime if not its natural cause, but there are two kinds

of poverty. Honest poverty growing out of misfortune is no cause of crime and such poverty is involuntary, but there is a voluntary poverty resulting from vice which is directly related to many violations of the law. The misdeeds of the poor are more likely to be detected and punished than those of classes of society protected by wealth or position. The unemployed commit more than their share of crime, partly because their standards of character are lower, partly because their necessities are often pressing, and partly because of their enforced leisure.

There are crimes which are more frequent in urban populations, and there are special crimes that are more frequent among the wealthy. Density of population is a fact that must be taken into the account in summing up the occasions of crime. Crimes against the person will be more numerous where individuals are most closely associated together, just as crimes against property are manifestly more frequent in places where the most personal property is found. In great cities unless there is a definite registration of the population by an adequate police system the individual is easily lost, and in the midst of vast numbers definite social ties which ordinarily hold men in place are no longer effective. The efficiency of social ties with respect to conduct is illustrated by the fact that both in the United States and in Great Britain foreigners commit crimes above the proportion of their numbers. It is not because the foreigners are worse, but it is because the new environment in which the foreigners find themselves has not effected a complete socialization. It is even more important to remember that the large majority of foreigners in both countries live in cities, while in their own homes many of them lived in the rural districts, and a question which has never been adequately worked out is, do the foreigners living in cities commit more crimes than the native population born in cities and remaining there.

As there are crimes which are definitely related to density of population, so there are crimes which flourish most where the population is sparse. Pirates, brigands, and highwaymen prefer to find their victims in solitary places.

Enough men have turned out well after being sent into penal servitude and enough of those who could not do well at home have succeeded in the colonies or on the frontiers to furnish a definite

problem. Some men, naturally adventurous, decline the refinements of life, and, rebellious against convention, seek a wider freedom. Some of these men by change of environment turn out to be very respectable citizens. In the older communities where everything is settled and orderly, and where life makes little appeal to the imagination, they fail to meet the requirements of conduct, and yet in Australia or Nevada they may become veritable pillars of the social order.

Social order is difficult to maintain where different races come into close conduct. It is not so much the struggle between individuals as it is between rival ideas, faiths, and capacities. In the United States the gravest social question is the negro problem, both north and south. No one can doubt that there has been a great increase of crime among the negroes born in the generation since the war. In answer to a great moral demand they received emancipation from slavery only to have it revealed that the new-found freedom was no substitute for the old-fashioned obedience which had been exacted. The freedom was doubtless worth the price, and even more than it has cost, but the cost of it has been social and ethical rather than economic, and it has been very expensive to the negro. Similar results would follow the sudden advance to freedom of any other race, for the ordinary social defenses cannot at once take the place of the ancient control based upon the personal interest of the master. Before the Civil War the negro population for the most part lived upon the plantations, but since the war they have congregated by multitudes in low quarters of the cities and their moral defenselessness is assailed by new temptations of peculiar strength. The outstanding fact that where white men predominate the accused negro is much more likely to be convicted of crime than is the white man is an element in the problem not to be neglected.

Leaving the question of the relation of the social group to crime, what are known as collective crimes remain to be considered. Within the social group are many voluntary forms of association for lawful purposes, such as organizations for the promotion of industry, art, and philanthropy. There are also associations for unlawful purposes. These may have as their object assassinations, open pillage by armed bands, secret association of thieves,

or piracy upon the high seas. These associations often maintain severe discipline among their members, they are deliberate in action and know very well what they want. There are also accidental and passional associations of men in the temporary organization of the mob held together by a fixed idea like an acute insanity which melts away when the proposed vengeance has been accomplished. Collective crimes call for special recognition in the laws and indicate gradations in responsibility among their members according to rank and power.

Periodicity in crime and the recurrence of criminal epochs are social phenomena to be explained. Let a picturesque crime be committed, and it is followed by others of the same class, murder of a particular type follows murder, suicide succeeds suicide, and arson or theft breeds its counterparts. These are all illustrations of the law of imitation as real in the breaking of law as in the organization of social activities. Most men are copyists of things either good or bad. An evil deed is committed, it is talked about, becomes dramatic, seizes on the imagination of the depraved and is repeated again and again before it is checked by the organized wrath of society. Bad books and sensational newspapers are more responsible than other agencies. They do not represent the normal life of a community, but in a distorted picture exhibit out of all proportion its darkest deeds and its basest passions. The freedom of the press was once urged as the only protection of the people against the exactions of despotism. That danger is left far behind to be replaced by quite opposite evils. If it were believed that newspapers or books were carrying the contagion of smallpox or diphtheria, they would be speedily suppressed, but the constant spread of moral poison in the details of morbid human life is often more dangerous to the life of any community.

There are persons in every community who are likely to become criminals themselves or to become the source of criminal contagion. These persons have frequently been set at liberty after incarceration for a time in some public institution. They are chiefly discharged prisoners whose time has expired, the insane who are supposed to be cured, or the feeble-minded who are permitted to live in their own homes. They do not resist evil influences with the same strength as other people, and they are often the

cause or the occasion for the corruption of the young and the weak.

Crime has physiological significance for society, whether the responsibility attaches to an individual, to a number of individuals, or to the social group as a whole. The healthy social body rejects crime as the evidence of disease. It is something which cannot be assimilated, because it is not a part of its proper life. This gives to the individual who has committed a crime a place outside of the social life so that he is described as the anti-social man. The relation of the individual to those deeds which receive social condemnation emphasizes the personal element in crime. The criminal act itself is rejected because of its harmful or dangerous character, but the pathological beginnings of crime belong to the individual himself and reveal a state of moral disease. The will does not perform its ordinary functions. There is an abnormal activity of the desires and passions which breaks through the restraints of character to be revealed in conduct which has been socially condemned. In discussing the relation of the individual to crime, it is necessary to begin by certain preliminary definitions and considerations.

Whatever may be the responsibility of society for crime on account of its bad organization or its lack of training for the individual, bad conduct is viewed objectively from the point of view of the social order, and the criminal is held wholly responsible for his deed. The few exceptions which will be noted later only emphasize the strength of this doctrine. The criminal is believed to have a clear and sane motive in his misdeeds, to know what he is doing and to know that he is doing wrong. The creed of personal responsibility is upheld by the whole history of social development, and it is reënforced by that detestation which rises in the social mind whenever serious offenses are committed. Responsibility among the individuals of the social group is the necessary foundation upon which are built the pillars of social order. That the people can, and that the vast majority of them will, obey social instructions must, from the nature of the case, be taken for granted. The success of this presumption is seen in the stability of social institutions. Where conduct is irresponsible, social order is impossible.

In studying the relation of the individual to conduct, the three words that are of first importance are crime, sin, and vice. They may be briefly defined as follows: crime is an offense against the state; sin is an offense against God; and vice is an offense committed by the individual against himself. Broadly speaking, crime is any violation of law, and law is conduct defined and enforced by the state. The lack of uniformity in the classification of crimes by the different civilized nations makes comparison exceedingly difficult. In comparatively recent practice the terms "felony" and "misdemeanor" have come into use, the former term being employed to denote serious offenses accompanied with severe penalties, while the term misdemeanor is used for those forms of misconduct of lesser gravity. In the former English practice the term "crime" was used to denote "offences of a deep and atrocious dye, but when the act is of inferior degree of guilt, it is called misdemeanor" (Blackstone). In some states misdeeds are classified according to the court which may deal with them, the place in which the criminal may be confined, and the length of the term of his sentence. For the present purpose the word crime will be used in a generic sense to cover all offenses against the state.

Law has grown out of accepted social judgments based upon the conclusions of the social conscience. Standards of conduct have varied among different peoples and in different ages since the days of primitive man and the slow emergence of order out of primeval lawlessness. The identification of sin with crime is a very ancient basis of procedure. The early states were even more ready to punish sins against the gods than crimes against the individual. It would be expected that such a state of affairs would exist in the Hebrew legislation, where the government was regarded as a theocracy, but the same thing occurs wherever the church and state are united, or where religion is regarded as one of the functions of the state. Not only does Greek drama but Greek legislation and history confirm this conclusion. From the days when Christianity became the national religion of Rome, up to the climax of the power of the church in the political affairs of Europe, the same thing was manifest in various and tragic ways. The constant tendency of modern legislation has been toward such

a discrimination between sin and crime as to put under legal condemnation only such deeds as are visibly injurious to society. There are now only fragments of the ancient legislation which are in force, such as some forms of Sunday law and laws against blasphemy. Sunday laws, however, are upheld upon the doctrine of economic, industrial, and social value, while open blasphemy is vulgarity by which a man violates the rights of his neighbor. The sin of heresy is no longer regarded as a political crime, but in some states there still remain limitations upon the right to political equality based upon forms of religious belief or the lack of such belief altogether.

While sin has been a vanishing factor in legislation, vices have more and more been ranged under the head of crimes. The early doctrine identified sin and crime, but vice was practically regarded as negligible, unless it assailed in some direct manner the rights of others. The growth of modern legislation has been altogether in the direction of such definitions of conduct and such impositions of penalties as to put under the social ban public drunkenness and public licentiousness, regarded now as the two great vices.

The doctrine upon which the prohibition of vice is based seems to be the interest of the state in the sound physical and moral health of each of its citizens, and is only one form of that modern paternalism which is more and more assumed as a proper function of government.

It is impossible in this place to give an adequate discussion of this subject, and so great are the differences in the management of this part of public law that general principles cannot easily be stated. In some communities the social evil is recognized and licensed within certain limits and under definite restrictions. In others it is regarded as a social outlaw, while it is permitted to exist. In nearly all civilized countries the liquor traffic is regarded as a danger to the social order and is compelled to bear peculiar burdens, but both the form of the laws and the seriousness with which they are enforced vary greatly in different communities.

In American cities it is easy enough for reformers to secure almost any municipal legislation against vice that is desired, but it is only for brief periods of time that stringent legislation in the

large centers of population has ever been seriously enforced. Laws that are not enforced not only permit unrestrained offenses upon the part of individuals, but are the manifest and greatest source of municipal corruption. Laws that are not enforced are used as so many weapons of extortion to wring money from those who carry on an illicit traffic at vicious resorts. There can never be clean municipal government where the statute books are loaded down with prohibitions which are merely evidences of social hypocracy. In the interests of public honesty and public character, it would be well to repeal a great deal of the legislation against vice. The time may even come when such legislation will be regarded as upon exactly the same level as that which identified sin and crime. There is a movement, at present vague, in that direction. Offenses against person or property and laxity of law enforcement in regard to them meet swift and general public indignation. Let two or three houses be burned in any community, indicating a systematic plan of theft and arson, and if the police were powerless, a vigilance committee would be promptly organized for public protection, while the same virtuous citizens greet with an indulgent smile accounts of vice which do not directly attack the rights or possessions of other individuals. While this is true, the man practically at work with criminals will usually say that vice is very frequently the cause of other crimes, for men steal and even murder in order to gratify their unrestrained passions.

A contribution to criminology has been made by Lombroso,[1] and Ferri, writers of the Italian school, in the effort to establish a criminal type, and upon it they have based a new jurisprudence. They teach that crime has a physical basis, since there are certain stigmata upon the body denoting the lack of symmetry. The two sides of the head fail to be alike, one shoulder droops, the nose is awry, the ears are deformed, or the cheek bones project. Mongolian cheek bones are especially dangerous. An individual may get along with one or two stigmata, but the danger increases with every added defect. Lombroso has shown a good deal of industry in comparing prisoners with other special classes available for the purpose. As a rule criminals have smaller cranial capacity than

[1] Lombroso, The Criminal Man; Criminal Anthropology, Twentieth Century Practice of Medical Science, vol. XII, p. 378 *et seq.*

normal men, and they have broad heads rather than long heads. Thieves are more delicate in physique than homicides or incendiaries. These suggestions will indicate the nature of this new form of phrenology which has had considerable vogue in English periodical literature and some influence upon judicial attitudes toward offenses, but is rejected by practically all men at work among the prisoners. The doctrine is a mechanical theory of human conduct and essentially a denial of human responsibility. The same amount of industry and the same amount of ingenuity can build almost any theory upon the variations in human form. There are many causes of the lack of symmetry in the human body, such as scrofula, drunkenness, difficulties of child birth, malnutrition, and the various diseases of childhood. These stigmata can be found in the largest numbers among the poor in the city slums, but no analysis of such a population has ever been made for the purposes of comparison.

Other writers hold that there are certain persons who are born criminals, exhibiting the tendency very early in life and continuing from one offense to another.

The theory of Lombroso will not stand the one practical test by which it should be judged. The state would never dare to send out men with measuring instruments to discover the criminals before their deeds, and so to prevent all crime and simplify some of the gravest duties of the state. Those who theoretically play with the doctrine would never dare put it into practice. The examination of prisoners will show that large numbers of them have no manifest stigmata at all, and, on the other hand, many of the wisest and the best have been as badly marked as Socrates is reputed to have been. Since the theory cannot work, it is probably untrue. No one need be surprised to learn that the teacher who made physical stigmata the sign boards of crime should also have discovered that epilepsy is the companion of genius.

There are doubtless some men who are born morally defective, as there are some men who are born mentally defective. Such cases are comparatively rare, scarcely enter into statistics, and cannot be made the basis of any working theory of criminology.

There is no doubt that persistence in a life of crime emphasizes and brings to light certain characteristics. As a rule criminals are

deficient both in intelligence and education. They exhibit instability in their loves and hates, excesses in passion, and great personal vanity. It is said that sailors, savages, and criminals are given to tattooing, but it is doubtless from quite opposite reasons. Tattooing among savages is connected with the clan instinct and the property instinct. Tattooing among sailors no doubt results from visits to the islands of the Pacific and imitation of what is seen among natives, while criminals tattoo from a desire for display based upon vanity. I once saw in the "Little Roquette" in Paris a boy upon whose biceps had been tattooed a red rose with green leaves, with an inscription, which he displayed to his visitor with every sign of pleasure. Confirmed criminals congregate together at definite places in cities, and the police usually know where to find a man for whom they are looking, when he is in town. The indications of conformity to a definite type among criminals is no more evidence that crime results from either physical or mental organization, than the development of a type among physicians or clergymen proves that men could not help adopting these professions. The doctrines referred to above are taking the place of the old excuse for crime which was the insanity of the individual. The insane criminal is a person who was insane before he committed any offense against the law. The criminal insane, on the other hand, are those who have not yet committed an offense, but who have the impulse to do so and need to be restrained. The criminal insane may even have attempted murder or suicide without success. These two classes of persons of very limited number make a distinct problem requiring distinct treatment, but they do not belong to the problem of criminology in its true sense, and constitute a very small percentage of the criminal population. The doctrine is quite definitely established now that insanity itself is no bar to guilt or responsibility for conduct. A man may be insane with respect to certain matters, and yet be responsible for his conduct in other respects. The courts hold that if a man understands the nature of his deed, knows that it is forbidden, and knows that it is wrong, he is responsible, even though he may be insane. The weight of recent decisions is all in the direction of enlarging the number of those to be held responsible rather than of limiting it, and insanity is less and less regarded as an excuse

for crime. To relieve the criminal of his responsibility it must be shown, first, that he does not know the nature of his act; or, second, that he is not able to restrain himself from his deed. There are, no doubt, human exceptions, but neither the theory of crime nor the theory of punishment can be based upon the peculiarities of the human freak. Dr. Albert Wilson reports the remarkable case of Mary Barnes, who is said to have had ten different sub-personalities, varied in their handwriting and entirely separate in their memories, and no one of the ten seemed to understand anything about the conduct of the rest. The phenomena of multiple personality have been recognized among normal people, but the laws of nations cannot be based upon mere curious and rare human phenomena.

Crime is abnormal conduct, and the man who commits a crime is by so much an abnormal man. Those faults which are usually connected with the idea of irresponsibility, such as the conduct of the dipsomaniac, are faults of the passions and the desires rather than of the intellect. They do not arise from mental conclusions, either good or bad, and require restraint and treatment. There are men who occupy responsible positions in society and pose as philanthropists, and despoil their creditors in order to give large sums to charity, who are not normal, but who, with equal certainty, are not insane.

French law recognizes the recidivist, or the man who returns to a course of crime after having served his sentence. In conduct the recidivist undoubtedly exists. He begins a criminal career early in life. The various forms of treatment for delinquent children and youth do not succeed in controlling him. With every punishment he grows more cunning, and he becomes bolder with every escape from punishment. The confirmed criminal becomes the hardened criminal. His course of life affects him in mind and in body, as well as in character. He loses the power to blush, and he can gaze steadily until honest eyes quail before him. The type is well known and easily recognized, but it is the explanation of him that involves difficulties. The recidivist by some is called atavistic, and the new term sometimes seems to mean that the man has inherited bad qualities from particular ancestors, but the use of the term by others seems to imply that

this kind of criminal succeeds in breaking through all the ranks of his ancestors and escaping from the intervening influence, shows again the qualities existent among the race in the savage times of primitive man. With problems of heredity we shall have to do in a later chapter. It is enough to say here that neither explanation seems to be based upon any recognizable facts nor at all necessary to the solution of the problem. The second crime is easier to every man after the first crime, and the third is easier than the second. It requires better training than the man received before his first offense to prevent the second, and it also requires an awakened will and new methods of self-control. The recidivist is not a fixed character in society to be explained. Where he is not born incapable of recognizing the distinction between right and wrong, he represents, in the first place, the failure of society to properly control him, and he is the result, in the second place, of his own failure to control himself.

Besides the men who plan their crimes with deliberation and seem to commit them of set purpose, which is the mark of the definitely criminal class, there are those whom the French have taught us to call "criminals of occasion." The criminal of occasion has never planned a crime, but unexpected opportunity and sudden impulse seize him, and he has done the wrong. Or, he has joined companions worse than he is and shrewder, and under their influence, and perhaps accompanied by the influence of intoxicants, he commits his fault. Such a man has indeed broken the law, but it is evident that he deserves a different classification from the man whose bad deed results from a depraved character.

Similar to the above is the criminal of passion, who, involved in some unexpected complex of circumstance, is swept over by a sudden whirlwind of emotion, and because his honor is assailed, or his anger aroused, he may commit murder or some other crime against the social order. The criminal of passion frequently belongs to the Latin races, and in any race it is not often that any man yields to the passion of impulse for the first time when he commits a crime. Often and long has he been careless of his self-control, and therefore he differs from the criminal of occasion, on the one side, just as he differs from the deliberate criminal, on the other.

Lombroso [1] explains the small number of criminals among women by certain biological facts which he thinks are the result of her sex. He finds that the criminal type which he has discovered in men is very rare among women, and he explains this fact in the first place by social selection, since men would not choose for wives women who had four or more anomalies, but, further, the women lead a sedentary and less exposed life, and consequently do not have so many variations. Women also represent more fully the common qualities of the species and are nearer, therefore, to the primitive type. As there is a comparative rarity of the criminal type among women, so are they less inclined to crime than men. It is the occasional criminal most frequently met with among women, and as they have no special physiognomy, neither is one to be expected in the female offender. Thus does Lombroso dispose of some of his difficulties.

Civilization has differentiated the sexes much more than nature seems to have intended, for the civilized woman differs very much more than the savage woman does from her male companion. The conservatism that belongs to women is partly the offspring of her physical weakness and partly of her sheltered environment. This is reflected in her attitude toward social changes, as well as in her conduct. There are crimes, however, which seem to belong to women rather than to men; for example, kleptomania, which is an uncontrolled desire for the property of others, even when the property is not required to serve any known wants. As hysteria is more frequent among women than among men, so all the faults that belong to the derangement of the nervous system are more common among women than among men. It is to the advantage of the female offenders that courts and juries are made up of men, for they are, as a rule, dealt with more leniently and often escape conviction and punishment altogether on that account. There are never so many female criminals in the prisons as really exist in society. There are some ethical standards from which women vary more than do men. The female tendency to untruthfulness doubtless grows out of her physical weakness, just as timid boys are more untruthful than their stronger and ruddier companions. Prostitution is regarded as a crime among women, but

[1] Lombroso, La Femme Criminelle, chap. 8.

the same vice is not regarded as a crime among men. On this account undue emphasis is placed upon the sex irregularities of women. Here, too, it is very difficult to show that a criminal type exists, for certainly very frequently the hardened prostitute begins as an offender of occasion or of sudden passion. There are not so many depraved women as there are depraved men, but where women are depraved there is frequently exhibited an abandon of both vice and crime rarely revealed by the opposite sex.

The relation between physical health and crime has often been noted. Delinquencies have been observed in persons entirely normal before being attacked by sickness, and who afterward suffered very serious moral lapses. Influenza has its moral victims as well as its physical victims. Diseases of the lungs have been noticeably associated with unspeakable crimes. The weakening of the body is often accompanied by the weakening of the will, but it may be pointed out that ill health may only release the real tendencies of essential character. There are curious cases of persons who from youth to middle life have exhibited every element of integrity, but when the breakdown of old age comes, they show a moral decay quite as much as mental decay. Over against these facts perhaps more could be cited where, with the decay of the body and the lessening of the physical forces, there has come such a decline of abnormal desire that it is quite usual for the world to seek its saints among the feeble and the aged. It is quite certain that offenses against the statutes are not, as a rule, the offenses of the mature, nor can any disease do more than indicate the possible direction of a criminal tendency, for if disease were at any time the cause of crime, it should be expected that these diseases would be invariably accompanied by the crimes which they cause. Such a relation does not exist.

It is impossible to make even a general review of the nature of crime without coming to some sense of the responsibility of society. An unstable condition of the social group arising from variety in its constituent elements, or from any other cause, will find its parallel in instability of the moral sense upon the part of its component individuals. The marked increase of crime in the United States is not to be explained as some would think by the slowness of the courts or the uncertainties of judicial procedure.

The great increase, perhaps sevenfold in fifty years, must have a deeper and more serious explanation, but it is not in one respect alone that society indicates its lack of homogeneity and of social health. Corre says, "There is a relation between the number of suicides and the number of divorces." Of course he does not mean that the divorces are, as a rule, responsible for the suicides, but that they grow out of a common condition. There is equally a relation between the number of crimes, the number of divorces, and the number of suicides. Social disintegration and the degeneration of the individual go together. The reasons for this will appear more fully in the discussion of psychology and crime.

Society has always held the criminal to be responsible for his deed, and in this society has done well. There are extenuating circumstances in the personality, the history, the training of the individual. Some circumstances may make it easier for a man to be a criminal than to remain normal, but no circumstances short of physical or mental control by another can ever be so overpowering as to compel the honest man to commit crime. In the administration of justice society in every case must give itself the benefit of the doubt. The maintenance of social order depends upon the exercise of sovereignty. The prescriptions of conduct are found in law; the sanctions of conduct are furnished by penalties, and their enforcement is the occupation of the courts. When an unlawful deed has been committed, it is the duty of society to prove without doubt which individual is the offender. When the deed has been brought home to the man, it is his duty, or the duty of those who represent him, to prove beyond a reasonable doubt, that he is not responsible. The existence of crime furnishes always a presumption against the criminal. Social order is not possible without law; law cannot be maintained without penalties; penalties presuppose the personal responsibility of the offender. Misconduct is the only proof which society requires to establish guilt. Upon any other terms social bonds would become increasingly weak, and that stability under law, painfully built up through thousands of years of struggle, would be dissolved in a return to primeval anarchy.

ECONOMICS AND CRIME

NO adequate philosophy of crime can be secured without a study of the relation of the criminal to society. He has been often defined as the anti-social man. He will not accept as his conduct standards the laws and sanctions of the state. There are two general classes of crimes: those against persons and those against property. The crimes against property out-bulk crimes against persons in every civilized country, and many of the crimes against persons are incidental to larceny or burglary. Various forms of misconduct forbidden by statute, state, or municipality, and often regarded as vices, really arise from the same sources as crimes against property.

Social institutions have material foundations, and the social order would have been impossible save for the permanent manifestations of the property instinct. Civilization means property. Man as he is developed multiplies his wants and seeks to satisfy them. When insistent wants are unsatisfied among large masses of men, the structure of the social group is modified in some particulars. The modification may result in a higher evolution, it may mean a revolution, or it may manifest itself in the slow processes of decay.

Among primitive peoples the clan structure may be in the form of the matriarchate; that is to say, the children may bear the name of the mother, and she be regarded as the head of the family; but when the clan advances and becomes a property-holding group, the male takes charge, and it becomes a patriarchate. In modern times the organization of the home is the most influential incentive to industry. This means a home to live in and more strenuous effort for a better income. Domestic institutions relate themselves to the cost of living, and the rate of wages, and clamor for larger economic opportunities. Many social forms of modern life have been so modified that it is only by the examination of customs among the

less civilized tribes that we can trace their origins. The marriage relation is now regarded as a permanent union between two human beings, who, in their separate spheres, are each equal, but both marriage and chastity are founded upon property. The woman belonged to the man, and, because she was his, she cared for his lodging place, did his bidding, and could consort with no other. We shrink from the idea of wife and children as personal property, but it was precisely this personal right which was the basis of human progress above the condition of barbarism. In modern life the relation of marriage becomes more stable as the interests of property become more involved. The only exception to this rule is among the people so rich that a fortune can be spared for the sake of the freedom of divorce.

As the beginnings of domestic life are established in the property instinct, in like manner religion was an effort to secure something from the gods beyond the reach of human power. It was the property instinct enriched by the imagination. The old Hebrew fathers bound their children to the faith by teaching them the belief that Jehovah would make his people rich, and the gods of any people who would not promise prosperity were sure to be superseded by others more lavish in their gifts. The property instinct is the measure of every civilization. It may be defined as a consciousness of wants with an effort, more or less successful, to satisfy them. The greater the range of the wants which are recognized, and the more successfully they are satisfied, the more complex human effort becomes, and the higher is the grade of civilization. The property instinct consists not alone in the satisfying possession of things, but in the desire, often consuming, to have things not yet obtained. Upon this passion in one form or another, the entire social order may be said to be based. Against this social order the criminal is at war. When it is seen that human wants are an essential part of the property instinct, it may be recognized that offenses against the public order, such as indecency and intemperance, relate themselves to the property instinct, for they are simply degenerate manifestations of human wants. The anti-social man does not like the rigidity of the social structure. He objects to the definiteness of law. He declines to recognize the validity of the sanctions imposed by the state, and he feels,

when he does not understand, that both custom and law seek to define and defend property rights and the institutions which embody them.

The modern doctrine of subjective values must be clearly held in mind. It must be recalled that wants are antecedent to satisfactions, and that the supply is created in answer to the demand. The criminal declines to agree that his wants shall conform to the social average. He therefore refuses to be a social being. Usually the criminal lacks the power to add his share to the common stock of production, while his desires for consumption are beyond his grade in life. The criminal may be prevented, provided his wants are normal, if society can furnish him with successful and remunerative labor. If he cannot satisfy his desires by his labor, the will must be strengthened and moral power awakened so that his wants may be reduced to the limits of possible and lawful gratification.

It would seem that crime from the economic point of view is only another side of the problem of pauperism. Where the pauper begs, the criminal steals. They are both methods to obtain something that is not earned. There is less begging where the standard of living is low, and there is also less stealing. If the average of comfort maintained by a large majority of the people is high, it is a difficult place for those who are weak in capacity and weak in will. The complex and successful civilization places before the unskilled man temptations whose strength is utterly unknown to men and women living under conditions more simple and of a lower grade.

The economic interpretation explains the overwhelming proportion of young men among criminals. They have newly awakened desires driven on by the fierce tides of crimson life. They have low earning capacity, and at the same time they have not gained the moral habit of adjusting themselves to the degree of satisfaction of wants to which they are justly entitled under the conditions of life in which they find themselves.

Though statistics are very uncertain on many accounts, there seems to be little room for doubt that crime is increasing both in Europe and in America. Indictable crimes have increased in England more rapidly than the population. The capacity of the

prisons in England is sufficient for the prison population, but the various industrial schools now receive juvenile offenders who were formerly reckoned among the criminal population. Another very influential fact in measuring the prison population is the length of the sentence. The longer the sentence, of course, the larger the number. In England the length of sentence has steadily decreased since 1870.

The relation of the administration of law by the courts to the increase of crime is a subject for further investigation. An illustration, however, will indicate the situation. Take, for example, murder in the three great countries, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, and it varies according to the number of convictions which are secured. That is to say, Germany convicts the largest number of those accused of the crime, and has fewest murders. England holds second place in both classes, while the United States has by far the largest number of murders in proportion to the population.

As the relation of the courts to crime is disclosed, it is equally apparent that the administration of the police is also influential. The number of misdemeanors committed in any city can never be read in the number of the arrests any more than the amount of guilt is shown by the number of convictions. It will often happen that under a lax administration of the police power, all forms of vice forbidden by law will flourish unblushingly, and not a single arrest be made. There may not be enough sober people in some town to arrest those who are drunk, though there are laws upon the statute books against drunkenness, and there may not be persons enough to hold those who are committing offenses against the social order. Indeed a study of city problems will surely lead to the conclusion that the more arrests that are made for particular misdemeanors, the fewer offenses are actually committed, and the greater the number of convictions in proportion to the accusations, the better the condition. A later brief study in statistics will illustrate the points here made.

Before discussing the more vital aspects of the problem, something should be said of the relation of pauperism to crime. Doubtless there is some such relation, but it is very difficult to disclose it in any convincing manner. The pauper, as we have seen, is a

degenerate holding a parasitic relation to the economic life, and when his case becomes chronic, he is actually lost to the social world.

There is a large class of persons, however, who are always upon the borderland of self-support and pauperism and who in times of prosperity, when plenty of work can be found, have no excuse for not earning some kind of a living. When economic depression occurs, many who might work and even could obtain work are very glad to join the general driftwood that floats upon the stream of misfortune.

Some English reports show that, as a rule, the number of prisoners decrease as the number of paupers decrease, and this is exhibited in tables extending over a long period of time. But the number of paupers have not decreased solely, perhaps not even largely, through economic causes but through changes in administration.

On the other hand, the periods of prosperity seem to show more important crimes against property, as well as more misdemeanors, than the periods of retrenchment and financial adversity. The truth seems to be that we have elements here not readily placed in tables. There is no doubt that among wage earners drunkenness and dissipation tend to increase crime in favorable commercial times, wages being larger than usual and no new adjustment of wants having taken place, while need and idleness are the conditions that swell crime in lean years, the wages being too small for comfort. In like manner there are forms of crime that vary naturally according to the financial position of the offenders. Petty thieving and minor offenses are found among the poor in times of distress, but swindling, defalcations, the breaking of banks, and the looting of railroads are crimes that belong to the wealthy. Some people think that we punish the former more surely and more swiftly than we do the latter class of offenses.

The complexity of the problem is revealed in the comparative statistics of some European countries giving the number of offenses against property which are reported in comparison with the population. Spain seems to stand at the bottom of the list and Scotland at the top, and in general the northern races have a worse record than the southern. The Catholic countries seem to be

superior to the Protestant countries, and the question at once naturally arises, is either climate or religion or are both combined the controlling reasons for the facts? Discussion is unnecessary when it is noted that in England there are about five times as many offenses against the law as there are in India, and since every man knows that the Englishman has given order and stability to the decaying, incapable Orient, and has increased the population of India as well as the comfort of the people, evidently it will not do to say that the lower the percentage of crime the higher is the character of the civilization.

Neither is it fundamentally a question of race, but it is a question of personal and social force. Among the older peoples the fiercer passions have worn themselves out, and, for example, there is little drunkenness because those who are to be destroyed by intemperance have already been eliminated. The East Indian has grace, gentleness, and good sense, but these have survived at a fearful expenditure of primitive strength. The decadent Orient behaves worse because it is really worse than aggressive, regnant Britain.

Social forcefulness will manifest itself not alone in emotion, but also in the repression of crime. It is very doubtful if criminals are as remorselessly pursued and as generally punished in Spain and Italy, for example, as in Germany and Great Britain.

Strong peoples have strong passions, appetites, desires. Their abundant life flows out in manifold attempts to secure all that seems to them good and worthy. Ambition seeks to find an environment more and more fitted for the exercise of its power. In such case the struggle for existence becomes more and more intense. A high standard of living is produced which it is difficult to maintain, and in the contest the strong arm of greed beats down the weak and the unworthy. A contrast of the European nations will show that where the standard of living is high and the energy of the people is great, there is a larger proportion of recorded crime. Great achievements are accompaniments of great defeats, for with the strong who win are found the weak who fail, and because of their economic failure are plunged into crime.

The distinction among primitive peoples observed by ethnologists, by which they are divided into military and industrial types,

indicates important quality of race. There must always have been more industrial tribes than military, and always more peoples who worked for a living than those who stole as an occupation. In the progress of events even the military tribe must at last go to work, but under their industrialism there still lurked a good deal of untamed savagery. Scotchmen who used to steal cattle from the English lowlands may have shipyards and factories, but in view of their history it is not to be wondered at that they show a high record in crimes against property.

But let us not suppose that the Spaniard is a better man than the Scotchman because he has lower criminal statistics. The Spaniard has practically ceased the struggle for existence. He is the heir of defeated history and the servant of the decadent present.

A brief study of the moral cost and dangers of great cities is useful at this point because the city more than anything else in modern civilization illustrates the struggle for existence. The complex life of the city, the intensity of human effort, the high standard of living which it maintains, make it the crucial testing place of civilization. Here is the real battle of life; here are won the greatest victories and here are suffered the most stinging defeats. Here is found the highest virtue, and here skulks also the darkest crime and shame. Standards of living make the temptations stronger, and the fierceness of the struggle makes weakness the more helpless. It is not alone or chiefly a matter of either the form or administration of municipal government. There are many things that cities ought to do, and some of them ought to improve in their service. All the measures of amelioration and all the paternal care of life so necessary in the density of the city group tend to lessen not only crime but insanity and pauperism as well. They fail, however, in sound thinking who suppose that the problems are to be reached by merely mechanical measures, however valuable or useful. Crimes in the city will always be more frequent than in the rural districts, for crimes against property are sure to be most numerous where there is the most property, and crimes against the person where the individuals are most closely associated together.

The struggle for existence has accented the feeling for personal

property and has led some to urge that the rights of property should be merged into the organization of the state in order to remove the cause. It should be admitted that the reasonable presumption is that with the destruction of private property crime would certainly lose its present form; but it would probably be at the expense of a very much lower form of economic life, with less production and less comfort possible to the social group.

But such an economic reorganization of society would by no means do away with the differences among men. Even if all the means of production were owned by the state, still would go forth the order, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat."

The doctrine of the struggle for existence was the first gospel written on the primordial life cells. It has passed through many transformations in the history of life; it will pass through many more in the history of human life. Let us hope that at last it will be glorified as a contest for supremacy in service and in good works.

Thus far the social struggle has cost an immense sacrifice of strength and of character, but into this struggle, fiercest among the greatest and best races, darkest and most uncertain in the midst of our cities, intensified a thousand fold by the complexities of modern life with its new machines and its new processes of toil, must men and women go even with the fierce joy of warriors into battle.

At the present time the first urgency is that the struggle for existence shall be carried forward under the guidance of equal laws enforced by impartial hands. The fight, if we must have a fight, must take place under rules. All the equities of the economic life demand equal opportunity for every man to engage in the struggle on equal terms. Civilized governments must reconstruct their laws and change their methods so that social institutions will not stand as buttresses for special privileges or as fortifications for the favored few. The modern city must mean the largest organization of the industrial world with strong and swift rebuke for every aggression upon either the rights or opportunities of the weakest and most ignorant member of society. At present, even the most civilized cities are a long way from this goal.

Nor does this mean that the incentive for personal achievement

and personal development which has driven the world thus far should ever be sacrificed to a social ideal of absolute economic equality, at once fair and false. As scientific charity declares, the weak shall by no means be robbed of the necessity of exerting all the strength he has, for this is the only hope of ever making him strong and worthy. It is the method of nature by means of which the human animal has been installed as the master of life and the ruler of the world. And this method must still be employed to urge every man to self-mastery and to self-support.

The relation of crime to occupation of which some thinkers have made much is dissolved in this central doctrine now being unfolded. In a rural state, like Minnesota, it is discovered that while farmers constitute one half the population and consequently should commit one half the crime, in fact they only commit about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of it, while persons engaged in trade and transportation, comprising about $\frac{1}{10}$ of the population, commit about 20 per cent of the crime. But the farmer is not more intrinsically honest than is the railway clerk, and working in the earth is not a more moral occupation than working in an office. The occupation is only incidental as indicating the condition of the social environment. In the rural districts there is more nearly an equality of economic condition. There is also greater personal knowledge of individuals, their character and their habits. In whatever form of social life there are found few inequalities among the people, will be found also fewer reasons for either pauperism or crime.

The relation of economics to crime is seen in the age of the offenders. The largest number of them are between sixteen and thirty. After the age of forty the percentage decreases rapidly, and after sixty they practically disappear from the record. These boys and young men have been consumed by the appetites of an undisciplined body and untrained will, and they have no legitimate means of either controlling the appetites or of satisfying them. The outstanding fact in the prison population is that the illiterates are out of all proportion in the ranks of criminals, and that the overwhelming majority of them have no manual skill and no working knowledge of any wealth producing occupation. Society has permitted her youth to grow up like wild animals in the midst of her temptations and her plenty.

The new education declares that the youth must be directly prepared for the actual civilization which he is to inherit. Fine idealisms about culture for culture's sake are all very well, but men who still live in the body must walk with their feet on the solid earth. It is well enough to furnish cultural studies, but culture can also be secured in the kind of training that will help a boy to earn his daily bread. It is well enough to say that in a democratic country any boy may aspire to any place for which he thinks himself fit, and may seek to reach it, but no educational system ought to be based upon the exceptional boy. He can always take care of himself. It is the average boy with whom society must deal. Occupations of the next generation will be measurably the same as those of the present generation. The census of any country furnishes the substantial facts upon which the education of that group should be based. The occupations of the people are divided into agriculture, manufactures, commerce, transportation, professional service, personal service, and the like. The boys and girls who are to take the places of their elders must, on the whole, take practically the same place. The education, therefore, of any social group should be based upon the occupations of the people in order to make better farmers, better mechanics, better merchants, better servants. Here is a simple guiding principle, that while it has not been recognized in form in European countries, it has been in fact followed in many conspicuous instances by the establishment of trade schools in industrial centers relating themselves to the dominant occupations of the places.

Definite work for the young and skill in the work are a part of the moral training of every child. It is a necessity to the individual that he should have an opportunity to earn his daily bread, and something more so that temptations will assail him with a spent force. Right conduct leads to right character but it is not founded alone upon what are known as the moral sentiments, but upon that development, and enthronement of the will, that elevation and invigoration of character arising from human relation to successful and remunerative work. A man is made of complex stuff. The wages of work are not alone in the money by which the desires of the mind and the body are gratified, but a part of the wages is paid in that exercise of the soul which subdues and destroys

unlawful desires, enthrones the will and gives authority to conscience. The great trade schools of the Elmira Reformatory in New York, adopted and adapted by similar institutions, are entirely sound in their economic basis. The only trouble with them is that they come too late. The training should come before the boy commits his crime, and not afterward. But when once the boy has been sentenced by the court, he should not step out of the doors of the reformatory until he is so instructed in mind and so reorganized in character that it will be easier for him to be a social than an anti-social man.

There is a further subject of the widest relationship which must be indicated rather than discussed in this place, and that is the close connection between the proper organization of society, the success of social and individual production, and the adaptation to the normal economic life. It is not sufficient that man be trained to toil; it is also necessary that society be so organized that toil shall receive its adequate reward. Society must learn a lesson from the successes of democracy. Fifty years ago it was believed that there were great dangers lurking in the proposed participation by the people in the governments under which they lived. It has been found, however, that as governments become progressively free, their institutions become the more secure. It is a manifestation of the universal law, and its basis is evident. The voice of public discontent is silenced, and public order instead of mob rule prevails; and when the highest interests of the vast majority of the people are bound up with the preservation of existing institutions, those institutions are secure. When large numbers of people believe that the social order stands for injustice, that the greatest thieves live in palaces and not in prisons, that bad conduct may escape punishment if there are powerful friends, the day of doom is not far. The industrial fabric to be secure must also be just and free. Society can neither reform nor eliminate the ordinary criminal with the one hand, if it is thought that with the other hand she seeks to shelter criminals greater and more cunning. Reverence for the private rights of some cannot be obtained unless at the price of reverence for the private rights of all. When it becomes a part of the public consciousness that, not only the mechanic and other wage earners, but also every man must limit

his desires to a fair share of the common production of labor, there will be a social condition less fruitful in breeding criminals. Unearned wealth obtained by lawful processes in skillful hands is an argument forceful and persistent for the unlawful securing of unearned wealth by clumsier hands. The latter we call crime, but the former must not be the unrebuked parent of crime.

PSYCHOLOGY OF CRIME

IN spite of the ingenious marshaling of the degenerate signs and tokens in the flesh, it is evident that one criminal whose body and brain are normal, or one good citizen with abnormal brain and body, would suffice to destroy the whole theory of the physical origin of crime. But since there are thousands of criminals physically normal, and tens of thousands of well-behaved citizens marked with stigmata, it becomes evident that, delivered from the fatalism of physical form, the phrenology of criminal investigation, we are left free to put serious thinking into the subject. Frequently in history the social capacity of a race has been enormously increased, and at given periods the whole intellectual life has undergone revolution. The structure and size of the human brain have not changed to meet the needs of the Mohammedan religion, the European renaissance, or the astonishing rise of Japan to the dignity of a world power. The brain may be the organ of the mind, but it does not hold the mind a prisoner, nor does it even register the units of intellectual force. Every biological theory has failed because it has not been large enough to include the facts. Among the most disastrous failures is that form of so-called science known as criminal anthropology. If it could be shown that the standards of human conduct, widely different among different peoples and at different times in human history, were accompanied with parallel changes in brain structure or even in outward physical stigmata, some attention might be given to these contentions. Not only have large social groups adopted varying standards of conduct without corresponding variations in the nervous system, but the same thing is equally true of the individual. There are abundant examples of men who at one time in their lives after a long period of rectitude have fallen into crime. These examples perhaps may be explained by the stress of sudden temptation upon an organization well enough in

times of peace but too loosely built for times of storm. But the same explanation will not do for those cases, even more numerous, where men have been drunken, debauched, and even recidivists, and then, through certain influences that were neither medicine nor food, have reformed and have remained correct in conduct to their lives' ends. The criminal theory must be large enough to explain the social factors of the Salvation Army, which is only a concrete illustration of wider facts throughout all human history.

What is commonly known as criminal psychology is little better than the usual elaboration of physical indications of criminal tendency. In the same manner it seeks the segregation of a type of man, not by particular physical marks, but with the same methods that it notes certain emotional and mental peculiarities, such as instability, vanity, lack of foresight, and, in general, many of the characteristics which Herbert Spencer has assigned to the mind of the primitive man. The practical result of both doctrines is to teach the fatalism of conduct, the destruction of human responsibility, and so overturns the moral judgments of the ages and leaves society without any real guidance in its tasks.

Practical knowledge of courts and prisons, of good men and bad, teaches that this method is also unscientific, because it neither includes nor explains the facts, and while in practice it gives no aid to the solution of social problems, on the other hand it declares them permanently unsolvable, for it negatives the doctrine of social control in denying the doctrine of self-control.

Nor can any doctrine supported by social science regard man as an isolated individual to be studied, guided, and held responsible in and for himself. This is the theory upon which the older penology is essentially based, and it was also unscientific in neglecting such factors as race, sex, climate, and social environment in the manifestations of crime. Its critics have done good work in showing its shortcomings, and its decline has weakened the faith in easy, emotional regeneration as the sufficient basis of permanent reform. The world, however, is not richer but poorer if it exchanges this old doctrine for either of the two principal candidates for recognition in its place. It is a theory better and more workable than the one that teaches that a man is purely the product

of biological forces, and his acts are only the spontaneous result of his organism. There is another theory gradually asserting itself, which declares that man is purely a social product and his acts are really only a concrete social expression. Both theories present the individual man as being without self-control, and neither does he deserve praise when he does good nor blame when he does ill, for in neither case is he to be regarded as a self-determining human personality.

The facts of heredity must be further considered in a later chapter, but some things must be said now in order to proceed with the present discussion. The law of life seems to be that the lower the form of life, the more complete the preparation for life before birth. The insect is born ready for whatever he has to do; the child is born in a very helpless condition indeed. Infancy is a condition that comes late in the biological scale, and the infancy of the human child is more helpless and more prolonged than that of any other animal; further, the infancy of the savage child is much less than that of the child of civilized parents. The physical inheritance grows less efficient as the form of life ascends, and the future activities of life are less predetermined. It is obvious that the more perfect the organism is at birth, the less is it possible for the animal to learn; and since the human animal has so much to learn and so much to do, it is born into the world with the god-like endowment of the greatest helplessness. The ascent of life has been marked by a steady diminution of predetermined and instinctive activities, and this fixed determination reaches its lowest point when man appears. The lowest animals are born with the nervous system practically in complete correspondence with all the activities of the body.

The human animal, born with the spinal and lower cerebral plexuses organized and in control of the unconscious vital functions essential to the continuance of life, has at the same time the advantage of a large and unorganized mass of gray matter in the brain. It is the size and undeveloped quality of this frontal brain that makes man unique. The largest development of the nervous system is there, but wholly incoherent, and only to be brought into relation with the rest of the body by tentative and imperfect muscular and sensory activity. And so Flechzig and

other authorities in physiological psychology explain both the wide range of actions under human control surpassing the nimble but too precocious relative in the lower ranks of animal life; and also the still more important power of reflection, with the host of emotions and ideas whose presence and habits organize the great brain with even more precision and to a greater extent than do the physical sensations.

Since the child by its weakness and its lack of brain development is subject to influence, the general doctrine arose that the social inheritance of every life will be in the inverse proportion to the completeness of its physical inheritance, and the more mature the animal is at birth, the less it has to learn from its older companions. The helplessness of infancy is the exact measure of social capacity, and the child born into the world in profound weakness and ignorance finds himself surrounded with an enormous social apparatus for his instruction and guidance. In physical life there is much more that is common to the men of any social group than there are differences which divide them as individuals. The chief physical fact for any individual is the degree of strength which he inherits. The child may be born with a weak and unfortunate body, while the parents themselves may have been born strong and vigorous. This will happen when the parents themselves have been put under bad social and physical influences after their birth, and particularly when the mother is under unfavorable conditions just prior to the birth of her child. Those who have visited unsanitary homes, and those who know the awful effects that often follow woman labor under bad conditions, are continually wondering that so much strength is born into the world generation after generation.

Let it be once clearly seen that the largest part of the inheritance of strength is dominated by social and industrial conditions in a single generation, then when the ancestry for many generations becomes a topic of inquiry, less and less efficient becomes the physical fact of parenthood.

The object of these considerations is to develop the importance of social inheritance and to furnish some measure of its relation to human conduct. Three factors are to be considered: physical inheritance, physical environment, and the social inheritance.

With the matter of the physical inheritance we have no more to do at present. With respect to the influences of climate, soil, food supply, and occupation, it may be stated in the first place that these are all influences which affect the social group as such rather than the individual, and, further, among human beings it is the savage man who has built no conventions against nature who receives upon his unsheltered person and fortunes the most powerful and pitiless influences. He is at the same time weakest and poorest in the elements of social organization and the most in need of some defenses against his fate. Civilized man, on the other hand, protests against his physical limitations, and largely and successfully combats their influences. Physical environment, therefore, is very influential among the lower races, but human progress is measured in terms of its control. The civilized man makes the wilderness a garden, the parched ground a pool, the tropics cold, and the arctics warm; he ranges the whole earth for his food supply and his materials for labor, and the farther he advances, the more his real inheritance is seen. That inheritance is chiefly social and psychical. The physical environment may be guarded against, but the physical earth, as such, is here and must be accepted. On the other hand, the social inheritance measurably yields to human control. The civilized man, therefore, receives his psychical inheritance chiefly from the social group, and he also reduces the influence of the physical environment to its lowest terms. He seeks his freedom and has gone a long way toward gaining it.

The influences that shape the human individual are not chiefly physical, as we have seen, and are largely to be expressed in terms of social organization. These influences are the social structure which has been handed down from generation to generation in the form of institutions and the growth of the mind from childhood to adult strength. Human laws are a common agreement with respect to human relationships, as religious habits express the social relations between man and his deity, and afterward man and his fellows. "Two cannot walk together," says an old writer "unless they be agreed." The agreement must exist in a common thought before it can take the form of a common desire, become a common exercise of the will and then a joint action. The analogy

of the walk together furnishes the doctrine which is implied in all social action. The number of things which the members of a social group can do together depends upon the range of their common ideas, and their capacity for social union. The history, therefore, of the social mind is the history of the progress of the race, and the participation in the social mind by the individual is his equipment for fellowship in the common life.

Society began in a state of loose association and has progressed from small and simple groups to the complex institutions of modern times. Horde, family, clan, tribe, and nation are terms in the series from the elemental to the developed social life. The method of human conquest has been that of the small conquest made by important individuals becoming finally, in one form or another, public property. The conquests have been mechanical, scientific, literary, artistic, as well as military and political. Society and the individual act and react upon each other. Society gives to the individual his share in the common psychical good, and the individuals who are called great men offer their additions, many of which are not accepted because they cannot be assimilated, but some of which by imitation and absorption become at last part of the common life. Society has developed because man was a social being from the first. It is the essence of his nature, and means of communication with his fellows is a sign of his power; for language, even the most crude and elementary, is impossible save as the expression of capacity in the individual and of his social recognition of his fellow-men as well as a vehicle for the expression of common thoughts and emotions. It is an error to speak of society as though it were an artificial and mechanical device that men made when they grew wise enough to plan it. Society in some form is a necessity to men as men, — is a natural product of association, and changes and advances with the broadening and unfolding of the social spirit.

Human associations vary all the way from a small horde with the most elementary common life to the many-sided and powerful organizations which we recognize in modern nations. But every human association must have some common mark or characteristic, and men themselves must have some common quality by which they express themselves as social beings and maintain relationship with their

fellow-men. Some mark of universality that will fit all forms of social organization and be characteristic of all kinds of human beings must be found. The essential elements of distinction would seem to be that all human relations are reciprocal, and their definition involves the thing that we call right and wrong. The ideal relation seeks justice in the state and righteousness among men, and it is only so far as the state is just and men are moral that the social group becomes stable and the social life a tranquil fact. It is worth while to explore this doctrine of social reciprocity, for if it be found to be correct, we are at once bound to reject all such theories as that ethics are the result of human experience, for it is only the form of ethics that will be changed by the wisdom of experience. Neither are we bound to accept the statement that men do the right and avoid the wrong in their relation to their fellow-men simply upon the basis of pleasure and pain. We have arrived at a deeper foundation. Right conduct is the essence of the social life, and it is only as men assume the sense of moral responsibility and act in accordance with it that they can maintain social relations. Once steadily looked at, the statement that human relations are reciprocal becomes axiomatic and needs no argument. It only needs to be understood. The most elementary relation, that of mother and child, is a reciprocal relation, for while it involves the duty of care and protection upon the part of the parent, it also involves loyalty and obedience upon the part of the child, and the duty of obedience and service upon the part of the child is an obligation equal in weight to that of care and sustentation upon the part of the parent. The essence of the human relation is universal, whether in the hut of the Hottentot or in the most cultivated European home. In like manner all economic relations may be expressed in similar terms. If you buy, you must pay; if a man work, he must be rewarded; and this is true, whether a man be a slave whose master provides for him, or a laborer to whom his employer pays wages. In every relation there seems to be the essence of a contract, and no obligation exists anywhere without giving rise to a corresponding obligation. What is true in economics is also true in politics. If as a citizen I must pay taxes, as a citizen I have a right to claim protection for my person and property. In the lowest tribe if the chief demand

service, he must use all his resources to preserve the tribe from outward foes and the members of it from unusual oppressions. There is a sense of obligation arising out of every form of social order since human relations are reciprocal, and it follows that those are in error who make right and wrong the outcome of social experience to be expressed in terms of utility. Society depends upon common ideas, emotions, and desires for its common activities; and the nature of its activities will be determined by the nature of these essentials. But the social bond is ethical to its last fiber. Man is fundamentally ethical because he is born a social being. Social conduct is the necessary expression of the social recognition. But conduct to be social must be under rule. Out of this sense of law grows the recognition of right and wrong, which is a part of the primary equipment of the race. The objects involved in the relation are few, and the bond is weak in a low and crude form of society, but it is always made of the same stuff, whether it be the simple structure used by a tribe of red Indians, or the more complex social order of the American republic.

The doctrine of social standards as a part of the equipment of the social mind has already been discussed. Among them are the standards of conduct which the individual is expected to reach in order to maintain his place in the social organization. Now these standards change from age to age, but so long as they are held by the majority which is dominant in the social mind and are maintained by the state, they must be obeyed by the individual. It is important to note that these conduct standards are always possible because of their ethical value, and this fact seems to have no exception whatever in human history. This is the guiding doctrine that leads us through a maze of social contradictions in custom, law, and punishment. There was a time when heresy was regarded and punished as a crime, and many people would hold that such a condition of affairs is essentially unethical. A close examination of the problem will reveal the exact opposite to be true, for the reason upon which this state of affairs rested was the belief that not only the safety of society but the safety of the individual as well depended upon his intellectual attitude toward speculative problems. The reason that heresy was punished was that it was held to be immoral, and though we may hold that a great

mistake was made here, we cannot hold that the thing itself was unethical. It is not mistakes in judgment but flaws in character manifested in intentional misdeeds that are violations of the moral law. In like manner changes in standards do not indicate any change at all in that capacity of man called conscience, from which arises the primary and universal bond. Out of the social conscience comes the social moral impulse, and it has often happened in history that this has been very intense at a time when the intellectual light has been very dim, and it has sometimes seemed weak in the ages of illumination.

It is a widely held doctrine that social advances depend upon the achievements of the few becoming through adaptation, adoption, and imitation the property of the many. It is a desperate fight that society makes against its prophets and leaders, and only the stoutest and the sanest advances are finally able to live. The man called conservative resists continually every change, and not only saves society from blunders, but he is the chief enemy of its natural development toward larger power and greater wisdom. The criminal, on the other hand, denies the organic character of society, rebels against its imposed limitations, and essentially is in conduct what the anarchist is in theory. As the conservative is too rigid, so the criminal is too mobile, and from this point of view each of them is an enemy of mankind, however respectable the one and however much ostracized the other. As the conservative resists change, so the criminal resents control.

Notice must be taken of the organs through which society seeks to enforce its standards and secure the acceptance of its judgments on the part of the individual, and this is the initial, not the final, use of institutions, for they first mold the coming generation after the pattern of the one that is passing away, as well as they more conspicuously serve as methods of social life and action. The effort of institutions is to secure conformity to the current social type upon the part of every child born into the group.

This function is exercised in the strongest way by the family which takes the problem at first hand; and, although the effort is largely unconscious, it is on that account none the less direct and vigorous. Every home may allow a margin of variation on account of sex, age, strength, and even because of differences of

temperament, but there are certain limits, always real though varying in various homes and most rigid among the most refined of civilized peoples, and beyond these limits the member of the family cannot go without becoming an outcast. The limits are different, but the fact remains the same, whether the home represents character and culture, or whether it is a low form of loose association. Cain is a permanent type. He is the black sheep of the household, the traitor against his country, or the common criminal of the ordinary prison. The influence of the home in this task depends upon the closeness of the contact, as well as upon the plastic material of the child. It is here that language is learned, opinions are formed, habits are shaped, and all the influences that work through example and imitation tend to create a common type. The extent of the influence of the home depends upon the stability of its character and the strength of its organization. It has been noted that the homeless child easily passes into the delinquent child, and among delinquent children a very large number have lost either one or both parents. It has been observed that American-born children of foreign parents commit rather more than their share of crime. This is due to the break-up of the compact and influential traditions which were the inheritance of their parents and formed the strong influences holding the home together, rendering its existence more secure and its life more coherent. The influence of the home upon the homogeneity of social structure varies in strength, but is universal in its operation.

The process of socialization is carried forward by all the smaller groups of individuals which are found within any society and these of course vary very much in the extent of their influence among different peoples; but the school and the church, the one chiefly appealing to the intelligence and the other to the conscience, have for their service a common stock of ideas and traditions, and in every way seek to enforce upon each individual so far as possible the contents of the social mind. Business life and industrial activity, particularly among modern peoples, induce various forms of coöperation, and by the regularity of their activities the common stock of their methods of procedure is often more powerful than the church, and in many instances replaces the influence of the school.

The business man of every social group has become a definite type. In like manner workmen's associations with common aims and aspirations are directed toward the same end.

Public opinion is the application of the received tradition to particular ideas or individuals, and with its enormous force of praise and blame seeks to cast everything into a common mold. The passions of the mob mind differ from the deliberate social judgments of a group, and yet even a mob will vary according to the group to which it belongs, and some peoples, like some individuals, are much more open than others to the influences arising from passion and sweeping away the boundaries of self-control.

The influence of literature as an expression of the common mind as well as of the individual authority must not be overlooked, but it is not only the books which the individual himself has read, but what may be called a composite effect of all current literature, making its way through the group by all the books read by all the people, and which is received by every individual at second hand. In modern times this is probably the most efficient agent among adults in making prevalent the stock of ideas and motives which are held in common. It is not far from the truth to say that no modern nation can be much better in the long run than the periodical literature which it publishes and supports.

Finally all social organs for the modern world are summed up in the state which is the most authoritative expression of the common life of the world. Its definitions of conduct become explicit. It acts upon those human relations which are held to be most important, and it defines them by means of those social judgments which are most universal. Laws may be enforced by courts and made effective by punishment, but their real power for the majority of men is found in the appeal to the individual to submit himself to the mind and will of his fellow-men expressed by the strongest social organ in the most deliberate, majestic manner, and so it comes to pass that the publication of the laws is fundamentally their largest sanction.

In early times society required all the common bonds that could be found, and social groups were not coherent without common language, traditions, race, land, law, and religion. The enormous

growth of the social capacity of the race is seen in the ability of the modern states to group under their control the widest differences in all these social elements. But divergent social elements are always a strain upon the strength of the social group. The empire of Austria with its four great sections has its problem. The empire of Great Britain because of its mingling of peoples has the greatest political problems of history, while the United States with its complex of races mingling everywhere in its common life, if it succeeds in continuing its present influence and making homogeneous all its people, will be the social triumph of all times.

Conduct that is to meet the approval of the social group must, it will be seen, conform to the common type, and is only possible to the individual who has submitted himself to the influence of the institutions which have been briefly discussed. The doctrine is reënforced in a striking manner by the average conduct and character of those men who have no permanent social environment, for it is a matter of common knowledge that soldiers, sailors, travelers, and peddlers are open to special temptations to which they more easily succumb than other men. The man who has a permanent home and business has given pledges of good conduct; just as Bacon declares, "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune." Colonists require more character than other men to maintain the average standard of conduct. In times past it has been easier for a weak man to behave well in Connecticut than in Idaho or Texas, but as the colony obtains traditions and laws of its own, it secures the stability that belongs to older communities, and it is no longer necessary for the good citizen of California to be ready to become red-handed upon an emergency.

The problem of the immigrant is much more profound than is ordinarily supposed. It is by no means to be summed up in a study of the previous economic or social record of the individual. It is a question of the assimilation of the foreign multitude by the new country which they enter. Germanic peoples become more readily at home in the United States because of the community of thought and law and tradition as well as that kinship of race of which tradition and law are chief expressions.

It has already been pointed out that the social bond is essentially

ethical because it is based upon reciprocal relations. These relations give rise to a sense of duty upon the part of the individual, and when they are defined by the state they give rise to a system of laws. No doubt there is an evolution of law, and that social groups vary very much in their standards of conduct, but, at the same time, under every social order, however primitive, the rights of person and property are always fundamental. Social institutions of every kind take their form from the attitude of the social mind toward the great pillars of universal order, the rights of persons and the rights of property. Definitions of these rights may vary greatly. In early times they are prescribed by custom and not by law, and they are enforced by the individual, the family, or the clan; but every social order, however crude, has built upon these great parallels of ethics, and society has always found adequate means for the exercise of its authority. Rights and duties are the themes of all the masters of the science of life, and the Greek poets no less than the Hebrew prophets, Confucius no less than Buddha, and the chiefs of Indian tribes no less than the Christian apostles have enforced the doctrine of rights and corresponding duties. Conduct has been guaranteed by penalties from such earthly powers as were in existence and has found further sanction in threats of vengeance from the heavenly powers upon every man who set at naught the obligations of life. There has always been an ideal element also in these social proscriptions, and from the beginning of human history until now the judgment of the ages has insisted that neither utility for the individual nor advantage for the time were valid excuses for violation of duty or welfare upon the social order.

Let us now see how the statement that the criminal is the anti-social man agrees with this brief discussion of the nature of society and its attitude toward the individual. Where a man is the product of social forces and has been shaped by a social environment, upon him the social group has successfully imposed her judgments and from him she has secured conformity to her standards of conduct. The criminal as the anti-social man has neither yielded to this shaping power of social forces nor is he prepared to obey the social mandates. From the standpoint of law the anti-social man is a non-conformist. It is interesting to note

the parallel between the man who is a non-conformist in conduct and the one who is a non-conformist in religion. The non-conformist in religion refuses to accept the faiths of the social group and is rebellious in intellect. The social non-conformist refuses to accept the prescriptions of conduct and is rebellious in character. There is a parallel also between the criminal and another interesting character, and that is the social reformer. Both war against society as it exists. The reformer may take himself so seriously as to become a martyr, just as the criminal may rebel so violently as to bring upon himself capital punishment. Objectively the two types seem very much alike, and yet there seems to be some reason why it is impossible for the human mind to class the reformer and the criminal together. It is because their actions spring from different motives. The reformer believes that society is wrong, and his revolt is not so much for himself as it is for the good of others: if he perish in his task, though the self-imposed task be a mistaken one, we yet revere him as one of whom the earth was not worthy. Quite opposite is the quality of the criminal, because his revolt is for himself and not for the good of others. He rebels because he is egotistic and because he is not content to limit his desires and their gratification by the rights of others. He believes that society is right in its organization and that its laws are based upon wisdom for all other people but himself, yet, moved by unregulated emotions and uncontrolled passions, he proposes to be an exception to the rule of life. His judgments of value do not coincide with the judgments of his fellow-men, and he is the victim of an intellectual mistake. It is not until the crime which he has committed has been discovered and punished that he is prepared to recognize that he has been mistaken. If he does not see it then, he is not a criminal, but an insane person.

Some men are unstable in character with the best influences, and in them conscience has a hard enough fight to hold its place with all the help that can be afforded. These men, however, do not need to be told that the criminal is the helpless victim of his own organization and must not be punished, but simply must be treated for his malady, nor must sentimentalism reënforce iniquity by denying the rightfulness of indignation, however bestial the crime which has been committed. Much modern discussion tends

to loosen social bonds and to undermine the stability of human institutions by the denial of personal responsibility. It is precisely by the assertion of this responsibility and by the natural flaming forth of wrath against wrongdoing, upon the part of the community, that the morally weak are held in their places and are restrained from overt acts. Justice, as of old, must have her scales to determine the value of human conduct, and also her sword to protect human society.

If we shall find the doctrine here enunciated has relation to proper methods of penology and furnishes instruction to those who are charged with the responsibility of enforcing law and of securing the rights and duties of human association, we shall have gone far to show the soundness of its application in the domain of practical affairs. For the purposes of discussion at least, we are ready to admit that there are certain attacks upon the social order so abhorrent that justice and safety seem alike to require the removal by death of the person who has forfeited his social rights and has placed himself outside the ranks of those who may live together. It may also be recognized that there is another class, though not large, and even if its members have not committed a major crime, they may yet exhibit such degeneration in mind and body as to be beyond hope of recovery, and this class must be permanently isolated from society. But neither those who are put to death nor those who ought to be imprisoned for life constitute any large proportion of the prison population, and practically are no part of the penological problem.

The large majority of criminals belong to a class for whom prison life when properly conducted creates an artificial environment better suited to them than the normal environment of the free life. They are anti-social, and they have failed to meet the requirements of society by refusing to learn the lessons of life in the usual way. Their judgment is perverse and refuses to accord with the social judgment of rights and duties to such an extent that they cannot associate with their fellow-men. They have declined to accept the standards of conduct which society has agreed upon as the average of good behavior which all must reach. They have failed at some point or at many points to exercise self-control, and desire has been passional and spasmodic instead of rational and according to law.

The prison with its special physical surroundings and its particular management is a new opportunity for those who have failed in the ordinary environment of life to become socially educated. It says to the prisoner: "You have taken a perverse view of your rights, because you have not been sufficiently impressed with your duties, and now you are to be surrounded by special conditions which society has prepared for your benefit. You would not yield to social wisdom outside these walls; here you must yield."

The criminal has violated law and now law, in new and special forms, covers the whole range of his activities. The twenty-four hours are strictly divided. He must sleep, eat, work, read, and live by rule, and day by day these activities are prescribed that he may adjust himself to the control of law.

The first thing that the warden has to say to the new prisoner is that in this place there are rules for his guidance, and that these rules must be obeyed in every respect. The prisoner has hope extended to him from the very first in the assurance that by good conduct he may increase his privileges and by conforming to the new order of life he may shorten the period of his confinement. Isolation from the outside world in the prison gives the man opportunity to think, to rearrange his theory of life, and urges him to adopt the view of conduct held by other human beings and formulated in human institutions. The shock of the new life is intended to awaken in him a sense of what deeds are of real value in the world and how to adjust himself by accepting the prison régime, forming a new set of habits and so gaining power to live right when once restored to society. First of all, however, he must acquire that social education which hitherto he has despised and neglected, and since he has shown by his acts his lack of self-control, he is furnished an education and training and is compelled to obedience.

The prison is as much a confession of failure upon the part of society as it is upon the part of the individual. Society admits that her homes, her schools, her books, her business, have not been adequate in fashioning the material of this particular life. She has, therefore, furnished a new and special environment at great expense in the hope that having failed in the free life she may in the prison be successful in making the man over; that is, reforming

him until he becomes a social being able to take his proper place in the world because he has at last learned the ethical nature of all human relations. Society by its failures and wrong adjustments may do much to furnish the moral climate in which germs of crime in perverse men grow to malignant proportions. Whenever society is not sound ethically and has herself violated social law, the human relationships which it should conserve are not properly safeguarded. When the social education which it ought to give is not bestowed with equal wisdom and vigor, society shares in the guilt of its depraved children. There can be no question whatever that many of the criminals who are sent to prison to be reformed have committed crimes which society ought to have prevented, and the prevention of crime is one of the most important sociological interests of the future.

Fundamental, however, to the prevention of crime is the recognition of the fact that the ethical nature of society functions first through the moral nature of the individual, and the most elementary duty of society is to fasten a sense of responsibility upon all men for their conduct. Persistently must it be taught that bad men ought to be better men simply because they can be better men, and every rule and every prescription of the prison should be vital with this message. By the influence of this suggestion the fiber of every man who has gone astray ought to be strengthened, and in this faith he should be led to live. There is no place in active prison management for men who do not hold to the doctrine of human responsibility, for if men are only victims, they are not criminals, and if they are victims, the people who have corrupted them should be locked up and the sufferers should be released.

The suggestion of moral strength and the possibility of right life is the right of every prisoner, and every warden should be as contagious with moral enthusiasm as he is steady and sane as a prison disciplinarian. Much of the modern literature which attempts to treat the problems of crime in a serious way is more dangerous to the social welfare than all the feverish books of crime which appeal to the imagination that were ever written. Therapeutic suggestion is one of the simple devices used in modern medicine, and if a patient suffering from hysteria thinks he is a cripple, the wise

physician treats the nervous disease through his mind. He leads the victim to understand at last that there is strength in his legs; day by day he deepens the faith until the patient becomes normal and walks. Suppose instead of this treatment the physician should darken the nervous defect into despair by telling the patient that he was born with poor legs, or, if not, the legs had been atrophied, and try never so hard, the poor creature need never expect to walk again.

The friends of such a patient could recover for malpractice in any court of justice. Evil suggestion at such a point is easily a crime against the body, but that is a very mild offense compared with that committed by the man who would assure the criminal that he could not help his crime. Shall he be allowed to suggest to the criminal that he has been born with a bad nature over which he can never hope to have control, or shall he say to any man that he has perverted his nature beyond hope, and that he can never be respectable again? For society this is too serious a matter and such a teacher of criminology has gone beyond the pale of the weak thinker and the feeble theorist. He has himself become a moral monster.

The power of suggestion as a controlling influence in human affairs is recognizable not alone in its effect upon individuals, but also in its effect upon the mass of mankind, and perhaps it is nowhere better seen than in one of the influences of early Christianity. It succeeded to the moral supremacy over the Roman empire, where Stoic saints and philosophers had taught the legitimacy of self-destruction. The new doctrine, however, held that suicide was a deplorable crime because the body is a temple, and such dignity was lent to human life, such glory of a happy immortality was portrayed, such contempt and shame were heaped upon the offender against the sacredness of the human probation that Lecky tells us suicide became almost unknown in Christian countries. So sacred was life once; but under the corrupting influences of a materialistic philosophy with its corresponding degradation of the human conscience and dethronement of character, has arisen a science of conduct as pernicious as it is false.

Once again shame must be put upon the brow of crime and a

coronet upon the head of virtue, and only so may society be secured and human life exalted. It must be remembered that society consists in the majority of influence and not in the majority of numbers. One false philosophy is more destructive to a community than a thousand mistakes in political organization.

TREATMENT OF CRIME

THERE are three general doctrines with respect to the treatment of crime. The first is the old-fashioned doctrine of retribution and it is tersely expressed in the maxim "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Originally it sought to produce suffering on the part of the criminal equal to or greater than that which his victim had experienced. With the development of law, fines and imprisonment took the place of the earlier penalities, but the doctrine remained the same: crime has been committed; the law has been broken; the law must have its sanctions enforced and society must exact the debt from the culprit. The doctrine is based in the sense of justice and the force of it has never been entirely outgrown even by philosophers and reformers. There are some crimes still so abhorent that vengeance seems to be the only word for which they call.

The second theory of the treatment of the criminal is that punishment is deterrent. The criminal must suffer in such a way that he will not commit the crime the second time, but that is not enough. His example must be so abhorrent, and the story of his pains so effective, that others who are weak in morals and strong in their passions may be prevented from committing like offenses. This doctrine recognizes the protection of society as the chief function of courts and prisons. Classes of penologists, however, divide upon what is essential to the protection of society and what are the wise methods of promoting social security.

There is a third theory which insists that the true purpose of punishment is the reformation of the criminal. It is based upon the supposition that crime is a disease, both social and individual. Punishment has to do with the individual form of the disease. It removes the person from his former association and isolates him from the dangers of contagion. It places him under treatment and insists that he must continue there until the symp-

toms of his disease have vanished. The treatment is physical by sanitation, personal cleanliness, and sufficient exercise. It is mental, not alone through the processes of ordinary education, but by the endeavor to give sound and rational views of the conduct of life, and it is moral in order to regulate the desires so that rational conduct may be voluntarily chosen and the will may be strengthened for self-control. It is economic, for the physical exercise takes the form of work, and should take the form of such labor as may be adapted to the individual and may be sufficiently remunerative outside the prison walls.

Police administration which is efficient is more important in the prevention of crime than in the arrest of the criminal. The police power of the state has received a wide extension in recent years, and the attention of the public has been more and more fixed upon the conditions of police administration in order to secure equality, impartiality, and thoroughness.

The steps by which the crime is brought home to the criminal going through the courts cannot be traced, but emphasis cannot be too strongly placed upon certain requirements in the administration of law. That administration should be just and without favor to the rich or oppression to the poor, or variation on account of class distinction. It should be speedy. The man arrested for an offense should have a trial at the earliest date, and if the courts are to hesitate anywhere, it should be with respect to cases that involve property and not conduct. The administration of law should be cheap, so that the accused should be able to secure a fair trial within his means, even though he be a poor man. The administration of law should be certain. Once a crime is brought home to an individual and he is found guilty beyond a doubt, there should be no evasion nor escape. It seems quite well settled that the certainty of penalties which are moderate are much more deterrent than greater penalties from which a large percentage of criminals are able to escape.

Modern criminology is based upon the doctrine that crime is pathological and the criminal is abnormal. It is sometimes objected that the prison is an unnatural institution and cannot do its work. It is precisely because it is an unnatural institution that it is fitted for the abnormal man. It is an arti-

ficial environment produced for a purpose where the natural environment of ordinary society has failed.

Objections to the new penology are really based upon the view that the retributive theory of punishment is the fundamental and final basis of the action of the state. Doubtless many objections can be urged against all that has been accomplished in the way of modern prison reform, but the criticisms are minute and the objections very slight when they are compared with the historical development of the treatment of crime. The primitive state regarded crime, in so far as it must receive public treatment, as an offense against the state itself. That is to say, treason, either actual or constructive. Crimes against the individual were left to personal or family vengeance. This vengeance was first modified by the doctrine of sanctuary, — holy places which might shelter the accused until some inquiry could be made. Then the strict doctrine of retribution was modified by compounding injuries through money payment.

Capital punishment in the beginning was the favorite method, as prisons, of course, were unknown. Ingenuity exhausted itself in inventing different methods of killing an offender. Stoning, burning, strangling, beheading, poisoning, hanging, were its simple forms. The more public the judicial murder, the more effective it was supposed to be, but when the state took punishment into its own hands and sought to protect the individual, the original law of vengeance was vastly modified. No longer an eye for an eye, but an arm for a finger, or a head for stealing fruit.

Corporal punishment no less than death had its varieties. Whipping, torture, mutilations, and branding with hot irons were so usual that compulsory labor in mines and galleys became a sentimental modification. The ancient prisons under palaces, fortresses, and castles were beyond words in their darkness, filth, and unwholesomeness. Because that great reformer John Howard (1726–1790) was born an Englishman, the world has a more definite picture of the overcrowding, starvation, prison fever, and general horror of English prisons than of those in any other country, but John Howard visited various countries of Europe upon his great mission, and from his services modern prison reform has

really dated. It was not until after his time that penal law reform was in any measure accomplished. Seventy-five years ago in England there were two hundred and twenty-two offenses for which capital punishment might be inflicted.

Prison contagion was not simply physical; it was even more awful in the transmission of evil knowledge, evil desires and evil histories. In 1821 eastern Pennsylvania provided a solitary system, by which the convicts should be separated one from the other, and the year before the Auburn prison in New York had adopted the silent system by which prisoners were forbidden to communicate with each other. These two principles have modified prison management in all civilized countries.

Penal colonies were established by some countries, more of them by Great Britain than any other, to which were transported the surplus criminal population, and the practice was to sell these men as servants for a definite term in their new home, neither the master nor the service having any adequate oversight.

We have come very far since these old days. The history of the future will probably recognize Mr. Z. R. Brockway as one of the great prison reformers, for if he was not the first to urge that reformation should be the object of the state in dealing with crime, he, more than any other man, developed a system by which the new doctrine could be exhibited, and by practical experience in the Elmira Reformatory carried out the principles in actual administration and proved that they were not dangerous, but more effective, in securing good results than anything that the world had hitherto tried. If the statement that more than 80 per cent of those admitted to Elmira Reformatory have gone out to live honest lives may be a trifle large, since some of those who disappear from the records of that institution doubtless reappear in other states under assumed names to commit second and third offenses, yet no other method and no other institution for men has secured more favorable results.

Some classification of offenders is necessary to arrive at any scientific method of their treatment. They may be classified by age, as children, youth, and adults. The indicated treatment of youth and adults is not at all the same, but the child belongs to an entirely different category from either and will be treated

in a later chapter. There is a classification by record, whether it is a first offender or whether the accused has already been convicted one or more times. There is a still deeper cleavage when we consider the person rather than the act. A definite number of those abnormal in conduct are also abnormal persons, such as morphine eaters and neurasthenics. The great cities have to do with a large class of confirmed offenders guilty of vagabondage, drunkenness, or petty larceny. The proper method of dealing with this class of persons has not yet been largely inaugurated, but the vast social wreckage indicates an unsound system of treatment, and is based upon the unsound theory of moderate imprisonment for moderate offenses without regard to the character of the offender. The ordinary house of detention having short sentences is one of the greatest evils of modern times.

The proper prison problem, however, consists in a sound method for the treatment of those men and women who have violated the rights of person or property in such a manner as to require treatment in public prisons. Let us first deal with this question.

When a man enters a prison, the first thing that is required of the prison management is to secure means for identification of the criminal should he appear a second time in court. The Bertillon system [1] for identification of criminals originated in France, where they now have photographic reproductions and accurate measurements of the confirmed criminal population. The system is based upon the fact that no two men are exactly of the same measurements, and that the bony structure in the human system remains practically permanent in adults. The principal measurements are the length and breadth of the head, the height of the man, the length of the trunk, the length of the left foot, length of the left hand, and the size of the left ear. The items are placed on a card catalogue where the color of the eye is also noted. Upon the same card is the front and side photograph of the case. By this card catalogue any criminal can be traced in a few minutes, no matter what name or residence he may have given. The English method of identification has been by thumb prints, for just as there are differences in the measurements of all men, so minute lines upon the ball of the thumb, when seen under a microscope,

[1] Bertillon, The Bertillon System of Identification, p. 100–211.

are never identical. It is said that thumb prints have been used as signatures in China and in India, where it is "John Smith; his thumb print" instead of "his mark."

The examinations and records with respect to criminals are not adequate. It is not enough to know for what crime the man has been sent to prison, nor for how long a term; neither is it enough to have some system for the identification of the man in case of future crime. Modern penology requires as full a history of a man as can be secured, including a complete history of his physical health, as well as an account of his present physical condition,—an account of his mental qualities, so far as they can be secured by examination of history, to which additions may be made as the character of the man manifests itself in prison; the domestic history of the man as far as it can be traced from childhood, and whether at the time of commitment he is married or single, and, so far as possible, his previous sex history. In addition to these investigations and of the very highest value is the economic history of the man and of his capacity for self-support.

When a man is committed to prison the first thing that a wise management does is to explain to him all the rules of the prison, the nature of his residence, the length of its continuance, and that the administration will be passionless but absolutely inflexible.

The length of the sentence is the key to the entire question of prison management and calls for special discussion.

The traditional term in prison has been related to the gravity of the offense and ranges from the life prisoner in the penitentiary to the few days' sentence in the workhouse. Mr. Brockway,[1] in 1870, suggested for first offenders the indeterminate sentence, as it was called. It was not strictly a sentence without limit as it was based upon possible maximum and minimum periods, but the actual length of this sentence was to be based upon the conduct of the prisoner, the theory being that he should be sent to prison to be regenerated in character rather than to be punished for his offense. The indeterminate sentence was only a part of an entirely new program of management. The name of the place was to be changed from that of prison to reformatory and the place

[1] Brockway, National Conference of Charities and Correction, p. 196. 1882.

of the reformatory in the penal system was to be midway between the reform school for delinquent children and the prison for confirmed criminals. The traditional enemies of the new naturally opposed the suggestion of an indeterminate sentence, and this time it was based upon that valiant rallying cry, "the rights of man." Even the person who had committed a crime ought not to be deprived of his liberty for a longer time than was indicated for the expiation of his offense. The debate continues even to this day, although it seems curious that it should be necessary to urge reasons for a young man being committed without date. If penal institutions are built solely for the purpose of assisting society to take its revenge, when society has had its way with the criminal, the debt is cancelled, and he is again free to do as he pleases. He will commit another crime, but he will endeavor to be more shrewd about it, and often he will be neither detected, captured, nor punished. The so-called recidivists are not those who have been born to crime, but they are those who have been treated from the beginning by the retributive method of dealing with crime. If crime be regarded as a disease that should be cured, the most powerful incentive that can be offered for good conduct is to indicate that a man can only leave prison when he deserves it. From this point of view an indefinite sentence is indicated, for one might as well send a typhoid patient to the hospital for three weeks as to send an offender to prison for two years.

Recurrent crime after apparent reform should be dealt with in a manner increasingly severe, and after repeated offenses the incarceration should become permanent.

The indeterminate sentence proposed as the basis of a reformatory plan has been attacked because the length of the sentence is usually put in the control of the management of the prison, if not by law at any rate in practice. There are three distinct views of crime: the one which society furnishes in its permanent judgment called a law. This view of crime looks solely at the deed as it has been committed. The second view of crime is that held by the courts in which the present tendency is to consider the man with his history, his environment, and the special circumstances accompanying the act rather than the deed itself, and for such a view the law itself makes some provision. The third view

is that entertained by the prison management after the man has been put in custody. Here the question is not what the man has done, but what he will do; not how he has broken the laws of society, but whether he will keep the rules of the prison. The prisoner who accommodates himself to prison routine, who yields implicit obedience to its authority, is precisely the man who is sure to win favor with the warden in charge. Each of the views of crime has in it a certain value, and it certainly is not safe to rest the whole question upon the judgment of the prison management, for some of the most dangerous men outside of prison are very model men inside its walls, and experienced prisoners often behave better than those who are in for the first time. It would seem, therefore, as if the termination of a sentence should be left to a board that would be able by its membership and experience to combine all the views of crime adopted by society, by the courts, and by the prison authorities.

The indeterminate sentence has taken quite a different form in England, where, after a man has been convicted of crime three times, there may be a supplementary penalty added, not provided for the particular offense by statute, of not less than five nor more than ten years. Some penologists who are opposed to the indeterminate sentence, as a rule, are inclined to favor a system in which there shall be in the first place a definite sentence, and afterward a supplementary penalty may be imposed if the condition of the prisoner is not satisfactory.

Australia has adopted an indeterminate system without any limit for those who have been convicted of three or more grave crimes, and provides for a mixed commission of officials and citizens, and one member of the board must be the consulting physician of the prison.

The social attitude of increasing severity toward confirmed criminals is based upon the result of experience. Every succeeding conviction makes it more inevitable that another conviction will follow. It is here that the question of personal responsibility is at once seen to be only an academic question with respect to the treatment of crime. The state must care for recidivists, and even though they should be regarded as insane criminals, that only means that they will be put into a particular kind of

a prison which must be regarded, from its very nature, as more hopeless than any other.

Having considered how long a man should be kept in prison, the next question is how he should be set at liberty, and the answer is that it should be done gradually, as he deserves it. The limitations of the prison life should be reduced during the latter part of his residence, one by one, so that his emergence into the free life will not be too sudden. Many countries give to prisoners a conditional release based upon the value of slow readjustment outside the prison under the watch care of the state. Such men are called in England "ticket-of-leave" men, and in America they are said to be out on parole. This system applies in England to nearly all prisoners, in France to about one fourth of the prisoners, and in some American states to nearly all of them.

Parole should only be granted to a prisoner after he has served two thirds of his maximum sentence, and some urge that it should be three fourths of the time. When released from prison the man is regarded as still a prisoner, and the period of probation should be adequate, and, usually, longer than the remainder of his sentence. In the United States the length of the parole varies from six months to the maximum of the sentence. In case the prisoner does not maintain his prison record which gave promise of good conduct, he must be returned to prison and complete the sentence. This involves surveillance upon the part of the authorities. If a man may be returned to prison automatically upon violating the agreement made with him upon leaving the prison, he has furnished one of the most powerful motives possible for good conduct.

The system of parole involves definite care for the prisoner after he is released. There must be a state agency to look after him, and the man should be provided with work before he leaves the prison. In a number of American states there have been prisoners' aid societies organized among the citizens to offer friendly counsel and assistance in case of need, based upon the belief that the ruin of crime is not beyond remedy. The parole has sometimes in practice been revoked too easily. The rules should not be too definite nor should the man be returned to prison upon slight provocation. Under the parole system reports are expected

to be sent in at different times. Usually they are required once a month. This is well enough at first, but the time ought to be gradually lengthened after the first three months. Experience shows that discharged prisoners who do not commit new offenses during the first year, or at most during the second year, are usually safe persons to be restored to liberty without condition.

Probation before imprisonment in the case of adult offenders has been tried in several countries and in a number of American states. This is a little different from the suspension of sentence which has taken place for a good while in municipal courts with respect to minor offenders and vagrants. In their case sentence is often suspended to give them an opportunity to leave the town and carry their burden to some other community. The parole system under discussion, however, is a new principle of penology applied especially to criminals "of occasion." Whether a prison will do the man good or not depends as much upon the man as it does upon the prison. It is unquestionably an abnormal place and it is only suited to abnormal men. Where an offense has been committed by a man whose record heretofore has been correct and whose conduct, habits, and reputation have had the approval of his neighbors, instead of imprisonment for the offense, a man may wisely be put upon probation for such a term as is indicated by the nature of the deed. This gives an opportunity to examine the circumstances surrounding a particular offense and to consider whether the conduct of the accused in this case was wholly exceptional. The shock of publicity and appearance in court in many cases is all that is required. If the man is himself normal, the prison is not indicated and may do him positive harm. Such a man can more easily be restored to society through surveillance in freedom than by discipline in prison. This form of probation could not, of course, be adopted for great or revolting crimes, no matter what the previous record of the accused. So far as tried and so far as the results are available for comparison, parole without imprisonment has been successful. The reports indicate that a larger percentage of those thus liberated have committed no further offense than is shown by the ordinary prison population.

In most prisons the inmates are graded at the beginning of their

confinement. There are usually first, second, and third grades. Only a general outline of the system can be given. The grades differ with respect to the privileges of the prisoners, and these differ very widely under various administrations. In American prisons newspapers and visits, books and tobacco, are allowed. In some prisons the convict dress only belongs to the lowest grade, and in some prisons the variety of the food is affected by the grade. In nearly all European prisons the prisoner enters, first of all, the lowest grade, where the conditions are severest. An English prison officer informed me that it was the first duty of the prison to "break the spirit of the man." In American prisons where this classification obtains it is usual for the new convict to be placed in the second grade upon his entrance. He may then rise or fall in grade according to his conduct. The principle upon which this method is adopted is evidently to teach the prisoner that though he is now in confinement, the worst possible has not befallen him and at the very threshold of his career good conduct is of the highest value, even during his incarceration. The rules of the prison take the place of the laws of the state and are the only code known in the new environment. The basis of any possible reformation must be some appeal to the man by which good conduct shall spring from inner motive rather than outward compulsion. The usual motives in the free life are no longer available. The man has dealt his family and friends as severe a blow as is possible. He himself has no longer a reputation to care for or a past to protect. A deep gulf lies between him and his old life. The ordinary sympathies and social bonds that hold a man in place are entirely broken and can no longer help him. The motive of fear has been exhausted, for fear operates upon the man before he has been arrested and convicted; the law and the courts threaten him, but he has overcome fear and has performed his criminal act. There is only one great motive left, and that is hope, and upon this the wise prison official must base his procedure. He holds out to him the opportunity to rise in comfort within the prison walls by obedience to the laws of the institution. By good conduct the wretched man may hope to make a prison reputation, and upon that artificial reputation built up in this artificial place is the hope of shortening the term of his imprisonment.

Submission to authority is the price of release, and the promise of early freedom is the inspiration to hope. Beginning here, the exercise of the will follows and the readjustment of character commences.

The man who is lawless in his deed is usually irregular in his conduct. The first obligation of the prison is to measure out for its inmates twenty-four hours in every day and to divide them up into regular periods in which labor, sleep, food, and rest shall occur with perfect regularity. The discipline of order is one of the most important aids in reformation. Men who have scarcely ever been on time in all their lives find that punctuality is the first requirement of their new surroundings.

The modern prison is clean, and its sanitation meets modern requirements in every respect. The prisoner must keep his person, his clothing, and his cell with scrupulous care. To some prisoners this is one of the surprises of life.

The development of prison labor is one of the problems in the management of the modern prison. The old basis of work was wholly penal. It was a definite part of the retribution exacted by society. Even in ancient times the work was often made as profitable as possible, but in modern times penal work has not been planned with that end in view. Walking the treadmill for twelve hours a day or grinding corn with a hand mill, which have been seen in our own times, are certainly methods of social vengeance. The idea of penal work is preserved in the language of court sentences where a man is sentenced for a certain length of time "at hard labor." But prison labor requires, and in recent years has been receiving, quite other consideration. There are three views of labor requiring special treatment.

First of all, there is the economic interest in prison labor. The maintenance of the prison is undertaken by the state at large expense and includes both prison organization and the care of the prison inmates. If the prisoners can be employed at remunerative labor, the burden of maintaining the prison can be reduced to the lowest terms. The most successful prisons have been scarcely able to pay the cost of maintenance, and none of them has been able to pay in addition to maintenance the full cost of administration and interest upon the investment in the prison plant. But

prison labor that is economically successful has so far reduced the burden upon the state that it has become an object worth studying. There are three principal methods by which prison labor is carried on: contract labor, either within or without the prison walls. Where the contract labor is performed within the prison walls, the contractor owns the machinery and the services of the men are sold. Contract labor is often performed outside the prison walls, and this form of work is probably the most profitable; for men who are building railroads, cultivating fields, working in brick yards, or other similar occupation, can certainly be made to earn more than the very plain living that is usually accorded them.

The second form of labor is the piece plan, where the labor which enters into each article of manufacture is paid for by the contractor, but the work of the men is under the entire control of the prison management itself. The third method is the state account system, where the state buys the raw material, owns the machinery, conducts the work, and sells the output. In the making of binding twine the Minnesota State Prison has used this method with great economic success. Contract labor outside the prison is quite common in the southern states of North America, as well as in Russia, and amounts to a limited form of slavery, having all the vices and none of the virtues of that system.

The economic relation of prison labor to free labor has been the basis of much heated debate. Organized labor, as a rule, has vigorously protested against any production taking place in prisons where the output enters the same market as the goods made by themselves. In some communities this has gone so far as to deny the right of the prison authorities to employ prison labor in the production of anything to be exposed for sale. Doubtless there are limitations that ought to be placed upon prison labor in the interests of free labor, but it is not in the interest of free labor to suppress prison labor. The prisoners must be fed, clothed, and cared for; somebody must pay the bill; if it is not paid for by the labor of the convicts themselves, then it must be paid for by free labor. It is in the larger interest of free labor that the prisoners, so far as possible, should support themselves, and, further, lend aid to the support of those who are their natural dependents living outside the prison walls.

Some writers have urged that the labor of prisoners should be used in support of their families where the men are married. The supposition that the prisoner would be able to support his family were his earnings so applied is an economic error, as the man in prison does not earn, as a rule, more than half what is earned by the man outside, while the expense of maintaining him on account of the confinement and the expense of supervision costs fully twice as much as it did in a state of freedom. One incentive for work within the prison is the hope of special privileges as the result of successful labor. In some prisons what is called a canteen is maintained, where food in addition to the prison fare may be purchased by the prisoners with part of the wages from their work. In some prisons it has been arranged that 10 per cent of the earnings of the prisoner should be placed at his disposal. It might be wise economically to place a certain amount of the earnings of the prisoner at the disposal of an officer of the court for the benefit of the prisoner's family if he has one dependent upon him. The state cannot undertake to care for the prisoner's family and to supply his place during his enforced absence. To many men one of the effective sources of remorse is the love they still bear for their families while they are in prison, and the shame they have that their dependents are deprived of the comforts which their labor used to produce. On the other hand, there is nothing that will so sustain a prisoner during the period of his confinement as the belief that his home is unbroken, and that when his term of confinement is ended, he will be received back again to his old place in the domestic life. Conviction of crime is, in some countries, made the ground for divorce, and it is often pleaded by the outraged wife; but the woman who can bear with him the disgrace of his misdeeds and undertake to help him to make a place for himself once more in the free world, is often more efficient in the task of reformation than all the prison regulations.

Keeping in view the end of reformation in the treatment of prisoners, more important than the economic results are the advantages for discipline found in prison labor. The statement does not mean that the work helps in the management of the prison, though this is true. One great temptation in the management of every institution is to have some standard to be maintained,

and having reached it, to feel that nothing else matters. In some schools for children the maintenance of good order is recognized as an end in itself. It is at once evident that the standards of any institution are for the benefit of the inmates, and the inmates do not exist for the sake of the standards. The discipline referred to at this time relates to the effect of work upon the character of the prisoner. His life has usually been shiftless and irregular. A steady employment at a given task in the free world outside has been well-nigh impossible. The prison furnishes an automatic arrangement by which responsibility for toil is taken away from him, and he is not at liberty to decide whether he will work or not. At the same time it is impossible for any man to work at any task without the use of his own will, even though the will may be moved by stimulus outside himself. The invigoration of the will is precisely what the prisoner needs most of all. Day after day he toils, and if he does it under the right conditions, his body responds in increasing capacity to assimilate the food, increasing strength of muscle, increasing skill in the task, but, especially, it reacts upon the psychic power of the man in the invigoration of his will. The regular employment of hand and eye and brain tends to a reconstruction of the man's makeup, and if it continue long enough to form a habit, it is of the first importance to the discharged man when he goes out to the free life.

The last interest in prison work is educational. Where the term of the prisoner is short, the occupation must be one that can use the skill the man already has or one where the aptitude is easily acquired. He may soon learn to make brooms, do straw weaving, or even work with certain kinds of machinery, or he may possibly have a chance to follow his own trade if he have one. The trouble with the large majority of young prisoners is that they have no regular occupations requiring skill which has occupied them in the free life and which has furnished them an adequate reward for their toil. The ignorance of prisoners has been often remarked as compared with the standards of the general public, but the economic ignorance of prisoners is even greater than their ignorance in the ordinary branches of study. All institutions having young prisoners ought to have as one of the main objects of prison labor the education of the men for pro-

ductive toil in the normal business world. The forty or more trade schools in the Elmira Reformatory give opportunity for the differentiation of the prisoners according to their previous experience or their evident aptitudes. The work is of no direct profit to the state, for there is no production; but it is of great indirect service to the state, because it puts the men into a condition for production when they leave the place.

The industries in the French prisons are quite varied, but the tasks are often not at all suited to full-grown men, being light enough for children or girls, and very often they have no sort of relation to earning a livelihood after discharge. Where industries are carried on in prison and machinery is used, and particularly machinery that is not general in the communities from which the prisoners come, only the mature men among the inmates should be employed. The Stillwater prison succeeds economically, but its prison labor falls far short of the requirements for the young men who are serving sentences. The chief concern in prison labor should be to organize it in such a way as to help the prisoners rather than to help the state. When a man has a task which day by day he learns to like, and when the time for labor to begin is for him a moment to look forward to, his reformation is well begun. The aim of this work should be to give the prisoner such work as to increase his earning capacity when he is outside by furnishing him available skill, but also to increase the influence of his residence inside by giving him as far as possible joy in his task. The idle hands must be made busy; the feeble will must be enthroned, and the earning capacity must be increased. If the discharged man can find himself fitted for a definite place in the world's work, the tasks of the prison have had an educational value of the largest social significance.

Men in middle life who enter prison without skill rarely acquire it, but most of the men who enter prison in middle life have been there before, and they should have been taught earlier. Under present conditions there are certain principles that must be applied. Prison labor must not be injurious to health; it must be of sufficient variety to suit the different aptitudes of the inmates, and there must be work enough for all who are confined.

A school for instruction in the ordinary elements of education

is maintained in many prisons. Such schools not only give useful instruction, but they also vary the monotony of prison residence, and increase its value. Manifestly such instruction is indicated chiefly for those who are young, but there are many instances of mature prisoners becoming greatly interested in their studies.

Moral and religious instruction has been urged as a part of the prison régime and has usually been regarded as foolish sentimentality upon the part of the prison officers except the chaplain, but since the power of mental suggestion has received such significant scientific approval, both among psychologists and among the medical faculty, it would seem as if such instruction, properly organized, might prove of the utmost value in furnishing the prisoner new and proper points of view, reënforcing latent motives and giving significance and power to neglected ideas.

A word must be said upon the vexed question of prison punishments. These are the means taken by prison officials to maintain the discipline of the institution. The story of prison punishments from the beginning makes pages among the darkest in human history. Many of the old barbarities which brutalized keeper and inmate alike have passed away, but there are still multitudes of prison officials who are firmly convinced that "physical persuasion" is the only means of securing obedience among large numbers of their wards. In America, perhaps more than in any other country, all forms of corporal punishment are opposed by a nearly unanimous public opinion. The moral influence of the lash is discredited. Solitary confinement in a dark cell is often practiced. Rations are reduced to bread and water, and a man is compelled to sleep upon a bare board. The most efficient form of punishment, however, for most men is in the degradation of rank in the prison and cutting off one by one all the privileges which they might otherwise enjoy. Prison officers who accept the hopeful view of their tasks and who confidently expect reformation, have discovered that an appeal to the best in a man often succeeds where rigorous measures have failed. At every cost prison discipline must be maintained, but the means of maintaining it ought to be such that the punishment, as nearly as possible, will grow out of the offense; for example, longer hours of labor

for neglected tasks, more effective solitude in the case of improper communications, and the like.

Nearly every prison has a few men who are called "prison cranks." They are not classified as insane, but they are not normal either in intelligence or mental action. They will not obey the rules and are often undergoing some form of special punishment. These men are often no worse outside the prison, indeed many times not quite so bad, as some of the pliant men who make spotless records within the walls, but these men are anarchists in temperament where they are not uncertain in volition and indefinite in thought. The prison crank ought to be removed from the ordinary prison and ought to be classified, either with the criminal insane or with still another class that must be named here, but will be treated later.

A considerable number of offenders often commit crimes, but never commit serious offenses. These are persons industrially unfit, often alcoholics, physically degenerate, and belong to the failures among men, the wreckage of society. These persons must be carefully eliminated from the ordinary prison population. They require special treatment.

The trouble with the ordinary penal system is that, beginning with the offenses of childhood, it proceeds to those of youth and then to those of mature age, and has a series of prisons, but none of them adequate for the particular task. Indeed, the objects of the places of confinement should be sharply differentiated just as the classes are deeply cleft. The juvenile offender does not belong in the category of the criminal, and it is the duty of society to see that the man on his way to become human driftwood should receive special examination, identification, and treatment. The ordinary processes of courts, the ordinary sentences, and the ordinary jails are no more indicated for him than they are for the child, though his classification is just the opposite of juvenile.

Penal institutions for youth should recognize the greatest obligations, as they usually have the largest opportunity.

It is very important that the penological problem should be carefully delimited. From this problem the irresponsible, whether child or insane, and the hopeless, whether confirmed recidivist

or physical wrecks, should be carefully removed. The prison is a place for men and women who have done wrong, who know they have done wrong, and who, by an indefinite period of treatment, the length of time suited to each case, may be restored to normal conduct and to normal relations in society. The work of the prison is for restoration of character and rehabilitation of the offender. The keyword of the process is simply "hope." The means to be employed are the new environment with its strict discipline, its regular routine, its opportunities for work and for instruction; and its persistent efforts for physical, mental, and moral regeneration should combine to make the man who has been through prison more likely to lead a lawful life than the man of like temperament, previous education, and temptations who has never been in prison. This is not too much to ask and the time will come when it will be secured.

PATHOLOGY OF MIND

NATURE OF INSANITY

NO definition of insanity has been made upon which medical men are fully agreed, and still less does any definition satisfy all classes of intelligent students of the problem. Dr. Mercier has an illustration, admirable in its suggestiveness, in which he likens the human organization to a key and the environment by which it is surrounded to a lock. In the normal man the key fits the lock and a complete correspondence is established. This illustration places emphasis upon the manifestations of insanity rather than upon the effect of insanity upon the individual. Another way of putting the matter is to say that there is in men a certain response to stimuli so general as to be regarded as social. The insane do not yield to these common influences in some instances, and in others they respond too much and too easily, because of a lack of what may be described as mental balance.

Looking at insanity as an abnormal condition of the individual, it expresses itself in abnormal thought or feeling or action. If the physical state alone of the individual be considered, insanity may be described as a morbid condition of the organism which misleads the mind or conduct. Insanity certainly includes three disorders: that of the nervous system, of the mind, and of the conduct. To decide which of these comes first is to settle the philosophy of the whole subject. Doubtless insanity sometimes begins its manifestation in the nervous system, then attacks the mind, and finally disturbs the conduct. The point of view of the physician would doubtless be expressed by this statement of the case. Some physicians, however, would pursue the investigation still farther and would say that the disorder of the nervous system may not be the initial physical disorder, but in certain cases the nervous system breaks down after the failure of nutri-

tion or elimination. In the manifestation of certain forms of insanity, however, it is only after a considerable course of perverse conduct that the nervous system seems to give way. On the other hand, in many cases, it seems evident that unless some one can be found to "minister to a mind diseased" the source of the trouble cannot be reached, for the very first noticeable feature of the insanity, both in cause and in expression, is disclosed in the thought or emotion.

It would be very simple to say, as some do, that insanity is a disease of the cortex and results from morbid change in the structure of the brain, or from some poison in the blood by which the brain is denied its proper function. In a considerable percentage of brain examinations which have taken place some lesions have been found, but in about as many more nothing of the kind has been discovered. So much for the revelations of the microscope in the case of the chronic insane. All schools of thought, however, agree that the natural tendency of insanity is to break down brain tissue. There is not sufficient knowledge at present to say that the disorder which we call insanity arises in any particular place.

The social life of men depends upon the capacity for common thoughts, emotions, desires, and actions, where the men are placed under substantially the same conditions. The slightest examination of the conditions under which civilized people live reveals the psychological nature of the mass of impressions which are received. The naïve effects upon the senses are comparatively few. The effects which result from the traditions of the race, retaught to the child in respect to the physical world, are predominant, but the material upon which the mind works is not the effect of the physical world, either direct or indirect, but is largely that complex of social experiences which by common thought and feeling bind the social group together. A certain play is left to the idiosyncracy of the individual, but the great bulk of his experiences he must share with his fellows. The insane man breaks over the psychological complex which has been woven about him, refuses to share the common judgments and to be bound by the common restraints, and can only be described as a non-social being. The criminal breaks ranks in purposeful

defiance of law, and is the anti-social man. He is a pirate craft upon the sea and knows what he seeks, but the unfortunate insane makes no journey and is a derelict upon the tides of life.

The term "psychosis" is used to describe abnormal mental action, but every psychosis does not constitute insanity in the proper sense of the term. Nervousness and hysteria are physical forms of psychosis and may indicate serious mental danger, but they have not yet reached the point where the person is denominated insane.

Human beings are not divided sharply from each other in any respect, as most theorists suppose, and there is nothing quite so misleading to the social thinker as nicely prepared classifications. In conduct human beings range all the way from the saint, white-souled within and perfect in action without, to the deepest dyed villain who was ever hung, and the man must be very wise who can decide just where the saint ceases and the criminal begins. But for practical purposes we get along very well by saying that society will condemn men and women who commit deeds which have been proscribed by law. If every man were locked up on the charge of insanity who sometimes seems to his friends wrong-headed, this would be a very perilous world indeed in which to live. Some persons regarded as entirely sane have special peculiarities. Some are afraid of cats, some have a desire, just within the limits of control, to commit suicide whenever they stand upon a high building or bridge, some have fixed notions which other men regard as entirely separate from the facts, and some have periodical exaltation and depression of spirits without any apparently adequate reason. Society does not classify as insane even those individuals who are markedly queer. Indeed, a man who from the legal point of view leads a normal life may seem to have deeper dents upon his mentality than other men who are adjudged insane. If a man can successfully attend to his business, preserve a fair degree of peace with his family and his fellow-men, and perform his conspicuous duties as a citizen, however much awry he may seem to be in a hundred ways, he is still judged normal. It is the social effect of the psychosis to which attention is directed. If the mental peculiarity interferes with a man's care of his property, makes him dangerous to himself or to his

fellow-men, society takes cognizance of his condition. The perfect man mentally is as rare as the perfect man physically, but when the mental condition is so pathological as to disturb the social relations of the patient to a serious degree, he is pronounced insane.

A person is insane when abnormal thought and feeling, arising from whatever cause, become of such a character and so persistent as to make him socially unfit. The physicians and the metaphysicians may continue their debates, but it will probably be found that this definition is sufficient for the practical student of social science.

Insanity long continued is a progressive disorder. It is usually accompanied by malnutrition, but it affects the skin, hair, physical appearance, and tends toward a steady physical perversion. This disorder of the body is accompanied by a corresponding progressive decay of mental power, and disturbance of moral attitudes. The ultimate expression of insanity is physical, mental, and moral degeneration.

Its first manifestation is in perversion; its final end is the loss of capacity. To use popular terms, the beginning of insanity is "the dethronement of reason," but in the end the afflicted one has "lost his mind."

It is a current statement that insanity is increasing very rapidly. Many writers in England and others in America, notably Mr. F. B. Sanborn,[1] have argued that it is essentially a disease of civilization. In America the northern states show more insanity than the southern, the eastern more than the western. In proportion to numbers there is less insanity among native than among foreign born population. There are two assumptions in the discussion of the extent of insanity. One is that civilization is increasingly injurious in its demands upon human life, and the other is that a manifest evidence of it is that insanity increases very much more rapidly than the population. For example, in England and Wales from 1849, when the number of certified insane was 25,000, to 1894, when the number was more than 90,000, we have an increase of nearly fourfold of the number of insane, while the population scarcely doubled. Similar facts

[1] F. B. Sanborn, National Conference of Charities and Correction, p. 186. 1895.

can be found almost everywhere. Once again we are brought face to face with the problem of statistics. Those who doubt or deny the proposition that insanity is a disease of civilization and is constantly increasing, will affirm that prior to 1849 and for many years after that date, the number of insane who were certified were by no means the number in existence. They will further assert that the fundamental proposition that modern civilization is in general an attack upon human life is not proven, for exactly the opposite effect seems evident in the continued increase of human life as shown by all investigations.

There are two important facts to be taken into account in studying the question. The first is that a far larger proportion of those who are insane now find their way to the asylums and hospitals devoted to their care, and, further, their numbers are largely swelled by an increasing company of old men and women, now called senile dements, who were formerly lodged in the almshouses or cared for at home.

The second fact is that better methods of care and sanitation in the hospitals and asylums have increased the average of human life among the insane, and this has largely swelled their numbers. The report of the commissions for lunacy in England and Wales issued in 1910 shows a total of 130,553 insane. The average decennial increase is 2394 and has been apparently quite in excess of the population. The time would come when the increase of human life in the asylums and the increase in numbers from the ranks of the senile dements would fail to have any further effect upon the statistics, and the increase in the insane ought to approximate the increase in the population. In 1909 this seems to have been the fact, for while the certified insane had increased 255 per cent during the same period that the population increased 84 per cent, in that year the increase in insane was 1.37 per cent and the increase in population 1.16 per cent, which practically inaugurates a new state of affairs. If insanity be a disease of civilization, it would seem as though the men who are supposed to feel its pressure the most would be the ones who would be likely to yield with greatest frequency to mental breakdown, but professional men are less likely to go insane than manual workers. Warehousemen show 47 in every 10,000, and laborers 39 in every

10,000, who become insane, while teachers show only 7 in 10,000, physicians 12, and lawyers 15. A very curious fact is that railroad conductors show less than 7 per 10,000, while engineers show more than 52 per 10,000 in the lists of the insane. The obvious explanation is that the railroad conductor has great variety in his life, though certainly he is in the pressure of civilization. The engineer, on the other hand, has great monotony in his life, and the pressure of his occupation is that monotony which is the repeated stress in the same place like the continual dropping that wears away the stone.

The number of the insane is related to the economic methods employed in their support. Where every insane patient, rich or poor, may have free admission to hospitals for the insane supported by the state, the apparent numbers will be very much larger than in a condition where there is a sharp discrimination between the insane pauper and the patients who are paid for, and still further difference will be noted where the insane paupers must be paid for by the local community where they live.

The increase of insanity over the population is a statement that is not yet proven, notwithstanding the official statistics which may be marshaled in its favor.

It is often argued that the growth of vice is particularly related to the increase of insanity, and that since vice has so largely increased in modern times, we may find here the explanation. It is by no means certain that vice has increased in modern times, and it is very certain that the physical dangers of vice are by no means so great in European countries as they were a generation ago. To take two well-known facts: among domestic servants in England the females are much more likely to become insane than the males. It can scarcely be argued that this is because they are more vicious. It is probably because the men get along better with a limited amount of sleep than the women. In the United States farmers' wives are much more likely to become insane than farmers; it will not be argued that farmers' wives are more likely to be drunken or licentious than their husbands, but it is certain that during several months of the year the nights are too short, and during all the year the life is too monotonous.

While drunkenness frequently accompanies insanity among

women, the prostitutes show a far smaller number of insane than would be expected if there is a definite relation between the increase of crime and the increase of mental disease. The excess of men over women among the insane is larger in the United States than in other countries, but it certainly is not true that men are more drunken in the United States than in other countries. It will be seen that there is a certain relation of sex to insanity, and Tuke says that the probable recovery is greater among men than among women, and the mortality is also greater, and both of these facts increase the statistics for women.

It is frequently stated that there are different kinds of insanity, but it would probably be more correct to say that there are different forms of insanity, chief among them being mania, in which the insanity usually takes an active form, as suicidal mania or homicidal mania; melancholia, with a persistent depression that isolates the patient from the world; paranoia, where certain ideas or delusions give a definite track to the disturbance, while otherwise the mind may work for the most part in a normal manner; dementia, a general decay of the mind which may succeed mania, and which frequently follows paresis or old age. To this form of insanity the much-used and misused word "degeneration" may apply. There is a primary dementia due to exhaustion or to malnutrition not uncommon among the young, which does not rightly belong in this category, since from this form of complaint there are frequent recoveries. Paresis, or general paralysis, is a progressive disease frequently marked by delusions of rank or wealth, and which many physicians believe to be always connected with syphilis, though the more cautious would not assert that it is universally so.

The signs of insanity are excitement or depression or confusion without adequate reasons in the manifest lives of the patients. These classifications, however, are difficult to maintain, because the same patient will be at one time very much excited, at another time very much depressed, and later in the development of the disease show great loss of mental power, or dementia.

There is scarcely any branch of the subject upon which there is less unity of opinion than upon that of the causes of insanity. The English reports give the following: epilepsy, mental distress,

violent emotion, alcoholism, influenza, mental strain, senility, congenital defects, insane heredity, injuries, syphilis, and accompanying the climacteric, and following childbirth with women. The American reports include these and add various causes, as drugs, overwork, and a number of diseases, including rheumatism, diseases of the eye, and tuberculosis, — religious excitement in a very few cases, as well as homesickness, jealousy, fright, and domestic and business troubles. These, however, might be included under the mental and emotional distress of the former classification, but monotony, overwork, low diet, and, finally, the drug cure for alcoholism are real additions to the list of causes.

Epilepsy frequently results in insanity, and it is probable that the epileptic is more likely to become insane than to become a man of genius, notwithstanding the researches of Lombroso.

Injury to the brain by accident has often enough been followed by insanity to enter into the classification, though there are probably more injuries to the brain that show either no mental change or that show mental deficiencies other than insanity.

The causes given as congenital defects, or insane heredity, require some further remarks. "Congenital defects" is so vague a term that it may be made to cover almost any failure of the human organism. There is not infrequently some insanity in collateral branches of the family, but insanity in the direct line is comparatively rare, and the statement frequently made that "there is insanity in the family" is as likely to include relatives by marriage as to indicate ties of blood.

Whatever occasions the loss of vitality not only lessens the capacity for action, but also lessens the resistance to every physical and mental foe. Any physical study of the insane reveals them upon a lower life level than the normal population. Defect of physical organization manifests itself in those imperfections that are called stigmata, but there are mental and moral stigmata just as real as those of the body. A lack of vigor, whether resulting from congenital causes, an accident, or disease, shows a tendency toward the failure of the organism. That instability or lack of balance is most marked at critical physical periods, and hence it is not surprising that after disease or accompanying the sex climax, there

should be such a definite loss of self-control that the patient is classified as insane. The influences of life which the normal man or woman may regard as negligible seem to the weaker person something infinitely malign, and create a sense of pain and permanent unrest, or a settled fatigue destroying the health of the mind.

It would be a mistake to suppose that nervous diseases or morbid changes in the brain are always indicated in insanity, though paresis and dementia generally show changes in the cortex. Early insanity is more frequently accompanied by such poison in the blood as to prevent normal brain action. Physicians working with the insane state that malnutrition, failure of the proper action of the kidneys, or diseases of the eyes nearly always accompany insanity.

The causes of insanity which appear in the hospital records may well be regarded as secondary, and it is possible to group all of them under the classification of organization, environment, and relation, used by Dr. Mercier.[1] When the human organism responds to the environment in the manner usual to men, an adequate normal relation is established, and the man is sane. When the organism fails to make this response to the various stimuli, the person is declared insane.

There are, therefore, two great causes for insanity, and the one of them is heredity and the other is stress. By heredity no more is meant than the weakness or the strength of the human body. If the ancestor be drunken or tuberculous, the children are likely to inherit a weak and unbalanced nervous system with a definite tendency toward some form of abnormal living. If the child be born into the world with a normal mind, he may yet become insane if the pressure of life through disease or poverty or affliction be too great. The greater the weakness in the organization, the smaller the amount of disturbance that is required for its overthrow.

The analogy of the strength of materials in buildings or bridges illustrates the problem. Theoretically any bridge can be broken down if weight enough be piled upon it, but practically we know that the sound bridge will not break down, because it is strong enough to bear up any burden that will ever be put upon it. In

[1] Mercier, Sanity and Insanity, chap. 5, p. 140.

like manner by theory any human being may become insane if adverse pressure enough comes upon the organization, although practically we know that those born with vitality enough to develop a body and then to equip it for the strain of life are likely to die sooner than to go insane.

In dealing with the child problem more will be said upon the subject of heredity. It is enough for present purposes to state that investigations so far as made seem to indicate the interchangeable character of the evils that befall the badly born. Any lack of vitality suffered by the parents from whatever cause, whether vice or disease, will reappear in some form in the career of the children. A certain number of those who are badly born will become insane, but no one can predict what the number will be, and no one can select the individuals beforehand.

When a person has been adjudged insane, he may be deprived of his liberty and placed under definite control. Since insanity is a disease and the sufferer is sick, careful medical attention is indicated. During the insanity the person ceases to exist as a social being. He may not contract marriage, testify in court, vote in elections, dispose of his property by testament, enter into contracts, or manage business. During the time of his illness, even if it last during the whole life, the insane person is denied the right, since he is deprived of the power, to manage the concerns of his life.

The examination of the patient by those in charge of hospitals indicates the soundness of the principles thus far laid down. The family history is examined to see whether the immediate ancestors suffered from insanity, rheumatism, neuralgia, consumption, cancer, or nervous disease, and whether or not either or both parents were intemperate in the use of alcohol or narcotics. The collateral branches of the family are also inquired into with respect to disease and longevity. The age and health of the parents at the time of marriage, the condition of the mother during pregnancy, whether the parents suffered from overwork, mental or emotional stress or exhausting disease, the health of the brothers and sisters, if there are any, are matters carefully noted. The physical, mental, and emotional history of the patients from birth, and in the case of a female patient, the sex history, both before and

after marriage, are required. An account is taken of the present habits of the patient, especially with reference to all the functions of nutrition, cleanliness, and sleep. In some hospitals a very careful physical examination is made upon the admission of any patient, including the measurements, the vital organs, the neuro-muscular condition, a pelvic examination, and as complete a notation as practicable of the mental condition.

CARE OF THE INSANE

NOMADIC men moved on and left behind them the refuse population. Violent and dangerous maniacs were usually killed, while the dements were left to perish. Savage life presented the struggle for existence in its simplest form. Under the influence of the early Christian literature insanity was usually regarded as a form of demoniacal possession. This doctrine, however, came to be modified at an early date, perhaps partly from the fact that a considerable number of hermits from a narrow range of life and a narrow circle of ideas suffered mental breakdown. A retreat for the insane was established at Jerusalem in the fifth century. It was not until 1410 that the first European hospital was established in Valencia, Spain, and the first English hospital was St. Luke's, in London, in 1751. Madmen were placed in the same category as the worst criminals, loaded with chains, and suffered every indignity. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the care of the insane began to be recognized as a social obligation.

Social responsibility for the care of the insane is early indicated by noting that the family life breaks down under the burden. It breaks down economically, for the person who does not produce, and who must be cared for, becomes a double burden, but the family fails in respect to the care of the insane because of the lack of suitable provision and of adequate knowledge. Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the fact that it will often happen that something in the family environment is particularly distressing to the patient, and is the immediate occasion of his mental overthrow.

That form of disease which we call insanity requires scientific examination and special treatment, and hospital care is indicated just as much as in the case of any other serious illness.

The first indication of insanity is weakness of will, with a consequent lack of control; hence the first indication of treatment

is some method of restraint. The necessity for restraint has been taken very literally, and for the purpose cells, dungeons, cages, ball and chain, straight-jacket, whip, shower-bath, as well as bleeding and starving, have been employed. The more favored method in recent years is what is known as chemical restraint, — administration of some drug to quiet the sufferer. This is as good a place as any to say that mechanical and chemical restraints alike are discredited, and it is very rare indeed that any other restraint is required than the mingled firmness and patience of the attendants.

Philippe Pinel was put in charge of Bicêtre, in Paris, in 1792. He at once gave orders that the chains should be taken from the insane, and that henceforth they be treated as unfortunate rather than as delinquent. The personality of Pinel aided very much in the remarkable success which attended his experiment, and after having visited perhaps a hundred insane hospitals in various countries in the world, the writer is convinced that the power of personality is nowhere more visible or more valuable than in the superintendent of an institution for the insane. The right man organizes control by organizing his staff, giving them the right point of view, and inspiring them with the right motives. His presence acts as a soothing balm upon the patients who are disturbed mentally, and, like that of Neptune, quiets many a storm.

The detention hospital is the first thing required in an adequate organization for the care of the insane. It is a temporary retreat, usually in connection with some other hospital, where persons suffering from nervous or mental disease may go for examination and treatment. When established by the state, as it should be, a certain length of time, perhaps six weeks, is allowed for this preliminary care. There is no disease in which early treatment is more urgently indicated than in the case of insanity. The initial mistake in connection with the whole subject is the effort upon the part of the family and the friends to suppress the knowledge of any bad symptoms until the case is so far advanced that suppression is no longer possible. The question of how many persons who become insane may recover, is an unprofitable speculative debate, but all authorities agree that the chances for recovery are very much increased by early attention.

A better public opinion with respect to treatment would prevail if there were wider knowledge with respect to the insane, and the man first of all responsible, and indeed most responsible, is the family physician. Much more extended training in psychiatry should be taken by the medical profession. They should be able easily to recognize the danger signals in particular cases, and they should be very frank in their recommendations in the premises. Upon their knowledge and upon their prompt action may depend the saving of a human life. If the value of early treatment to the patient himself be not enough, let it be added that a great many of the tragedies arising from dangerous mania might be prevented if the cases were taken in time.

Since the institution for the insane deprives the patient of his liberty, it is generally agreed that formal legal steps must be taken to secure the rights of the weak and the unfortunate. A judicial decision by some adequate authority is required, based upon medical testimony, describing the condition of the patient. In various countries the practice differs, as well as in various states of America. The general practice, however, requires a commission composed usually of three persons, one of whom shall be a judge and one a physician. In some states, however, the commitment is made by jury trial and the commission itself is regarded in the light of a jury upon the theory that no one, not even the insane, shall be deprived of his liberty without due process of law.

For years protests have been made by philanthropic persons against the necessity of the insane person being compelled to appear in court in order for an adjudication of the case. It is thought that the observation of the patient could be made and testimony submitted in his absence. The foundation of all the trouble is in the wrong point of view. The inquiry is regarded in the light of a judicial trial, the sufferer as an accused, and the verdict of insanity like the verdict of any crime. The point of view should be that a careful diagnosis is being made to find out whether there is a case of mental disease which requires particular treatment, and which, for the sake of humanity, the state has undertaken to give.

In some states admission to hospitals for the insane may be had by persons who voluntarily seek it without any legal proceedings.

The man may himself know his condition, or he may be persuaded by his friends that a change and treatment at such an institution might prove beneficial. Persons acquainted with the modern treatment of the insane are not afflicted by the fear that those who are entirely normal may be indefinitely incarcerated through the machinations of the evil-minded. Cases of this kind are almost impossible, though they bulk largely in works of fiction.

As the care of the insane cannot be left to the family for manifest reasons, neither can the existence of proper institutions be left to private enterprise or philanthropic bounty. The private institutions have their place, but they are particularly for those who belong to the wealthier classes, but since most of the insane are poor, if there is to be adequate and efficient care, it must be provided by the state.

The economics of insanity present one of its fundamental problems. When the insane persons are sent to a public institution there are three possible sources of income: the bills may be paid by the family, by the county or parish, or by the state. As the family cannot take the actual care of the insane, neither can they usually assume the expense without breaking down self-support and ending in pauperism and distress. In America the unit of poor relief is either the county or the parish, and in some cases where the institutions are provided by the state, the counties are taxed according to the number of inmates which are sent by each of them. In some states there are county asylums for the care of the insane, but in these institutions there is no adequate medical treatment. Where the financial burden is put upon the counties, the constant tendency is for the early cases of insanity to be sent to the jails, from whence they may go to the state hospitals if there is room, and when, after hospital treatment, the case seems hopeless they are brought back again to the almshouses. The county care of the insane has become a synonym for gross neglect in the best cases and unspeakable barbarity in the worst.

Where the state assumes the entire expense of care for the insane, the result is that the numbers are swelled by multitudes of so-called senile dements who properly belong to the almshouses, where they are paupers, or who might well remain at home, where their friends have sufficient means. The difficulty here is, not only that

the state must bear too large a burden of expense, but even more important is the practical difficulty that the institutions, overcrowded by persons who do not really belong there, are prevented from giving their best service to those who are really in need of hospital treatment.

The method of state care is usually indicated by the division of the insane into acute and chronic cases. For the acute cases medical treatment is required, and for the chronic, custodial care. The acute insane require a psychopathic hospital, and the chronic insane are better provided for in what may be termed an asylum. Persons afflicted with mental malady will recover, if at all, during the first year, as a rule. Some cases recover in the second year, and after that an occasional case may recover, but not as a result of any definite medical treatment. It is quite evident that sound economic, as well as every philanthropic, motive requires the emphasis of the treatment to be put upon the fresh cases. It is far better for the state to spend money in a generous way for a few months, even if the expenditure seem lavish, than to have the insane man as a permanent charge during his lifetime at a very much less rate of cost. For the acute insane too much insistence cannot be laid on the need for individual treatment. One attendant can take care of a large number of quiet dements, but there should not be more than two or threee acute patients to one nurse, and the daily history of such a patient should be kept as carefully, and the treatment should be just as personal, as for a case of pneumonia or typhoid fever. For the acute insane there must be a generous and varied diet, baths of various kinds, massage, the use of electricity, and any other agency that is recommended by the ablest men in the medical profession.

More than one hundred years ago Samuel Tuke, of blessed memory, gives "a description of the retreat." He says: "The experience of the writer has already proved the great importance of placing the insane under proper care in an early stage of the disorder. In 1800, of six recent cases the report is that four had recovered." Modern institutions would not be so cautious about giving out statistics if they could show as large a percentage of recoveries among their cases. He further suggests the use of a liberal and nourishing diet, warm baths, and the necessity of close in-

dividual attention to patients. He expresses his opposition to large establishments for the insane. He describes "the powerful effect of kindness" and says that the moral treatment of insanity should be discovered and condemns the too general use of coercion. In the treatment of the insane he advocates employments and amusements. This synopsis of his philosophy would furnish the basis for thoroughgoing reformation in a large number of public institutions. It may be stated without reservation that the modern state is less advanced in the treatment of insanity than in that of any other of its wards.

There are three methods of construction employed in building institutions for the insane. The first method is the large, rectangular building forming a huge prison palace, in which the central feature is the administration building, usually fitted with quite adequate offices, and the institution is divided into wards by which some kind of classification of the inmates is made. The classification with respect to the care of the insane is quite different from that with respect to the causes of insanity. With respect to care it runs 7 per cent weak, 3 per cent lame or blind, 5 per cent convalescent, 5 per cent epileptic, 5 per cent noisy, 5 per cent maniacs, 5 per cent suicidal maniacs, 5 per cent homicidal maniacs, 10 per cent filthy, and 50 per cent quiet and orderly. The first temptation that every institution has to face is to consider itself and its own arrangement as the chief object of solicitude upon the part of the management, and so it happens very frequently that the classification and treatment of the insane is based upon the facts here given. The noisy patients are put together, the filthy patients have their own bad quarters, and the quiet and orderly are herded together in large numbers. The asylum for the insane has for its purpose the care of all the patients and to give them as much comfort as their conditions will admit, but the real hospital which proposes treatment for mental diseases has for its chief function the selection of those patients which promise the largest number of recoveries, and special attention to each with that end in view.

The large building, sometimes several stories in height, appeals to the town in which it is located as an ornament which gratifies its pride. In the United States this is a very important factor in deciding what shall be done. The objection, of course, is that it

is difficult to have adequate light and air for the inmates or anything like a scientific classification. In many institutions as much is done as possible to make the wards attractive, flowers and games, and sometimes cabinets of curiosities, are to be seen. As a rule, in these institutions the inmates of each ward eat together if they are in a condition to do so. I remember but one institution, and that Birmingham, England, where there was an effort to make it possible for the five hundred or more to eat together in a common dining room.

Next to the architectural significance of this kind of an institution is the economy of administration, it being urged that a lower per capita cost can be secured with the rectangular buildings if they are sufficiently large.

The next method has been the development of what is known as the pavilion system, where there is a building for administration, but where the patients are cared for in a series of wings of two stories in height, the lower of which is the common room by day and the upper room the dormitory by night. This system secures more light and air and a better classification at about the same cost as the first system.

The third method of construction is the cottage plan where, as the name indicates, small structures are erected to house a definite number, and where some semblance of family life is attempted among those who are fitted for such care.

The colony system in Michigan is an adaptation of this system, with cottages for the chronic insane grouped at some distance away from the principal institutions but under the same management. These cottages are used for those who do not require hospital treatment, and are not dangerous either to themselves or to others.

In several countries what is sometimes called the colony, and sometimes the village, plan of caring for the insane has been inaugurated, following the famous example of Gheel, Belgium, where nearly two thousand insane persons are taken care of by the peasants. In the center is a small hospital for new cases, and to which may be sent patients who are found unfit for family life. Every visitor has been astonished at the ease with which these persons are taken into the homes of the people and made members

of the families. There are three grades of houses with three grades of prices according to their accommodations, and the grading is done by the management. There is general supervision, both by the central and local administration and constant visitation by the staff of the asylum. The visits are made without notice and without ceremony, but no door is ever opened where the place is not clean and fit, and to the eyes of the onlooker altogether admirable.

Some Americans have thought that this method which has been introduced into France and partially applied in Germany might be well transplanted to the United States, but it must be noted that these peasants are all of one race, practically in the same rank of life, and have been gradually trained through generations to the task which becomes a part of their business and furnishes a proportion of their income. The homogeneity, the quietness and thrift, and the religious spirit of the people must be taken into account. Institutions must always be related to the local conditions, and however excellent, can never be transplanted bodily from one country to another without modification. In Gheel we have an employment of the cottage system for the chronic insane, where the cottages are owned by the attendants and where the family life remains unchanged.

In Scotland, a country to which we owe so much in every way, and in nothing more than in the general excellence of the entire treatment of the insane, there is a modification of the Belgium method known as the boarding out system. This system is under parish control and state supervision, and is the same thing as the village system of Gheel, except that the houses are not contiguous, and the homes to receive the patients are selected without any other plan than that they should be as contiguous as possible to the place of main treatment. Formerly one fourth, and now about one fifth, of all the insane persons in Scotland are placed in homes, to which frequent visits are made and where the patients are still under public control, although under private care. Rules are furnished to the care-takers covering the whole range of the daily life. The patient is to be treated as a member of the family, and neither as a servant nor as a guest. He is to have plenty of food, as much work as he is able to do, but never too much work, only one

patient is to sleep in a room, and there are to be no punishments. All investigators agree that the Scotch system works well.

The Massachusetts plan proposes, first, a small hospital in each institution for acute cases. In this hospital the best and most approved methods for restoration to mental health are to be employed; second, there is an asylum for chronic cases. In this asylum the object is not treatment but the guardianship of those who are regarded as hopelessly insane; third, colony care for the quiet and able-bodied. A considerable percentage of all the insane patients after they have passed through the early stages of the malady may well be classified as suitable for colony care.

For many years in Massachusetts some use has been made of the boarding out system, adapted from Scotland. The general rule is that not more than two, and never more than four, patients shall be cared for in any one family. About three hundred persons are provided for in this way at a cost of $2.80 per week. About 22 per cent of the patients selected are returned from the homes to the institution as being unfit for family life. This is a much larger percentage than occurs in Scotland or Belgium, and doubtless is related to the problem of population.

In America the Wisconsin system for the care of chronic insane has received marked attention and approval. In that state each county is expected to bear part of the expense of every insane person sent to one of the two state hospitals for the insane, and that amount is reckoned at $1.50 per patient per week. The counties are permitted by state authority to erect asylums and to provide for the care of the chronic insane at home. Where a single county has too small a population for the purpose, it may send its chronic insane to the asylum of an adjacent county. When the chronic insane are returned to a county, the $1.50 per week which they formerly paid to the state is remitted, and in addition the state pays to the county $1.50, making $3.00 per week, provided from the two sources for the care of each one of the insane. With this amount the counties have been able to purchase farms, build suitable buildings, equip and maintain their several institutions and, as visitors believe, give to the chronic insane as wise and generous care as similar patients receive anywhere in the world. There are many advantages in small institutions, for it brings

the management into direct contact with the patients and enables them to have personal acquaintance. The patients are comparatively near to the homes of their friends, may receive visits from them at suitable times, and thus the burden of their lives is lightened, and the excellence of their treatment can be rendered more secure.

One of the greatest difficulties in the large institutions for the insane is that the superintendent, a medical man, has a comparatively small number of recent cases and a large number of chronic cases under his supervision, but the institution comes before him as a single problem. The superintendents of hospitals for the insane are frequently attacked and are sometimes severely censured for failure to reach the standard of intelligence and capacity that is required by the place which they occupy. The trouble is not with the superintendent, as a rule, but with the system of which he is as much the victim as the unhappy patients under his charge. The population of these mammoth institutions ranges from one to two thousand persons, and the superintendent is practically the mayor and chief of police for a village of that size. He usually has a large farm attached to the buildings, from which the trustees expect him to make a suitable profit. He is in charge of the butcher shop, the bakery, the dairy, as well as the provisions, clothing, furniture, and bedding of the entire place. He needs to understand machinery, for a great deal of it is used. He is expected to master the details of each department of the institution as if he had nothing else to do, and then is expected to give to the malady of each patient a thorough diagnosis and prescribe for him a suitable care, as though he had no other occupation for his time, and no other burden upon his mind. In addition to this it is confidently expected that the vast amount of clinical material at his disposal will be used in the interests of science; that he will be able not alone to apply the best wisdom that has been furnished him by others, but that he will also be able to furnish fresh contributions to the science of psychiatry.

The problem of care for the insane in any part of the world is a great one, but it is more pressing perhaps in America than elsewhere on account of the mixed population, and the diversity of administration in the various states. It is very clear that an

agreement must sooner or later come upon certain fundamentals. The old huge institution must be abandoned. Remedial methods and custodial methods must be divorced. Abundant money must be spent upon the hopeful cases, and adequate comfort must be given to the unfortunate chronics. The man who has care of the psychopathic hospital must not be burdened with the care of the asylum for the chronic, which does not require a physician, but does require business ability in its superintendent, which few physicians possess.

The physical treatment of insanity has made favorable progress. The food is usually wholesome and well prepared. The only criticism at this point is that in large institutions there cannot be sufficient study of various dietaries and the kind and amount of food values required by the different classes of patients, but, on the whole, the problems of food and clothing and plumbing and ventilation may be regarded as practically settled. If we do not do the right things, we at least know what ought to be done.

On the other hand, the psychological treatment of insanity has by no means kept pace with the physical appliances. We know how to care for the alimentary organs, the value of baths, massage, and the like, but some of the most effective agencies are by no means sufficiently recognized.

Just as the prison furnishes a new environment in which the criminal can learn better habits, so the hospital has for its first value the removal of the patient from the unfortunate stress in his ordinary life under which his mind broke down. It is necessary, therefore, that the social, economic, moral, and mental history of the patient be explored as far as practicable. The ordinary inquiries and records of hospitals are wholly inadequate for this purpose. They are based upon the presumption that the malady is one of the flesh. The care of each patient ought to be made as antithetic to the life under which he broke as possible. If the life was a monotonous one, it must be varied; if it was too intense, it must be made more moderate, and the key of the whole question is in the word "occupation." This must, of course, vary with the different classes of patients, but it is evident that work, amusement, rest, the awakening of the mind, and the direction of the emotions must each have adequate consideration.

Some effort at amusements is made in most institutions, but it is made in bulk in the way of some dance or public performance for all the occupants who are equal to making an appearance, and these occur at irregular intervals and are too infrequent to be of great therapeutic value.

American and English institutions are very much behind those of France in the variety of work provided for the patients. The healing power of a sense of value in the occupation is of too great significance to be overlooked. A dreary march on the fair days of winter out into the dreary grounds and then back again to the still more dreary wards is all that is offered to thousands of the insane. Mental disease must be treated more and more by the proper stimuli to reach the will, the intelligence, and the emotions.

One of the things that has puzzled the statisticians is how to discriminate between what are called new cases and what may be called recurrent cases in the admission to institutions for the insane. So many persons who have been insane once, and have been discharged from the institutions as recovered, come back again for the second, third, or even the fourth time, that some students have come to regard insanity as circular or periodic, and the theory seems to be that a person stores up a certain amount of mental capacity and after a certain number of years uses up the store of vitality, and under almost any stress breaks down again. The question is quite important from the point of view of statistics, and all records should be very explicit in dividing the admissions into new cases and those who are readmitted. But the suggestion has significance for the problem of insanity itself and for the practical treatment and future care of the convalescent. It must be frankly recognized that the number of recoveries may be overestimated, and that the same weakness of organization which succumbed once may yield again, and one of the things to be discovered in the examination of the patient is the nature of the stress under which the overthrow of the reason took place. Was the stress physical, economic, social, mental, or moral? Was it a special stress growing out of a particular grouping of circumstances which may never occur again, or was it one growing out of conditions which are likely to be permanent? If the stress was essentially social and related itself to the family or business life, can arrangements be

made for such change in the environment as to prevent the recurrence of the mind-breaking burden? Some forms of grief owing to bereavement or disappointment may have been wholly temporary. Some domestic relations may be even more painful and damaging to the discharged patient than they were before the attack. There is no such thing as a law of periodicity in insanity, but if a person is sensitive to malaria, after recovery from the fever he is not sent to live in a swamp, neither should a person in mental convalescence be sent back to the same conditions under which the mind first gave way.

The reintroduction of the insane to the normal life should be made gradually. The boarding-out system seems to be particularly well adapted for the convalescent insane. There should certainly be some halfway house between the ordinary institution, with its methods, its occupations, and its companionships, where the man or woman may try the recovered strength and gradually come to bear the responsibilities of freedom and the task of self-direction.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED

THE very name "feeble-minded" is also a definition. It is a term applied to those whose mental deficiency is discoverable in early childhood and which is due to some defect in the brain structure or some fault in its physiology. It manifests itself not only in weakness of perception and incoherence of thought, but also in certain other qualities which are closely connected with the struggle for existence. There is a weakness of will and a deficiency in inhibition, notable indications of an undeveloped personality, and indicating, first of all, the need of actual guidance in the concerns of life. Normal children have initiative, though it varies among them according to the stress under which they live. Children of the colonies have more of it than children in the home country, children of the poor more than those of the rich, at least early in life, but those who are called feeble-minded are unable to decide under new conditions what ought to be done. A larger proportion of them than of the normal are defective in some of the special senses, and often where no physical defect seems to exist they must still be taught the uses of the senses, and the meaning of those perceptions which they obtain through them.

The earlier efforts at study and classification of the feeble-minded were largely from the point of view of the physician. The idiots were called microcephalic, megalocephalic, and hydrocephalic, according to the size of the head. There is a cretin type where the large, ill-shaped head is accompanied by coarse features and wrinkled skin as well as low stature, and the Mongolian who in appearance is a caricature of the Asiatic. These types refer to physical appearance, but often included in the same classification are intimations of causation. The congenital idiot is one so from birth or possibly on account of parentage, two very different ideas covered usually by the same term. Then there are the epileptics, who constitute a large proportion of the feeble-minded,

but in whom the mental incapacity is usually progressive. A few of the feeble-minded are so as the result of brain injury from paralysis, some as a result of inflammation of the brain, and some by external wounds affecting the brain structure. Still others are called eclamsic, because the feeble-mindedness seems to follow from infantile convulsions. Others are classed as feeble-minded because of the deprivation of one or more senses, although in notable instances it has been shown that these are not really feeble-minded but only shut off from the ordinary avenues by which human intelligence is developed.

Parental conditions resulting in feeble-minded children appear in various reports. It is recognized that in a family where neurosis is common there will be an undue number of persons who are abnormal, either in the nervous system, in character, or in conduct; but there are special conditions, such as the feeble-mindedness of the parents themselves, toxic poisoning from the result of drugs or liquor, parental overtax and worry, tuberculosis, scrofula, syphilis, and general physical weakness.

The study of the heredity of the feeble-minded is being carried on now in a more definite way than ever before, but it has not gone far enough to reach adequate scientific conclusions. No case has yet been discovered where two feeble-minded persons have ever been the parents of a normal child, though there are numbers of cases where a child has escaped from the evil prophecy contained in a single feeble-minded parent. It is probable that more cases are due to physical weakness upon the part of the parents than from any other cause. It is certain that tuberculosis appears in the parentage of a large percentage of the feeble-minded.

Dr. A. C. Rogers,[1] speaking before the International Congress of Charities in 1893, stated: "These defective children seem to be no respectors of family, station, or caste. They come to the homes of the rich and the poor alike. The learned and the illiterate share alike in this misfortune. They are found in the dense population of the cities, amidst the ceaseless noise and smoke of manufacturing traffic and transportation, and they are not strangers to the rural homes, where nature revels in sunshine and songs of birds. Every

[1] Dr. A. C. Rogers, section on Feeble-minded, International Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1893.

family in the land into which children are liable to be born faces the possibility of having one or more defective ones among the number." Dr. Rogers is the editor of the *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* and is regarded as one of the leading American authorities upon the subject.

In studying the causes of feeble-mindedness no doubt here, as in all other cases of physical defect, the congenital elements are overestimated, while the number of those who suffer some lesion of the brain on account of some infantile disease or accident are not largely taken into account. For obvious reasons there is no doubt that the feeble-minded are the most likely of all defectives to transmit their defect, and this affects the problem of their care.

A committee of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded, the chairman of which is Dr. Fernald of Massachusetts, is engaged in seeking a new classification of the feeble-minded. Though this committee is composed of physicians, they are now looking at the problem from the point of view of superintendents of institutions and are giving the world the point of view of the schoolmaster. Their report appears in the *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* for December, 1910.[1] Their important conclusions are as follows: "The term feeble-minded is used generically to include all degrees of mental defect due to arrested or imperfect development as the result of which the person so affected is incapable of competing on equal terms with his normal fellows or managing himself or his affairs with ordinary prudence." In this statement we see the modern tendency to interpret every form of human pathology in social terms. Some fault might be found with the definition, for if every one incapable of competing on equal terms were to be classified as feeble-minded, the state would have a larger problem to adjust than has yet appeared. In fact, socially, those are feeble-minded who are unequal to competition with their normal fellows and are sure to be defeated. The term feeble-minded is used by this committee as a generic term, and the classification has been based upon the degree of mental development. It is as follows: "The feeble-minded are divided into three classes, viz. (*a*) idiots, those so deeply defective that their mental development does not exceed that of a

[1] *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics*, December, 1910, p. 61–62.

normal child of about two years; (*b*) imbeciles, those whose mental development is higher than that of the idiot, but does not exceed that of a normal child of about seven years; (*c*) morons, those whose mental development is above that of the imbecile, but does not exceed that of the child of twelve years. Each of these three classes is further divided into three grades, low, middle, and high, so that from the point of view of intelligence nine classes are included.

The effort is to arrive at the mental age of the feeble-minded, no matter how long they may have lived in the world. Those whose intelligence never rises above that of the normal child of two years of age are classed as idiots. Those whose intelligence is that of children between three and seven are classed as imbeciles. Those whose intelligence corresponds to that of children from eight to twelve years of age are called morons, a word which has been taken from the Greek to represent the most promising class of the feeble-minded.

This is a classification which is now upon trial for the practical purpose of so understanding this class of the wards of the state that they may be treated to the best advantage in the schoolroom and that they may be adjusted to as much practical labor as their capacity will allow.

The tests of mental defectives prepared by Professor Alfred Binet of Paris, after years of study, were given to the world in 1908 [1] in *L'Année Psychologique*, and upon this classification is based the experimental work now going on in the American schools for the feeble-minded. The three groups of the feeble-minded are compared in intelligence with normal children of the ages described. The lowest class of idiots respond to no relationships and react to no tests, but there are idiots who have the faculty of imitation. This is the highest class. Imbeciles may name objects, compare weights, repeat three figures or simple phrases. The morons may state the difference between two given objects and can place objects in a series.

The whole work is based upon a study of normal children, but it is recognized that the feeble-minded of mature age who have

[1] Alfred Binet, *L'Année Psychologique*, 1908; Training School, New Jersey, December, 1908.

the mental development of a child of ten years as disclosed by the tests of intelligence, will differ in many important particulars in the practical manifestation of mind because of greater length of life and wider range of human experience.

Mr. Edmund Huey,[1] of the Lincoln State School in Illinois, has published a syllabus for the clinical examination of children which, after a sufficiently wide range of experimentation, will yield more valuable results than we now have with respect to these mental defectives. Under the home record he proposes to investigate the heredity of the blood relatives of the child with respect, particularly, to disease and defect. The growth and retardation of the child include questions as to when he recognized persons, could sit or stand or walk, and so on. Of course the great trouble is to secure exact answers to the questions propounded, because comparatively few parents keep anything like a scientific history of their children's lives.

The medical history involves questions of the prenatal condition of the mother, as well as the history of disease in the child from the time of birth.

The environment and personal history of the child includes the question of the physical, economic, and moral conditions of the home and of the child's associations. The last question of the home record is under the general title of "capacities, habits, and character." These questions are very varied, and while they are not closely classified, cover everything from the use of drink and drugs through questions of physical capacity, and up to moral and social aptitudes.

The teacher's record covers habits, capacity, intelligence, morals, and social reactions, and is to be used after at least a month of observation of the child in a school for the feebleminded. We have now reached a place where the examination may be much more scientific and accurate than in the home record, the report of which is quite likely to lead the investigator astray.

The physical and medical examinations are quite complete, including all the usual measurements, as well as an accurate account of the possible defects and deformities of the body. The medical examination includes tests of the special senses, the

[1] Huey, A Syllabus for the Clinical Examination of Children, p. 2–4.

ordinary pain tests, the motor, muscular, and nerve tests, as well as a complete account of the physiology of the child.

The mental examination includes the scale of the Binet tests from the question as to whether the eye can follow the light, through problems of accounting, up to the final question as to whether the child can distinguish between abstract terms of similar sound or meaning.

All this recent work promises that within a very few years the treatment of the feeble-minded will be upon a very much more scientific basis than we have hitherto known.

The first efforts in the schools were for the benefit of the feeble-minded, who were distinctly improvable and were based upon larger hopes than are now generally entertained. True feeble-mindedness is now recognized as a permanent condition not to be cured, but the afflicted are to be so trained that whatever capacity they may have is to be used to the very best advantage.

There are in the United States thirty-one separate institutions for the public care of the feeble-minded. The state of Montana has a training school in connection with the school for the deaf and blind, on account of the small number for which provision must be made. In these institutions there were January 1, 1911, considerably over 20,000 persons receiving either school training or custodial care. With four institutions omitted the total investment in the buildings, grounds, and farms for these institutions amounts to more than $17,000,000.

In addition to these public institutions maintained by the states there are a considerable number of private schools and retreats, some of them founded by churches and some maintained by physicians or private corporations. In some states, their parents being poor and unable to care for them, feeble-minded children are sent to private institutions and are there maintained at public expense.

In the census of 1890 an attempt was made to enumerate all the feeble-minded in the United States, as had been done in each census since 1850. In 1890 the total number returned by the enumerators as feeble-minded was 95,609, which was at the rate of 152.7 per 100,000 of the population. In 1880 the number of this class per 100,000 was 153.3, which shows a slight proportion-

ate decrease. In the census of 1900 the effort to enumerate all the special classes was abandoned, and only those were counted who were found in institutions.

The attempt to enumerate such a class as the feeble-minded is a work of extreme difficulty. It requires for enumerators men of great intelligence and tact, and even then the suppression of such facts by the families is so frequent that the task is well-nigh hopeless. There is thought by some experts to be sufficient evidence for the conclusion, based upon statistical estimates, that the number of persons in the United States so feeble-minded as to really need special treatment in institutions is not far short of 200,000. The government report of 1904 [1] seems to show that feeble-mindedness is more prevalent among the native white children of foreign or mixed parentage than among those children whose parents are both American. This may indicate the effect of the new environment upon parenthood, and so offer some psychological solution of the data presented; or it may be that the chief influence is the greater poverty of the foreign-born parents, the lack of nourishment upon the part of the mother, greater frequency of accident to herself and also to the child in his early infancy.

In the distribution of the feeble-minded among the children of the foreign-born, nationality increases the difficulty. The order in which they stand as to origin is Germany, Canada, Russia, and Scandinavia, but the value of this distribution for scientific purposes could only be discovered by a close examination of the different ethnic groups both as to location and as to economic condition. This is one of the problems which waits further study.

Of the feeble-minded who are cared for in institutions more than 30 per cent have some other defect.

A special problem is the class of the feeble-minded who are known as criminal imbeciles, that is, imbeciles with criminal tendencies or imbecile criminals, that is, those of the feeble-minded who have actually committed some breach of the law. Psychopathic studies are now taking place which will ultimately lead to some sound conclusion with respect to the extent of imbecility among criminals. There is doubtless a small number who do not

[1] The Insane and Feeble-mindedness, Bulletin U. S. Census, 1904 p. 205 *et seq.*

know the difference between right and wrong, or if they perceive any distinction, are not able to apply the conception to actual conduct. There are a still larger number who, while they perceive right and wrong both in theory and in conduct, are so weak in will and are so lacking in mental coördination, that in the free life they are unable to restrain themselves from violations of law.

Dr. H. H. Goddard[1] of New Jersey thinks that the moral imbecile belongs to the class of those who have reached the mental development of nine or ten years of age when the arrest of the unfolding of the mind, and particularly the failure to respond to social influences, permit the survival of the animal which seems to be rampant in the normal boy at about that period. The exact nature and extent of this problem also awaits further investigation.

There are two objects proposed by the institutional care of the feeble-minded. First, the training of those who are improvable, and, second, the custodial care of those who cannot be wisely sent back to the normal life.

Edouard Seguin, physician and special student in abnormal psychology, by opening the first school for the feeble-minded in 1839 in France, is recognized as the founder of the modern movement. The first school in America for the feeble-minded was opened at Barre, Massachusetts, by Dr. W. H. Wilbur, though investigations were already taking place under the leadership of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, to whom the defectives owe so much, and as a result of his report, made in 1848, a state school was opened in Massachusetts, followed by one in 1851 in New York.

The early attempts at the education of the mentally defective were undertaken in a very much more hopeful spirit than now prevails. It was thought that the only needs were intelligence, sympathy, and patience in order that the large majority of the feeble-minded might be enabled to take their places among the ranks of the normal. The experience, especially of the last forty years, and the special investigations going on in the last decade, have led to quite opposite conclusions. It is now recognized that while there is a large number of the feeble-minded who are improvable, there is a comparatively small number of them that can

[1] Dr. Goddard, *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics*, December, 1910, p. 29.

reach self-support on equal terms with others in the labor market, and that a very large number of them ought to remain permanently in an institution.

There is the special class of cases known as epileptics which must be considered at this time. The ordinary manifestations of epilepsy through convulsions of greater or less severity are sufficiently well known to require no discussion. The causes of epilepsy are much more obscure, and the consideration of the whole subject belongs rather to a medical treatise than to a discussion of social pathology, but there are certain social aspects of the matter requiring attention.

The treatment usually prescribed is general and the indications are for the same sort of régime as belongs to neurasthenic patients, — a life spent largely out of doors, no stimulants or narcotics, special care for the digestive processes, and, by all means, sufficient work to occupy mind and body in surroundings as agreeable as may be procured.

The celebrated colony at Bielefeld, founded by Bodelschwingh, gives Germany the distinction of opening the first colony intended solely for epileptics, and by the educational, industrial, dietetic, recreative, and religious elements of treatment has improved the conditions of the inmates to such an extent as to make the institution an object lesson for the world. Several colonies have been established in different countries based upon this experiment. The Craig colony at Sonyea, New York, built upon the cottage plan, with a large farm, is perhaps the most successful imitation of Bielefeld that has been founded. Since the majority of the custodial cases of the feeble-minded are also epileptic, their care constitutes one of the most important parts of the problem. Those who have a serious form of the disease with frequent convulsions cannot well live at home or engage in any public occupation, and particularly where the mind is also affected, but where they are placed together, and all are suffering from the same complaint, the sense of shame is overcome and the opportunities for the best life possible are largely increased. There seems no question that these persons ought to be permanently placed in institutions.

The custodial care of feeble-minded women is indicated on quite

other grounds. Though they might be even sufficiently intelligent for some forms of domestic service, it is highly important to society that so long as they are of the child-bearing age, they should be kept in an institution. Many of the feeble-minded are of an extremely low grade of intelligence and must be cared for with respect to the most elemental needs. It has been found by experience that the best custodians for them are the better class of the feeble-minded, who are very proud that their capacity is sufficient to allow them to be put in charge of other human beings, and who show more kindness and less revolt from the occupation.

The doctrine of the custodial care of a large number of the feeble-minded is now well established. The epileptic colonies can by wise management, with sufficient land for farming and a sufficient variety of occupations, approach more nearly to self-support than the same persons could out in the world.

Though the schools are not regarded at the present time as quite so sure to make great successes as they once were, and though some of the stories of marvelous development of the feeble-minded are now discounted, the education in schools is still of very great value. True feeble-mindedness is based upon a lack of normal brain and nervous organization for mind manifestation, and therefore is incurable, but whatever faculties there are may still be unfolded. The schools for the feeble-minded have done a great deal by their experiments for the benefit of the schools for normal children. They have adopted the kindergarten methods and have shown how important color and form are in the awakening of intelligence. They have also shown the value of the individual treatment of pupils, and they have obtained their best results where the special aptitudes of the pupils have been recognized and used. They have learned the lesson that mental power comes not from the development of the faculties most difficult of employment, but precisely from those which are more easily put into action. If a child has an aptitude for music, drawing, arithmetic, color, or form, the wise teacher enters the mind through the widest gate and the broadest avenue, and all the mind receives a tonic from the development of any single faculty.

Manual training and trades are employed as largely as possible, though it must be remembered that the hand of the feeble-minded

is often just as uncertain as his judgment, and great skill cannot be expected from large numbers.

In some countries, notably in England, rooms for feeble-minded children have been connected with the ordinary public schools. I visited some of them where they are conducted in the same buildings. The brutal derision which the children receive from the only half-civilized boys and girls makes life hard to bear and instruction difficult to impart. The experiment of caring for these children in connection with the public schools is based upon economic reasons rather than upon the theory of securing the best results for the feeble-minded.

Backward children are often confounded with the feeble-minded, and indeed it often requires the special skill of an expert physician to discover the distinction, and even he sometimes fails to make a correct diagnosis. The child may be backward from some unobserved defect of the special senses, — from malnutrition affecting either the body or the brain, and, in general, from the lack of physical care on the part of parents and physicians. On the other hand, in the ordinary public school system some children seem backward who are not, because their faculties do not develop in the normal way. One child has great perception and little reflection; another child broods oddly upon uncertain perceptions and forms judgments which are corrected by a later experience. The condemnation, therefore, of special rooms for children who are feeble-minded does not apply to special rooms in the public school system for those who are backward. These require the particular study of the psychologist and the physician, and there are many children who, though they belong in ungraded rooms, will at length develop into the men and women above the average both in intelligence and in character.

PATHOLOGY OF THE SENSES

Provision for the Blind

FOR the purposes of social pathology those are called blind who are not able to use their eyes efficiently in economic, domestic, and other social relationships. There is a wide range in defect from those whose sight is slightly impaired to those who are born totally blind. The instruction of the director of the United States Census to the enumerators was, "Should it appear that the sight is so seriously impaired that it is impossible for the person to read a book, even with the aid of glasses, then you will note such person as blind." [1] The state Census Bureau of Massachusetts in 1905 declared, "This class includes persons who by the aid of glasses are yet unable to distinguish form or color, to count the fingers upon the hand within one foot from the eyes, or to read writing or ordinary print." This definition has been adopted by the New York Commission and their investigators in considering the number of the blind. It will be apparent from the definitions and from the variations in human judgment, that close accuracy in figures as to the extent of blindness is not to be expected. The United States Census of 1900 as originally returned, gave the number of the blind as 101,000, but examination of the returns and correspondence with teachers and experts throughout the country led the Census Bureau to reduce these figures to about 65,000, or, approximately, one in 1170 of the population. Of this number 55 per cent were represented as totally blind, and 45 per cent partially blind. In the opinion of the New York Commission the number returned as totally blind is approximately correct, but the number of partially blind is in excess of the figures given in the census report. It is probable that the proportion of the blind to the general population has not changed materially, though it has perhaps been somewhat reduced in the

[1] The Blind and the Deaf, Bulletin U. S. Census, 1906, p. 3.

last few years. Fifty-seven per cent of the blind are returned as males, 43 per cent as females.

A little less than 13 per cent of the blind are returned as under 20 years of age, which is considerably above the estimates in some of the states of America, and much more than the census of France which returns less than 9 per cent as under 20 years of age in 1901. Only 4700 children are born blind, and the number only increases to 8000 up to 20 years of age, notwithstanding all the diseases and various perils of childhood. On the other hand, over 48 per cent of the entire number of the blind in the United States are returned as over 60 years of age. Some industrial pursuits are unfavorable to vision, the eyes frequently suffer from accident; climatic conditions, including heat and rainfall, enter into the problem, and many defects which are overcome for practical purposes during the years of youth and vitality become sufficiently marked to make the sufferer socially unfit when the physical powers begin to wane.

Recent progress in medical science and a wider public knowledge of the importance of early treatment are steadily tending to reduce the number of those who become hopelessly blind. The medical inspection of school children, the recognition and treatment of diseases of the eye, the wearing of glasses when indicated by the nature of the defect, are all related to this problem.

Already it appears that the number of blind youth of school age is not increasing in the United States in proportion to the population, and in some of the states it even seems to be decreasing. A casual comparison of the school enrollment indicates a normal increase, but when it is remembered that in recent years children have been received in schools for the blind at a younger age than formerly, and, on the other hand, by the extension of courses of study and periods of training, pupils are now retained in the schools for a longer term of years, we might expect to find the school enrollment larger than it really is. A generation ago blind children were seldom received into the schools under ten years of age, and at that time the standard course of instruction was five years, and the advanced course two years more. Now the standard course has been increased to eight years, and the advanced course is four years more, or, in other words, the school period is now twelve

years as against seven years under former methods. From these facts we should expect a very large increase in the number annually enrolled. The number enrolled in the closing years of each of the five-year periods from 1895 to 1910 was, respectively, 3173, 3757, 4197, and 4422. It will be noted that the increase has been less with each half decade and relative to the increase of population is not so large as would have been expected normally. In addition to the earlier entrance upon school attendance, and its longer continuance, it may be added that the general view of the importance of the education of the blind is much more seriously entertained than it used to be, and it is probable that a larger proportion of blind children of school age are in attendance than ever before.

The number of schools for the blind in the United States increased from 32 in 1890 to 44 in 1910, and the increased number made them geographically more accessible to their patrons than before. In the two schools for the blind in the state of New York the population actually decreased from 406 in 1895 to 330 in 1910. A similar state of affairs is to be found in some other states. Only one item to be considered to offset the statement of fact already given, is that in late years those adults above school age who were often formerly found in the schools have been practically eliminated, but this would not account for the figures in the New York schools. Experts in the care of the blind seem, on the whole, to agree that modern conditions of life, more effective protection, and better remedial agencies are actually lessening the number of the youthful blind.

An illuminating illustration of the favorable tendency is shown in the decrease of the ratio of the blind to the population in New York City as compared with the rest of the state. As shown by the United States Census of 1900 the number of blind persons in the metropolitan district was 1364 and the population 3,621,459, making the ratio of the blind to the whole population 1 in every 2655. The number of blind in the other portions of the state was 4644, and the whole population was 3,647,435, giving a ratio of 1 blind person to every 785. In other words, there were more than three times as many blind persons in the country districts as there were in the city. From every industrial and economic point of

view this situation was not to be expected. The city is the magnet for the blind as it is for all other classes of unfortunates. The urban conditions and occupations are less favorable to sight than the country districts. The only explanation of the puzzle is that preventive measures are used more widely and more successfully in New York City than in the state at large.[1]

It is probable that comparatively few children are actually born blind. There is a disease, that of infant ophthalmia, appearing at the time of birth, now known to be easily preventible if proper measures are taken within a few hours after birth, but which, if neglected, ends soon in total blindness through the destruction of the eyeballs. To Professor Créde of Leipzig is due the credit of the great discovery that a single drop of a mild solution of nitrate of silver will destroy the germ of this disease without injuring the sight where the disease does not exist. By the use of this measure from a number of more than 7 per cent afflicted with the disease in the maternity hospital of which he had charge, in three years after its use there was but one case in 1160 births. It is estimated that about 33 per cent of the blind children in the Pennsylvania school are there on account of this infant disease, and doubtless are all in the statistics as having been born blind.

Similar conditions prevail elsewhere, and in some countries are worse than in the United States. The American Medical Association made recommendations based upon the scientific fact that this malady may be easily cured,[2] substantially as follows: —

1. The enactment of laws in each state or territory requiring the registration of births and placing the supervisory control of midwives in the boards of health.

2. The distribution by health boards of circulars of advice to midwives and mothers, giving instructions as to the dangers of the disease.

3. Preparation and distribution by health boards of tubes containing the medicine properly prepared, with directions for its use.

[1] Wait, Sociology of the Blind, p. 9.

[2] Lucien Howe, Legislation in the United States for the Prevention of Blindness. Reprinted from the *Journal of American Medical Association.*

4. The maintenance of proper records in all maternity institutions and hospitals in which children are born.

5. Periodical reports to the boards of health by all physicians of the number of cases of infant ophthalmia occurring in their practice within a specified time, with the results of the use of the preventive.

From motives of delicacy physicians often fail to use the preventive, and, on account of ignorance and incapacity, the same thing is often true of midwives, particularly among those foreign-born, but if the license to practice were revoked by failure to care for every child born into the world, the motive of delicacy would no longer exist, and a large proportion of those now condemned to darkness would have their sight preserved.

The greater care in this matter in the urban district is not the only reason for the better conditions prevailing. The eyes of those children placed in custodial institutions have frequent examination under the law, and the higher level of intelligence in the management of the schools coöperates with the greater intelligence in respect to this matter, both upon the part of the public and upon the part of the medical profession.

The first three schools for the blind in America were those in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, which were all founded by private effort and private funds. They were incorporated as private institutions. The movement out of which these schools grew began in 1830, based upon the conviction that blind children as well as seeing children should receive education, both as a matter of public policy and as a matter of right under American institutions. The way in which interest was aroused is indicated by the experience of Mr. Friedlander who trained some blind children in Philadelphia and then showed what they could do before a selected company and afterward before a large audience. The success of this exhibition led to liberal contributions.

The state schools for the blind, supported wholly by public funds, owed their origin to exhibitions of trained pupils from the schools before the state legislatures. As a result of these successful efforts, appropriations were secured and institutions inaugurated in all parts of the country until now every state in the Union makes provision for the education of its blind either in a school of its

own or in that of a neighboring state. Nine of these state schools combine the education of the blind with that of the deaf in what are known as "dual schools." This arrangement has been made to secure economy in organization and management where the number of inmates is small, but the nature of the defects is so diverse that teachers of both blind and deaf prefer that they should be organized into separate schools.

The course of instruction in these schools includes the usual branches of grammar and high school education, together with special instruction in reading and writing. The first system of printing for the blind was by embossed letters invented by M. Haüy of Paris. This was improved by Dr. Samuel G. Howe of Massachusetts, and in 1852 it was indorsed at the British exposition as the best system in the world. The system of Louis Braille, devised first in 1829, was slower in making its way, but the system has so many advantages, both because it is briefer and better adapted to writing, and also to the touch of the blind, that it has been, with modifications and improvements, adopted in the American schools and is gradually making its way everywhere. Frames have been invented to assist in regularity and skill in the writing of the system by the blind. Besides the educational features of these schools, a good deal of attention has been given to music, and, in the best institutions a four-year course is offered. It has been found that those of the blind who are educated in music are usually economically independent.

Industrial training of the blind has been a part of their education from the beginning. Manual training has been generally employed instead of special instruction in the trades. Some handicrafts, such as chair caning, broom making, carpet weaving, still remain, and, in spite of the fact that there is less for them to do than formerly, and the lack of economic success of the blind in manual labor, occupation with the hands will doubtless continue as a part of their education in any event because of its effect upon the mind and health.

The question of industrial occupation for the blind is by no means solved. Notwithstanding a comparatively small percentage of the blind who are graduates of the schools are ever found in almshouses, it still remains that the blind are not well adapted to occupations

requiring the use of machinery, or where it is needful for them to work with system and regularity in competition with those who can see.

Much as America has owed to Europe in the development of its institutions, it is interesting to note that the first school for the blind in England was established in 1872 by Mr. F. J. Campbell, who became principal of the Royal Normal College and Academy of Music in London, and in that institution made 80 per cent of his pupils self-supporting, though the blind had hitherto been classed as paupers. For his distinguished success in his work for the blind of the United Kingdom Dr. Campbell was knighted by King Edward and became Sir Francis Campbell.

In the public schools of New York, Chicago, and other cities effort has been made to educate the blind in connection with the seeing children. The pupils are put in separate rooms and recite with the seeing pupils. Observers do not think that the method will give the same advantages to the blind as in their separate schools on account of the lack of improved facilities for musical and industrial training, as well as the lack of special attention. The argument that is employed with force in respect to the higher education of the blind is that experience of the isolation of blind children shows the tendency to produce a peculiar type — self-conscious and not properly socialized.

An outline of the methods employed by the New York Institution for the Blind is given in Effort and Progress by Principal William B. Wait, who is regarded as the Nestor among superintendents in America. That institution passed through various phases of organization. It reached its most complex condition about 1850 when it appears to have been five institutions in one as follows: first, a school for the education of blind children in the usual school branches, in music and in trades; second, a school for the instruction of adult blind persons in trades; third, a factory to afford work for the adult blind in shops; fourth, a boarding house or residence for such employees, male or female; fifth, an asylum for adult blind men and women. In 1862 the institution resumed its original character. The law adding the asylum and the workshop features was repealed.

In 1908 the managers adopted a preamble and resolutions which

express the following general conclusions which are held by most experts in teaching the juvenile blind: —

"Whereas, the prolonged experience of this institution in the past, covering a period of nearly thirty years, has, in the opinion of this Board, fully demonstrated the educational and practical inutility of instructing the blind committed to our care in trades; and

"Whereas, such instruction, even if it were both possible and useful, could certainly not be given without compelling us practically to abandon our original purpose and our present important educational work; and

"Whereas, the present complicated conditions of labor and trade make ultimate success in that direction much less likely now than it was in the past, when the most intelligent and patient efforts led to hopeless failure and almost to financial ruin; and

"Whereas, such a course would be a direct injury to the young blind; and would result in forfeiture of the position and recognition which we have gained among the educational institutions of this state and in the University of the State of New York; and also in the loss of bequests from that large number of our citizens who are interested in aiding institutions of an educational character; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that this Board hereby records its belief that teaching of trades should not be attempted by this institution."

In the same year the American Association of Instructors of the Blind held their annual meeting in Indianapolis, at which time Mr. George S. Wilson delivered the address, as president, in which he strongly dissented from the English and continental ideas with respect to the proper care of the blind, quoting with disapproval the announcement of the institution in Glasgow of its purposes: first, to give educational, technical, and industrial training to the juvenile blind and to provide a home for blind children and blind women; second, to teach trades and to provide employment for the adult blind men and women; third, to supplement their earnings, to give holiday grants, to supply clothing, and aid them in sickness and old age. This combination of effort seems contrary to sound theory and to rest upon precisely the same basis as the introduction of children into almshouses or other retreats for paupers and for the aged. The conclusions which were developed by the president of the association seem to have been agreed to by the superintendents who were present, and they are as follows: —

"1. The education of all children is the work of the state, and is to be given to all alike in the most economical and efficient manner.

"2. This education, while it should be comprehensive, should trend to the general development and avoid the special or technical.

"3. The education of the blind should depart as little as possible from the principles and best methods of the seeing.

"4. Congregation of the blind pupils into separate schools is probably necessary in the interest of economy and efficiency, but in these is the only justification.

"5. The social relations of the young blind with ordinary society ought to be carried to the maximum and their relations with each other reduced to the minimum.

"6. All with partial sight who can do passable work without injury in the schools for the seeing ought to be excluded from the schools for the blind.

"7. Where the blind are congregated in special schools there should be the blind alone.

"8. They should be congregated in special schools as short a time as possible. Technical and university education should be gained in the institutions for the seeing.

"9. The teachers should have the best normal training, and should be employed only in teaching."

The foundation for the education of the blind under American theory rests upon its free public school system, and just as it provides by taxation education for other children without the stigma of pauperism, so it provides free education for those who are defective in the senses. Perhaps better than any one else Helen Keller has expressed in words the appealing condition of those who are compelled to live in a dark world: —

"It is to live long, long days, and life is made up of days; it is to live immured, baffled, impotent, all God's world shut out. It is to sit helpless, defrauded, while your spirit strains and tugs at its fetters, and your shoulders ache for the burden they are denied — the rightful burden of labor."[1]

To make more complete the elements of the problem, it is necessary to consider with some exactness the effect of blindness upon the individual. The opinion prevails that those who are blind have the loss made good by the quickening of the other senses. Many people suppose that the blind have, by reason of their affliction, a special gift in music. The most casual observer of institutions for the blind will know that the loss of this sense does not create a particular gift for music, as a psychologist would understand without any investigation whatever. Director Kunz published the result of special studies with respect to the vicarious

[1] Helen Keller, New York Association for the Blind, 1907, p. 61.

action of the senses in his Physiology of the Blind,[1] and with respect to these investigations it is only possible here to state some of the important results. In distinguishing sound neither the direction nor the distance is perceived so well by the blind as by the seeing, and it is evident that the sense of hearing has gained nothing by the loss of sight. The belief in the musical ability of the blind grows out of the more careful attention that is paid to any talent however slight, and better results are obtained with the blind than with the seeing. Investigation into the acuteness of the sense of smell by means of a smelling tube shows the superiority of the seeing in this particular, also. But the most important stronghold of those who urge the advantage of the blind has been in their sense of touch, and indeed remarkable results have been obtained, in labor, in the use of maps, in reading, and in social relationships. These advantages, however, have resulted from greater care in training, and in education ; for the examination of the blind and of the seeing in very careful experiments, both in a condition of repose and in a state of fatigue, reveals still another advantage for the seeing, and there can be no question that nature does not compensate with one hand as she takes away with the other, and that the person who is deprived of sight is partly deprived of the other senses, also. So real is this relation that many persons who are blind are also deaf, which is another illustration that where one of the members suffer "all the members suffer with it."

Dr. Savary Pearce published A Study of the Blind,[2] including an analysis of 180 pupils at the Pennsylvania institution. The valuable results of that investigation are those which show that half of the blind had distinct marks of other diseases. In 45 per cent of the girls there were indications of curvature of the spine, and in 36 per cent of the boys. In weight, height, and lung capacity they were also below the normal average, and his conclusion as to their intelligence is summed up in the statement "the blind, as a class, seldom present that intense mental clearness of the seeing."

It is often said that the blind have better memories, but this should be accepted with restrictions. They have not better

[1] Kunz (Volta Bureau), Physiology of the Blind, p. 15.
[2] Savary Pearce, A Study of the Blind, p. 8-14.

general memories for facts, when compared with the seeing of like advantages and stations in life.

Many observers have noted the effect of the loss of sight upon the morals and character. Continued introspection tends to a morbid point of view. The blind child finds it difficult to realize himself as he is. On the one hand, he will be weak and fearful, or, on the other, he will be opinionated and egotistic. It is not enough to educate the blind that they may come into contact with the world of life and history through books; it is necessary so far as possible to supplement his experience of books by actual contact with work and with people. The need of proper recreation and of varied and suitable exercise is easily evident.

One of the most important investigations into the condition of the adult blind was that by the commission[1] appointed by the legislature of the state of New York, which reported in 1904. In that report they give an account of a number of institutions in Great Britain and the United States for the care of the adult blind. The majority of these institutions are supported by private charity, though some of them receive state aid. They discovered that one of the difficulties in the self-support of the blind was occasioned by the time and strength consumed in selling their product, and recommended that some arrangement be made by which the goods could be sold to the state and municipal institutions. Among their important conclusions were that the economic condition of the blind is very low, and that many of them are too old to acquire or to follow successfully any industrial occupation. In the case of those who are in good health many of them have been idle so long that they have lost all desire to work. Workshops both in Great Britain and in the United States for adult blind men of working age seem to be more successful than industrial homes, the theory being that the blind when cared for in the homes of relatives or friends are usually better off than in some institution.

New York City has adopted a method of giving pensions to the adult blind through the department of charities in a total amount not exceeding $75,000 and the pension, ranging from $35 to $50 annually, has for its object the bringing to self-support of these blind adults who are trying to help themselves. The amount is

[1] Commission of the State of New York (1904), p. 46 *et seq.*

not sufficient to make up the economic difference between the blind and the seeing, but it is sufficient to reduce ordinary pauperism among the blind in New York City to a much less extent than usually prevails in the urban centers of the world.

Various methods have been employed to aid in the education of those adults who become blind after school age, or whose childhood has been neglected. The summer school in the state of Minnesota is carried on for the benefit of blind men, at the seat of the school for juvenile blind, and during the time of the summer vacation of that institution. Instruction is given in broom making, rug and carpet weaving, hammock and fly-net weaving, rattan basket making, cabinet work, the use of carpenters' tools and minor industrial work. Instruction is also given in the elements of education and in the use of the typewriter. Perhaps one of the wisest efforts of this school is in seeking to give "instruction in the best ways of acquiring independence of action and of performing the ordinary personal and social functions of life."

The care of the blind is so appealing to the sympathies that it is very easy to deprive them of their natural rights. The first and most important social function in the matter is the prevention of blindness. As in all the problems that we are studying, the number of this class is far in excess of what it should be, and the task of limiting the number of the blind is far greater than in most of the pathological classes. Having reduced the number of the blind to the lowest terms, the most thorough education should be provided for those that remain. The courses of instruction should be so varied as to suit the capacity of each individual, and with the constant view before the teacher of bringing that pupil to the largest measure of mental power and the greatest and the fullest economic independence. If these two social tasks are properly performed, the remaining task of caring for the adult blind who are incapable will be neither too large nor too difficult to be compassed by the wise union of private and public endeavor. For his own sake and for the sake of society the blind pauper should never be allowed to become a public beggar.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAF

As blindness shuts out the world of form and color, so deafness shuts out the world of sound. As there are all degrees of blindness, from the slight defect to total darkness, so deafness may mean a slight impairment of hearing or a lifelong silence.

The instructions of the United States Census asked of enumerators to include among the deaf "those who cannot be made to understand what people say even when they shout." This definition will do well enough for general purposes, but is not accurate enough for the uses of social science. Among children those are deaf who cannot hear well enough to pursue studies profitably with normal children in the public schools. In the business world those are deaf who cannot hear readily enough to understand ordinary conversation, and are therefore limited in the range of their possible occupations.

According to the census report published in 1906 [1] there were in the United States 86,515 who were deaf besides 2772 who were also blind. Those both blind and deaf are more likely than normal persons to have other defects also. The deaf are dumb because they cannot hear, as there are few cases of mutism because of brain defect even when the dumb cannot hear. About 5 per cent of the deaf are feeble-minded, which of course is much larger than the proper proportion. These persons are often sent to regular schools for the deaf, but of course should have special provision at institutions for the feeble-minded.

The term "deaf-mute" has been generally used in America, but is becoming less and less accurate, because while it is perfectly true that mutism is nearly always the result of deafness, it is also true that those totally deaf may be taught to speak. Mutism is not in itself a defect, for no child is born with the power of speech, and those born deaf remain mute because they have had no opportunity to learn the language as normal children do. The earlier the

[1] **The Blind and the Deaf, Bulletin U. S. Census, 1906, p 65.**

age when deafness comes after birth through disease or accident, the larger is the proportion of those who are also dumb. Experts say that the child who loses his hearing before two years of age is as dumb as if he had been born deaf. If he loses his hearing between the ages of 2 and 5 years, his speech is still imperfect, and he naturally becomes deaf and dumb with the passage of time. Those to whom the calamity comes between 5 and 10, continue speaking imperfectly after becoming deaf, and later many of them may even become entirely dumb. Those to whom deafness comes between the ages of 10 and 20 keep up the knowledge of the language by reading, but their speech becomes peculiar.

The deaf are divided into two classes: those deaf from childhood and adults who have become deaf. Those are classified as deaf from childhood who are under 20 years of age, whether they were born so or became deaf through accident or disease. According to the figures for the United States published in 1906, 37,426 were totally deaf, while 51,861 could hear loudly shouted voices. There is a considerable discrepancy between the enumerations of 1890 and those of 1900. In 1890 the deaf from childhood were 844 to the million, and they were 662 to the million in 1900; while the deaf adults were 890 to the million in 1890, and 473 to the million in 1900. It is evident that the figures are not accurate, and it is probable that in 1890 those who were slightly deaf were included in the enumeration, while they were excluded in the enumeration of 1900. The figures for 1900 are accepted as being, on the whole, much more accurate than those of 1890. Those deaf from childhood were reported as 50,296, and those who became deaf after reaching maturity were 35,924, but, as will be seen later, this great change in the figures is partly due to changes in methods of instruction.

Superintendent Crouter [1] gives a classification of the deaf as follows: (1) congenitally deaf; (2) semi-deaf (only partial loss of hearing); (3) semi-mute (lost their hearing after learning to speak); (4) feeble-minded deaf.

The gift of speech is not innate, but is learned by imitation, and those who are deaf cannot acquire it in the usual manner. Many children who have already learned to speak before becoming deaf,

[1] Crouter, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1906, p. 249.

through disease afterward entirely lose the power of speech, though the advantage of once having spoken is of great service when they come to be taught by the special educational methods for their class. Out of 35,479 totally deaf cases 36 per cent are reported as totally deaf from birth, and more than half of those totally deaf lost their hearing before two years of age.

No one knows how many are born deaf, and congenital defects are overestimated in all social statistics. Some infants lose their hearing from unobserved causes, and it is not even known that they are deaf until it is observed that they do not begin to speak at about the age of two years, when speech is expected.

Many of the closer students of the subject reduce the number of those born deaf, and there is a growing doubt as to the influence of heredity. Healthy deaf parents do not, as a rule, have deaf children, though there are exceptions to the rule. It is, however, true that families have been traced who have deaf-mutes in several consecutive generations, as it also seems to be true that the children of deaf-mutes lose their hearing from disease more easily than other children. Now this may result from weakness in the organ of hearing, or it may, with at least equal likelihood, result from the fact that the deaf parents do not at once recognize the trouble and medical aid is not secured in time. Of course in diseases of the ear, as in almost every other ailment of the body, early treatment is one of the first conditions of the best percentage of success. Some investigators have gone so far as to deny that deafness in the parents has any influence whatever upon deafness in the children, and this is a problem which has been debated with varying fortunes during the last half century.

The three principal causes of deafness are congenital, disease, and accident. The leading causes are given as follows: congenital, 14,000; catarrh and colds, more than 16,000; scarlet fever, 7000; brain disorders, 6000; diseases of the ear, 4000. The young are affected by scarlet fever and other diseases that attack the middle ear, while catarrhal affections are more likely to cause deafness among adults. More females become deaf through the middle ear, and more males through meningitis and brain fever. The number of those who suffer from falls or blows is larger among males on account of the greater exposure due to their occupations. More

than 80 per cent of those who are deaf from meningitis, brain fever, and congenital causes are totally deaf.

Consanguineous marriages have been urged as one of the causes of deafness, and Superintendent Crouter of Pennsylvania, in an address before the National Conference of Charities, declares that out of 510 pupils in his institution 213 are congenitally deaf, and he believes that one of the chief causes of congenital deafness is consanguineous marriage. His opinion is entitled to great respect, but that also is an ancient debate. If two persons marry with similar physical defects, it is likely that in some of their offspring the particular defect will be intensified, and that will happen whether they are cousins or not. While the offspring of cousins show a larger percentage of those who are congenitally deaf, it is a curious fact that they seem to suffer less from deafness caused by scarlet fever, catarrh, and meningitis, as well as old age and military service.

Investigation shows that in some countries the Jews have a much larger percentage of deafness than other parts of the population, and this is urged as an evidence of the bad influence of consanguinity, as cousin marriage is more frequent among them than among other peoples. It is stated that more than 4 per cent of the deaf are offspring of consanguineous marriages. Unfortunately, we do not know how many such marriages take place, but it is not at all likely that there is anything like that proportion in the entire population.

Before any final theory of the causes of deafness, other than disease, is worked out, there must be more careful study than has hitherto been made of certain facts. For example, it is well known that the mountain regions give a larger proportion of deaf mutes than the lower levels. Does this result, as some argue, from the fact that the mountain population in Switzerland is more likely to contract marriage among relatives? Is it because of the poverty and bad conditions of living? Is it the effect of climate? Does altitude itself and the rarity of the air have something to do with the matter? Why is it that there are more whites who are deaf than blacks, and yet the poorer classes show a considerably greater proportion of deafness than those who are economically well off? While Switzerland stands at the top of the list in the

number of the deaf, the Netherlands, on the other hand, have a low rate. Is this a question wholly of climate, or does the race question have something to do with it, or is it a difference in economic conditions? In America why is it that more of the foreign-born are deaf than of the native-born, unless it be that the necessary acclimatization affects every weak organ, and those who have weak ears suffer at that point?

The Census Bureau of 1906 deals with deafness in the form of cartograms, which distribute the problem by states and territories. The numbers of those totally deaf and of those only partially so practically cover the same territory and show that deafness is more prevalent in the eastern and the middle states of the north. A line commencing at the northwestern corner of Texas, running eastward to Tennessee and then northwesterly to include the Virginias, divides the problem. South of the line the deaf rate is uniformly lower than in the states in the north and middle areas, with the exceptions of Minnesota and North Dakota, but, on the other hand, Montana, Wyoming, and Arizona show the lowest rate in the number of those who are totally deaf. This geographical distribution tends to show that the influences of climate must be particularly studied in order to arrive at just conclusions with respect to the causes of deafness. Certain diseases which produce deafness are more prevalent in some localities than in others, and they differ at different periods of time. For example, cerebrospinal meningitis was so prevalent in the state of Indiana that it decidedly influenced the statistics of 1880. Were the principal cause of deafness congenital, it would seem that the distribution would be much more equal than is indicated by the investigation. The part of the country having least sunshine corresponds to the area showing the largest ratio of deafness from affections of the middle ear.

A group of contiguous states, Kentucky, Tennesee, Virginia, and North Carolina, with Maine and New Mexico detached, show the largest ratio of congenital deafness as reported by the enumerators. It would seem that a special study of every family in these states should throw light upon the supposed influence of heredity upon deafness.

Another group of states which are also contiguous, namely,

Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Kansas, have a black record with respect to the number of those who are totally deaf under five years of age. It seems likely that the diseases of childhood which result in deafness are more prevalent in those states.

Another problem that must be carefully studied in the future is the demotic composition, for the race question without a doubt will have some bearing upon the solution of the problem. This is illustrated by conditions in the southern states where deafness from scarlet fever and affections of the middle ear is much greater among the whites than among the colored people, though about twice as many colored people as white are born deaf and four times as many of them are deaf from malarial fever.

The race question is often another name for physical conditions, economic standards, and the problem is not one of physical descent but rather of inherited environment.

Evidences of scrofula are more frequent among deaf persons than among the normal population, and bad tenements, bad food, and in general low conditions of living among the poor reduce the vitality and make the ravages of disease more abundant, with a consequent larger proportion of deafness as well as of other evils.

The modern movement for the education of the deaf began in Europe in 1760, though there had been some efforts in Spain and elsewhere prior to that time. But about 1760 three schools were established, one in Paris, one in Dresden, and one in Edinburgh. The Abbé de l'Épéé in Paris, observing some of the deaf communicate by gesture, conceived the idea of developing a definite sign language for the use of this class of unfortunates. Braidwood in Edinburgh on the other hand, adopted articulate speech, teaching the deaf to understand the speech they could not hear by reading the lips, and also teaching them to speak by imitation of the muscular movements used in vocalization. From these efforts schools for the deaf spread throughout Europe. However, the development of their education was left to the church and to private charity. In America the founder of deaf-mute education was Dr. Gallaudet, who founded a school in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1817, having studied the methods employed in the school in Paris which he adopted in his system of education. In 1864 the

Columbia Institution at Washington incorporated by the national Congress, offered collegiate work to the deaf who were graduates of the lower schools.

In America the basis for the education of the deaf, early placed on the same foundation as that of children who could hear, was undertaken at the expense of the state, and spread throughout the country, though there were also a few private schools with their own endowment.

The basis of this education was not, from the American point of view, a charity, but a duty, and was regarded as a real part of the educational system. Superintendents of schools for the deaf have been sensitive, perhaps too much so, upon the matter of the classification of their schools which have been often placed under the supervision of charitable agencies. The question is rather academic than practical, for the free education of the whole people at the expense of the state is in effect a vast public charity.

Education means far more to the deaf child than it does to the one who can hear, for all voices open the understanding of the latter. The plastic period of childhood is particularly the time when the normal child receives the largest number of permanent impressions. It is late to furnish reasons for the public education of the deaf, but they may be briefly stated as follows: Uneducated, the deaf become, first, a danger, because untrained and undeveloped in understanding they yet develop physical powers. Second, they are a loss, because, uneducated and untrained, they must be supported, while education removes the burden by opening to them many opportunities of productive labor. Third, they are a disgrace to the social group to which they belong, because, unlovely and undeveloped, they are deprived of the large share of normal life which is possible after adequate opportunities are furnished them. The school for the deaf offers also companionship of those who are similarly afflicted, and while this should not be the sole companionship, and as soon as practicable they should be introduced into normal society, experience shows that fellowship with those who are making similar struggles under similar conditions, is the only basis for that emulation which is always a sure stimulus for development.

More than 11,000 persons in the United States who became deaf before five years of age are reported as being able to speak.

These persons have acquired speech by means of special instruction in the schools.

The Twelfth Census reported 14,474 who could read the lips, 13,986 who could not, but in over 60,000 cases no returns were made.[1] Lip reading so far as these returns are concerned is confined to those who are totally deaf. It is generally recognized that the totally deaf learn to read the lips more easily than those partially deaf for the obvious reason that those partially deaf are in the habit of turning the ear toward the speaker instead of looking at the lips.

Four methods of communication are employed with the deaf, — the sign language, finger spelling, speech, and writing. The use of sign language and finger spelling is chiefly confined to the totally deaf who lost their hearing before reaching the age of five years. Of course when deaf people communicate with normal persons who have not been educated for communication with them, speech and writing are the methods employed.

It is impossible to sum up all the questions with respect to the subject. The question of the sign language as against lip reading has had the active attention of experts for half a century. It is asserted that it is easier to begin the education of the deaf with signs because the congenitally deaf naturally think in signs, and speech is like a foreign language. On the other hand, it is asserted that the two methods are mutually exclusive, and that if signs are used in the early education of the child, it is more difficult to acquire lip reading and speech, and while it is harder to begin with the lip reading, the later results are more rapid and more certain. Dr. Gallaudet, who became the president of the Columbia Institution, made a special visit abroad to study the different kinds of instruction, and reported in favor of manual methods. There seems to be a general agreement that all deaf pupils do not learn with equal facility to speak or to read the lips of others, and some who are taught to speak do it so imperfectly that the effort is practically a failure. Friends of the oral method, however, respond that the same thing is true in the education of children called normal, particularly in learning foreign languages.

Statistics published by the Volta Bureau[2] in 1910 show that in

[1] The Blind and the Deaf, Bulletin U. S. Census, 1906, p. 84–6.
[2] Volta Bureau, 1910, Statistics of Speech Teaching, p. 11.

the United States the total number of pupils in schools for the deaf is 12,498, and of these 9132 are taught speech, while 3366 are not. The Volta Bureau, endowed by Dr. Alexander Graham Bell with the 25,000 francs awarded to him as a prize for the invention of the telephone, has been a very important agency in collecting and diffusing knowledge concerning the deaf in America during the past twenty years.

In the schools for the deaf, speech is used as a means of instruction for more than two thirds of the pupils, but with a considerable number of them speech is combined either with spelling or the sign language. It seems, therefore, that after the long debate the present victory rests with those who believe that the deaf should be taught to speak with their own lips, and to read speech upon the lips of others. In England the Royal Commission of the United Kingdom voted "that every child who is deaf should have full opportunity of being educated on the purely oral system. If this should fail, he should be either removed from the oral department of the school or taught elsewhere on a sign and manual system."

Industrial training is always an important part of the curriculum for the deaf. A few deaf pupils become so skilled in reading the lips that they are able to take high school work with pupils who hear. A comparatively small number attempt higher education at the Gallaudet College, but the majority of the deaf who are to be self-supporting require the education of the hands. Here they are in a very much more advantageous position than the blind, for nearly all trades are open to the educated deaf, and consequently they are largely self-supporting. There are a considerable number of deaf who are successful teachers in the schools for their own class. There are occasionally men who have achieved success in special employments, such as journalism, banking, engraving, architecture, civil engineering, dentistry, and other occupations, but for the most part the deaf are engaged in farming, gardening, or mechanical occupations. The girls are easily trained for dressmaking and sewing, millinery, laundering, and cooking, besides the exceptional cases who are fitted for other employments. The success in teaching the deaf and in making them self-supporting seems to justify the cost, although that is large. In America alone

this represents the sum of $15,000,000 in institutions and $3,200,000 per annum for maintenance, with a per capita cost for the pupils of $260 per year.

The education of the deaf-blind has a romantic interest on account of two cases which have received special prominence because of the success which has attended their education. The first was the case of Laura Bridgman, a New Hampshire girl, taken by Dr. Samuel G. Howe in 1837. The story of her education and training became an international one because of the miracle which seemed to be worked in giving her any training at all. Laura Bridgman has, largely, been forgotten in the interest aroused by the still more brilliant deaf-blind child, Helen Keller of Alabama, whose achievements in her preparatory studies and also in Radcliffe College make hers the most remarkable case in history. There is no doubt that she was particularly fortunate in her teacher, Miss Annie M. Sullivan, but undoubtedly the results of her work are such as to indicate a problem of peculiar significance for those who think that the senses are the sole avenue of knowledge.

The case of Vera Gammon of St. Paul, a deaf-blind pupil in the Minnesota school, now fourteen years of age, has been very remarkable. When she came to the school she could not see nor speak nor hear. Her communication at home had been carried on by gestures devised by her family and herself. The first impressions of her at the school were of a girl, too small for her age, very active, but not intelligent, and somewhat difficult to manage. The teaching was done by spelling into the child's hand. The first three words taught were "doll," "ball," and "bear." This was accomplished by means of the objects combined with the hand spelling in a single day. Words of action succeeded by the same method of finger spelling. Very soon short sentences followed. In four months she acquired a vocabulary of about 355 words, increased within a year to 1000, and after four years she has a vocabulary of about 3000 words. Her lessons have included nature study, biography, arithmetic, language work, current events, and geography in connection with raised maps. She can also operate a typewriter, read books in Braille, and write with a pencil and frame. She has learned to speak and to read the lips, and has also been educated in the use of her hands. She can write

out stories after having read them over once in her own language, and she writes her own letters, doing these tasks very well.

In one of her letters she says, "I enjoy the company of the deaf more than that of hearing people because the deaf can talk more and quicker than the hearing can, and I never lose any speech by mingling with the deaf. I talk with the hearing people here and at home in speech."

This child has had, a large part of the time, the entire attention of one of the teachers in the Minnesota School for the Deaf. It emphasizes the two more celebrated cases and strengthens many of the psychological conclusions which they suggested. It will be noted that each of the three cases had a normal birth. Where either sight or hearing is lost on account of brain defect, the problem of education must be entirely different from that in those cases where the loss is caused by accident or disease to eye or ear.

OTHER SOCIAL FAILURES

Drunkenness

THE leading problems in social pathology have already been outlined. There are others, however, of so much significance that they belong to the general subject, and some of them are grouped in this chapter. They do not necessarily belong together, but are so placed for the sake of convenience. It is impossible in any one book to discuss all the questions involved with anything like completeness, but certain subjects are indicated for further study. In the preceding chapters the only hope has been to give an intelligent basis for continued investigation.

The problem of first rank, perhaps, is that of alcoholism. Letourneau [1] discusses at some length the history of the use of intoxicants and narcotics. Almost all peoples have discovered some drink or drug to furnish a "poetry of digestion"; from the wine of classical times to the koumys of the Tartars, from the opium of India to the tobacco of America, and from brandy to tea and coffee, men seek something to affect the nervous system in such a way as to excite the imagination and simulate a joy that belongs neither to the normal physical condition nor to the actual circumstances of life.

The outcome of the argument of Letourneau is that there is a universal craving in human nature for excitants, just as there is for food.

The matter of drugs and drink may be taken together for the purposes of this chapter, though in many respects they are two distinct questions. But in some things they are quite alike. The tendency of the indulgence is to increase the quantity that is taken, and what may have been an occasional indulgence becomes a regular habit. The increase of the use is followed by an increase of the craving, and a definite relation to the breakdown of the

[1] Letourneau, Sociology, book 1, chaps. 4 and 5.

organism. Excessive use of alcohol affects the kidneys and liver, as well as the nervous system, and results in the degeneration of the walls of the heart as well as often producing alcoholic insanity. Narcotics may overcome insomnia, but only when the amount of them is continually increased. Certain drugs cure headaches, but the headaches become more frequent and more violent.

There is perhaps no social problem upon which there is a greater variety of expert opinion than in the question of the moderate use of alcohol. With respect to its excessive use there is no question whatever. It is urged, however, that it is always a means of deception. If used for excessive heat or cold, for toil or fatigue, it cheats the user into supposing that he is finding protection when he is only opening the avenue for new perils. Experiments as to endurance of extremes of temperature or of extreme toil with and without the assistance of alcohol seem to be almost wholly in favor of total abstinence. On the other hand, whether alcoholism is a cause of evils or an effect of them is earnestly debated even by those who know much upon the subject. It is often urged that it is the chief cause of poverty, insanity, and crime. There are not a few who argue that on the other hand poverty and bad living conditions are the chief cause of drunkenness. It is urged by many physicians that the inebriate[1] is, to begin with, endowed with a depraved nervous organization; that instead of alcoholism being the cause of insanity, it is at least parallel with it. But even those who argue strongly in favor of the habit growing out of defective nervous organization, will readily agree that the alcoholism increases the primary nervous defect. Dr. Brantwaite, having studied more than 2000 cases of inebriety committed in England under the Inebriates Act, found that about 63 per cent were mentally defective and others were of low average mental capacity. This study is not quite conclusive, for some would urge that inebriety had first caused the failures of mental power. Professor Karl Pearson of London University has recently made a study of the drink question as related to the workingman of Edinburgh, and furnishes some results quite opposite to those that are usually supposed to prevail. He divided the workingmen under investigation into three

[1] Inebriety. Its Causation and Control, *Journal of Inebriety*, chap. 2, p. 256.

classes: those in Class A worked for wages under 25 shillings per week; Class B earned from 25 to 30 shillings; Class C earned more than 30 shillings per week. Of the first class 54 per cent were drinking men; of the second class 57 per cent; and of the third class 59 per cent,—the higher the wages, the greater the number who drank, and from this he argues that the drinking men were more intelligent and stronger, and he thinks there is no evidence that the drinkers, men or women, are, as workers or as child bearers, below the remainder of the community. He declares that the workingmen who drink "are more virile and physically fitter." Everything depends upon the interpretation of such an investigation. It remains to be proven that Class C has larger wages because it has a greater percentage of drinking men. The men of Class C would naturally be superior in resisting power as well as in producing power in order to obtain their places, and it does not seem likely from other investigations that the fact of their drinking has any other significance than that they were able to drink the amount they did in addition to doing their day's work. We should need to know, also, the age of the men in the various classes, as that is a very important factor in the problem. Finally, the proof is not conclusive that Edinburgh with all its charm is quite the best place to study the problem of drunkenness without prejudice.

The doctrine is urged that if the number of drinking places is reduced, drunkenness will diminish in like ratio. Under the system in the state of Pennsylvania the number of saloons is regulated by the courts, but it is urged that there, and elsewhere, if the number of bar rooms is reduced, the number of drinking clubs is increased. Sir Ralph Littler declares, "There is no relation between the number of licenses and drunkenness. In Bucks, Cambridge, and Stafford, England, there is one license to every 164 persons. The convictions number 5 per thousand. In Cornwall, Devon, and Durham there is one licensed house to every 274 inhabitants, and the convictions are 9 per thousand." The conclusion the reader is expected to draw is that the greater the number of licenses to a given population, the less the amount of drunkenness. The obvious weakness of the position is that convictions for drunkenness have no relation whatever to the amount

of drunkenness in any community. There are places in Great Britain with scores and hundreds of cases of drunkenness and no arrests ever taking place unless there be some other offense besides the intoxication.

Recently the English Royal Commission on Drunkenness, appointed because the drink habit was believed to be a serious menace to the well-being of the nation, reported the following conclusions: —

1. The number of licensed houses should be reduced.
2. Transfer of licenses should be controlled.
3. Discretion should be given to licensing authorities to impose special conditions as to doors and windows, secretary of state to prescribe the conditions.
4. When conditions are violated, licenses should be revoked without appeal except as to questions of fact.
5. Hours of opening on Sunday should be restricted to four hours per day.
6. Sale of intoxicants to children under 16 years of age should be forbidden.
7. No public music or dance should be allowed without special license.
8. General power should be given to arrest for drunkenness when disorder does not occur.
9. Liquor seller should be held liable for the drunkenness of any person within his premises.
10. Habitual drunkenness should be treated as personal cruelty and made cause for divorce.
11. Habitual drunkards should not be served.

The laws of 1879 in England modified the doctrine that drunkenness is no excuse for crime, and made it an extenuating circumstance. If the stimulants had been prescribed by a physician, and are the cause of the criminal act, the accused is not liable. Provision was also made for the establishment of retreats for inebriates, that is, houses licensed for the control, cure, and care of habitual drunkards. The drunkard could not be confined longer than two years. Inquiry as to whether a person is or is not an habitual drunkard could take place before any justice of the peace, but if effected, an appeal could lie to the county court.

In 1898 in England an Inebriates' Act providing for reformatories was passed chiefly in the administration of criminal law rather than as a temperance movement. The act divides the responsibility for these reformatories between the county councils and

Parliament. Briefly, the secretary of state is authorized to establish reformatories, make regulations, and appoint inspectors. The retreats which are provided must be licensed and subject to public inspection. Funds may be contributed for the support of these retreats by individuals who voluntarily go there, by their relatives, or by county councils. The term of residence was reduced from two years to one year. Patients may be visited by friends or relatives. The medical attendants may prescribe either intoxicating liquor or drugs for patients, but without such prescription their use is forbidden. The inmates may be paroled when it is thought that they can safely be trusted at large. The basis upon which the founding of such institutions rests is the doctrine that alcoholism weakens the will power of the individual, and not only has an effect upon the will centers, but it also attacks the moral perception of the patient. The word "patient" is used because whatever may have been the case in the beginning, after prolonged and intemperant use of intoxicants the doctrine now is that a diseased condition arises as really as that of any monomaniac. The diseased condition may have been vicious in its origin in many cases, but in the majority of instances is the result of the inheritance of a weak or abnormal nervous organization.

The American situation with respect to the care and cure of drunkards is ill defined and largely not existent. In the cities of the United States it is common to send persons who are convicted of drunkenness to what is known as the workhouse for the period of ten days — long enough for them to become sober, when they are released to become drunk again. There are plenty of recurrent cases that have received short sentences of this character scores of times. Whatever may be the philosophy of drunkenness, there is no question that there is a certain refuse of the population that is not only damaging, but disgustingly unsightly. Institutions should be provided in every city, preferably something akin to the farm colonies of Germany, but where the persons should be sent, not as in England for one year, but upon an indeterminate sentence. In this way the cities would be rid of such a population, and multitudes who are coming in to fill the ranks depleted by death would be restrained by fear of such incarceration. The

indeterminate sentence is as much indicated for the vagrant, the tramp, and the drunkard as for any other class of offenders, and, on many accounts, with even greater reason.

The state of Massachusetts, which has inaugurated a great many of the new movements for the care of the wards of the state, established in 1889 a hospital for dipsomaniacs and inebriates at Foxborough, and in 1893 the institution was opened. The title indicates a classification, the dipsomaniacs presumably being those whose habit resulted from a neurotic condition, and the inebriates those who had formed the habit willfully and wickedly. The State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity had recommended the institution some ten years before it was opened. The hospital is located upon a farm of 150 acres. The occupations are farm labor, gardening, light mechanical employments, and the support of the institution is out of the state funds, except that each inmate is expected, if he has property, to pay for his own maintenance. The institution was reorganized in 1907, but the general impression is that, partly on account of operation of the courts, and partly on account of the organization of the institution, it has not been so successful as was expected.

Mr. James Ford states that a recent special report of the Board of Trustees classifies drunkards into three groups: "the accidental drunkard, the occasional drunkard, and the habitual drunkard. It is only within this last group that intemperance is commonly beyond the will of the drunkard." It is by no means assured that the so-called periodic or occasional drunkard is not the most characteristic type of nervous degeneration. Periods of exhaustion come as the result of labor or even of immoral living, and the appetite awakens. After the debauch the individual returns for a month or three months to his normal life and occupation. The present recommendations of the trustees of this institution include the release of what are called accidental drunkards, with probation and fines for the occasional drunkard. For habitual drunkards they recommend the indeterminate sentence to state farms.

The Massachusetts classification of drunkards is by no means certainly scientific. There are doubtless many cases for whom the suggestion of hospital treatment in any form is quite absurd.

They are as hopeless as the worst cases of the feeble-minded, and the only treatment that can be given them is custodial. There is certainly a large class of drunkards who have found benefit from medical care and treatment. For these the hospital is indicated. There are others whose will could be sufficiently reënforced by the terrors of the law without any other aid, and who would care for themselves if the threat of correctional treatment were extended to them rather than the promise of more or less luxurious indulgence through drunkenness.

D. H. Tuke discussed at some length in his Influence of Mind upon Body[1] in 1872, long before modern psychotherapy and related cults, the usefulness of psychical forces in certain ailments. The insane were doubtless really cured at Gheel by the priest who used the relics at a time when there was faith in the bones of the saint. It is said that one lady was cured in nine days, and this may possibly be true. The extent of the influence of mind upon body has by no means yet been explored. In the Jerry McAuley Mission in New York it is said that out of 1700 alcoholics who were converted to religion, 75 per cent never relapsed, and the description of the cases indicates that they were almost altogether made up of the refuse population. Science may describe the process as therapeutic suggestion or hypnotism. Religion may describe it as the result of the power of prayer, but there is not the slightest question of the value of the mental attitude, and the possibility of using psychical motives and influences in the regeneration of alcoholics, and some physicians assert that at the last this method is the only one of permanent validity.

The American states have not, as a rule, made special provision for inebriates, though the state of Iowa in 1904 established such an institution at Knoxville. The institution is scarcely old enough yet to have furnished results sufficiently definite for guidance, but reports seem to indicate that about half the number sent to the institution give up the habit of drink. When discharged they are required to report to the clerk of the district court once each month.

The state of Minnesota, at a comparatively early period, provided that inebriates might be sent by the probate court to one

[1] D. H. Tuke, Influence of Mind upon Body, chap. 16, p. 416.

of its hospitals for the insane on practically the same terms as the other inmates. For obvious reasons, this treatment, though it worked well in particular cases, was not adapted to the solution of the problem. The officers of the institution were not well fitted for the particular task, and for dealing with inebriety, and the inebriates, in most cases, felt that they did not belong with the insane. In 1909 the legislature of Minnesota provided by law for a state institution, which has been located at Willmar upon a farm, and which it is proposed to develop upon the cottage plan. The institution is to be supported by a percentage from the receipts from the licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the state. The law provides that inebriates shall be committed to this institution by the probate court, by practically the same methods as those by which the insane are committed to the hospitals for their treatment, with this difference that if a person has been convicted of public drunkenness three times within three years, the magistrate must certify his case to the probate court for examination. He is committed under the plan of an indeterminate sentence, but after a maximum of two years he must be released upon parole. It is expected that this institution will be opened in 1912 or 1913.

It is to be doubted whether the state is the proper unit for the organization of institutions for the treatment of drunkenness. It is rather a municipal problem for the larger centers of population, and the question is to find some suitable substitute for what is now known as the workhouse.

The city of Cleveland has grouped all of its institutions upon a farm containing, approximately, a thousand acres of land. It is to be doubted whether this and other municipal systems by which all classes of public wards are practically put together, can have any reasonable defense. It seems quite certain that as the child has been separated from the poorhouse, so the vagrant should be separated from the ordinary drunkard, yet if any two classes are to be associated, they would be the last named. Experience shows that wherever vagrants are treated to an opportunity for systematic labor, they seek some locality more favorable for their purpose. It seems certain that custodial care with the indeterminate sentence, coupled with sufficiently varied labor

and whatever medical treatment may be needed, is the only adequate method for the care of the refuse population. The success of the treatment should always be tested by a term of parole under conditions strictly defined and with continued guardianship.

Both France and Germany have awakened to the dangers of drunkenness among their people, and definite movements to stop its ravages in both countries have increased in number and in coherence in recent years. The rhythmic character of temperance reforms is a subject quite worthy of consideration and has been particularly noticeable in the history of the United States. This country has been the leader in temperance reform among western nations. A careful study of the movements would probably show some interesting oscillations between moral methods and repressive methods as agencies, and between extreme enthusiasm and comparative apathy upon the part of the reformers. Many of the states have had periods of prohibitions of the use of all intoxicants; few of them have been consistent in their keeping the laws or enforcing them. Whatever view may be taken as to the moderate use of the various forms of alcohol in sickness or by persons past middle life, there is a general agreement both among physicians and social workers that the use of stimulants by minors is a perilous thing and ought to be prevented by all means within the power of the state.

Suicides

Suicide is a recognition of personal failure in life as well as an indication of a failure of social control. The old theory that suicide is usually accompanied by insanity is benevolent, but it is not scientific. It is much more likely to be accompanied by the excessive use of drugs or alcohol, but since these dethrone the will and are the cause of social and economic incapacity, for practical purposes the event is not largely differentiated from the results of insanity. It has often been noted that suicides follow each other and often in rapid succession. The same methods of taking the life are often employed. This indicates the influence

of publicity through newspapers and otherwise, the action of suggestion upon minds not well balanced, and the consequent imitation of those who have abruptly left the world. There is a social element in the question of suicide. Married persons are less likely to commit suicide than those who are single. This may, however, rest upon the well-known fact that married people have, as a rule, better health than those who are single. On the other hand, childless persons are more likely to commit suicide than those responsible for families. This seems to bear out the suggestion of the importance of the social bond.

The superficial causes of suicide are varied. Poverty, sickness, grief, dissipation, and irreligion has each been urged as a special reason in particular cases, as well as the insanity already referred to. There seems little question that a considerable number of suicides, particularly among what are known as the better classes, results from crime or some other form of dishonor either upon the part of the person or upon the part of some member of his family.

Different countries differ widely, as may be noted in the tables of statistics, in the number of suicides to each million of their inhabitants, but all civilized countries show during the last century a considerable increase in their number, and in some countries it is very marked. The greater mobility of life, the rising standards of living, the break-up of classes and social distinctions, violent changes in religious opinions, are all elements in the problem.

The form of religion seems to have something to do with the question. More Protestants commit suicide than Catholics, and fewer Jews than either. The religious distinction, however, may be only superficial and may cover differences economic and social. However, in so small a country as Switzerland there is a difference between the Catholics and the Protestants. In Catholic cantons the Catholic suicides are 20 per million, while the Protestants are 127 per million. On the other hand, in Protestant cantons the Catholics are 225 per million and the Protestants 602 per million. The curious facts here are that the Protestants have more than four times as many suicides in proportion to their number in their own cantons as they have in Catholic cantons, while, on the other hand, the Catholics who

live in Protestant cantons have ten times as many suicides as in the cantons where they are in the majority. Evidently these facts are either a curious illustration of the law of imitation or else may be solved by an examination of social facts quite apart from religious differences.

Climate seems to have something to do with the question of suicide. According to S. A. Hill in *Nature*, volume 29, excessive heat would seem to be a cause of suicide, since there are more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many such deaths in India during the summer season as during the winter.

The number of suicides is affected by economic disturbances. It is the same story which finds illustration in such classes as the insane or the criminals. Whatever social conditions or personal fortunes produce the greatest amount of stress upon the mind or body inevitably results in the largest amount of social wreckage.

Immigration

Every social group is strong in proportion as it has one language, one religion, one tradition, as well as a common form of social and political institutions. It will follow that the social bonds will be weakened by large and unassimilated additions, even of excellent elements in the population. Still more will the social group be injured by receiving large numbers of persons of lower intelligence, economic capacity, or social virtue.

Emigration of people has been characteristic of all times. In early times it must have been by large companies. In modern times it may be by families or by individuals. The general law is that men seek better economic conditions, and would find their homes where the largest amount of commodity can be secured on the easiest terms. In ancient times emigration took place where a group voluntarily sought for itself a better home and fought its way toward rich plains or fertile river valleys. The conquered inhabitants were reduced to slavery and the victors divided the territory among themselves. Sometimes as a result of wars after incursions into other lands the army returned with slaves as a part of the booty of conquest. In modern times immigration is either free or assisted. In the former case the colonist has decided

where he wishes to go and has enough to pay his expenses and to start a new home. These settlers are very fortunate additions to the country which they choose.

Assisted immigration has three general forms: first, assistance upon the part of sparsely settled countries desiring to increase the population; second, by governments, local or general, which desire to decrease their own population; third, private assistance, helping the poor to emigrate for philanthropic reasons. The assistance by the colonies desiring an increase of population tends to choose the best class of inhabitants. On the other hand, the second and third forms of assisted immigration tend to select the least desirable classes. It is no doubt well enough for sparsely settled countries to furnish information as to the advantages they have to offer, but too rapid immigration to any country retards its normal development, while schemes of economic paternalism are usually of doubtful utility, and tend at last to increase the pauper population.

America presented a peculiar vital problem in that it was practically an empty continent when discovered by white men. While still practically empty, the men upon the eastern seaboard established the freest institutions the world has ever known, and with a sentimentalism based upon the easiest economic conditions called this country "the home of the oppressed and the land of the free." As time has gone on necessity has compelled more discrimination. Qualifications of health, financial ability, and a record of good conduct are required. Mongolian labor is also excluded. The policy with respect to immigration has been increasingly stringent, and that doubtless will continue. There have been changes in the countries from which the immigrants come, formerly largely from Great Britain, France, and Germany, now, largely from northern, eastern, and southern Europe.

The general doctrine of immigration is that the economic conditions furnish the most important motives though people have changed countries on account of dissatisfaction with either political or religious institutions. It would seem that the state ought not to intervene in movements of immigration except on the one hand the parent country may direct and protect the emigrant, and on the other hand the country receiving him may decide

whether or not he will be a useful addition to the population. The percentage of foreigners in American cities is very large, and the fact that it consists of many constituent elements is an advantage rather than the opposite. In any community where one foreign element is dominant on account of numbers and influence, its manners and customs and language persist for a long time, but where it happens that each foreign element is in a minority, though all taken together constitute the large majority, it permits the American element to disintegrate each special group, and Americanization can proceed the more rapidly. The object of every social group must be to seek conformity to its ideas and institutions upon the part of all the population. When Alsace and Loraine became German, the government expelled French influence by largely increased university facilities and by establishing the German language and the German law. Those who did not like the change and were able to do so went to France. Every country must seek to make its people its own. If the Austrians could have persuaded or compelled the Hungarians to adopt a common language with themselves a generation ago, the whole condition of Austrian politics would have been different.

The partial socialization of a foreign population is always seen in the larger proportion of crime committed by foreigners in almost every country. In European cities this would naturally be expected, because the foreigners in the various cities are often there because it is unpleasant to remain at home. Thieves, swindlers, and prostitutes have no country, and ply their vocations wherever it is easiest and most profitable. The foreigner, broken away from his own environment, the traditions and habits under which he was trained, lacks the social supports furnished the man who lives in the place where he was born.

Immigration indicates that for one reason or another the country left by the man who seeks new fortunes is unsatisfactory. It is by so much for him a social failure. The country to which he goes finds him a man of alien race, habits, and traditions, and by so much he is for his new country a social task. In all immigration, therefore, there is a pathological element, but this becomes a problem of importance only when the addition to the population includes large numbers of paupers, criminals, or members

of races so deeply alien that they do not easily respond to the conditions of the new environment.

Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family may occur on account of economic reasons. Where husband and wife are both living, but where there are not sufficient means to properly support the children, the state may intervene and take them into its guardianship. Families bereft by the death of the breadwinner are frequently dissolved because of the lack of means upon the part of the mother to provide for herself and children. This phase of the question properly belongs to the study of poverty and has been incidentally considered under that head.

The chief methods by which the family are dissolved are divorce or judicial separation. Divorce permits remarriage upon the part of one or both of the parties to the contract, while judicial separation permits the man and wife to live apart under certain economic regulations, varying according to the conditions and differing in the several countries, but does not permit remarriage.

The primitive method of divorce was by the will of the husband, based upon the theory of the right of property in the wife, but it would not do to suppose that even among uncivilized peoples the same customs prevailed, and in very early civilizations there were definite restrictions and limitations upon the power of the husband, and these were particularly found among those peoples where the dowry constituted an important economic relation.

For modern nations the history of divorce begins with the Roman Empire, and in early times the authority of the husband to annul the marriage was precisely similar to that among the Jews. But Rome had a sense of the importance of institutions and began at an early time to make restrictions upon the right of divorce to compel orderly procedure, and public opinion was evoked so that the practice was less prevalent than the law itself permitted.

The influence of the introduction of Christianity upon the permanence of family life is shown in the view held by the western church that marriage is a sacrament, and the union dissoluble

only by death. Separation was indeed allowed, but not divorce. The canon law allowed separation for some of the chief modern reasons for breaking the bond, and, in addition, permitted separation in order to enter into a monastic life.

In general, the canon law of the Roman church became prevalent throughout the states of Europe. The constant tendency in recent years has been to place marriage upon a civil rather than upon a religious basis, and with it there has come in nearly every country methods of simpler and easier divorce. England in 1857 passed its law by which the court for divorce was constituted, and ecclesiastical power over the permanence of marriage was annulled. This law has been amended a number of times, and always in the interests of easier divorce. At the present time there is a movement in England, supported even by many churchmen, to remove some of the restrictions which exist at present against separation and remarriage. The number of divorces has not largely increased in that country, although many persons affirm that it is on account of the expensiveness of the process required.

In France under the Code Napoléon mutual consent was sufficient ground for divorce. This, however, was repealed by later laws, and at the present time the structure of the law gives great discretion to the courts. The law of France is particular as to the matter of property, since the dowry is a very influential social institution in that country. The general doctrine is that the party against whom the divorce has been pronounced loses the benefit of settlements, while the party who secures the divorce preserves all the settlements made in the ante-nuptial agreements. Alimony may also be granted in addition.

Germany has comparatively easy divorce, but it varies in the various German states, and the influence of that part of the empire which is Roman Catholic is quite important. The courts are granted a good deal of discretion in deciding whether the conduct of the accused is sufficiently dishonorable to warrant a separation. The influence of religion is shown in the high rate of divorce in Saxony as compared with Bavaria, the former having nearly four times as many. It will not do to say, however, that religion is the only influence in the case, as Great Britain has fewer divorces than either Germany or France. The United States

has a greater number of grounds for divorce than any other country. This is the result of state control of the subject. Efforts have been made to secure a uniform divorce law for the United States, but hitherto it has been found impractical, as it is a subject over which the national government does not have control; and since there are some forty-five different codes covering the question, it is not surprising that taking the laws all together, there are no less than forty grounds of divorce given. Chief among them are adultery, cruelty, crime, desertion, impotency, drunkenness, and failure to support. Five states only make insanity a ground of divorce in America, while in Germany the same thing is true if it continues for three years. Divorces have increased nearly threefold in the United States since 1870 in proportion to the population, and since in nearly all cases remarriage is allowed, it is not surprising that the marriage rate in the United States is larger than in any European country. The relation of divorce to immorality is a difficult and delicate subject. Social morality in the United States is equal, if not superior, to that of any other country. Where divorce is easily obtained, domestic difficulties will arise with greater ease than where divorce is either legally difficult or expensive. On the other hand — where it is difficult to procure divorce, immorality increases. It may be doubted whether any definite relation between divorce and social morality can be established.

The social effect of divorce is an attack upon the cell structure of society. The strength and permanence of the home is the basis of social integrity. This stability is even more important to the children than it is to the parents. A shifting parenthood prevents a normal childhood.

Economic conditions have a great deal to do with the demand for the dissolution of the family. Surplus wealth increases the number of divorces. Divorce more frequently takes place among the well-to-do than among the poor. It is more frequent among the urban than among the rural populations. Public opinion is quite as powerful as legislation in the matter of divorce, as upon many other questions. Where divorce is regarded as no disgrace and where the sanctions of religion also have vanished, a facile divorce seems a matter of course.

Some form of license or permission to marry is required in nearly every country, and public records are usually kept. Laws against intermarriage with the feeble-minded, the insane, and the pauper are not infrequent. The tendency is toward more stringency in laws permitting marriage, just as the tendency is to greater laxity in allowing divorce.

Illegitimacy

The birth of children out of wedlock is not, as many suppose, a measure of the immorality of a people. Illegitimacy prevails more largely in the rural districts, as ordinary vices are more prevalent in cities. Other things being equal, a low standard of living tends to early marriage. Early and easy marriage is, as a rule, a preventive of illegitimacy. Some have urged that the form of religion is the chief influence in determining the number of illegitimates. It is pointed out that there are more than three times as many illegitimate children in Protestant England as are found in Catholic Ireland. On the other hand, there are twice as many illegitimates in the German Empire as in Great Britain.

Racial tendencies have been introduced as an explanation of the problem, since it is found that north Germany and Scandinavia have a very large proportion, but all of these explanations seem to be negatived when it is discovered that while Catholic Ireland has the smallest number of illegitimate children in Europe, Catholic Austria has the highest, and Italy has a larger number than Scotland, Norway, or Denmark.

Social manners and the social attitude have more to do with this relation of the sexes than any other cause. Where the relation of the sexes is free and without supervision, and at the same time where motherhood outside of marriage is not regarded as an exceptional disgrace, and indeed is frequently only preliminary to marriage with the father of the child, there is a greater frequency of these births. Any unregulated freedom of relationship among betrothed couples of the lower classes is one of the chief reasons for illegitimacy in the rural districts. The number of unmarried mothers in Denmark and Sweden is greatest between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, and the occupations of these mothers

in almost every country is largely that of domestic service. The death rate of illegitimate children, for many reasons, is greater than that of children born in normal homes.

Prostitution

Prostitution differs essentially from illegitimacy. The latter is consistent with a sound morality upon the part of a people; the former is an essential vice. The account of the unregulated relation of the sexes covers practically the whole history of the world. Among many of the lower tribes chastity depends only upon the property title that the man has in the married woman. The unmarried woman has no obligation to be chaste. Through various codes and by many punishments chastity has been enforced upon the female sex, but along with the chaste married woman there has gone the public woman for the convenience of men, married and unmarried, who accept what is known as the double moral standard. There are essential natural reasons why chastity should be more demanded in woman than in man. She is in greater peril; she carries the family line, and her virtue is especially significant where there is property to be inherited.

The first cause of prostitution is undoubtedly abnormal sexual desire upon the part of men, and also upon the part of some women.

The freedom accorded to public women among the ancient Greeks, the stories of their education and their charm, have vanished into very sordid conditions in the modern world. Recruits to the ranks of fallen women are chiefly for economic reasons. A factory system which removes the girl from the safeguards of home life, and, at the same time, furnishes her wages too small for the standard of life to which she aspires, and, in general, the public career of young girls working in stores and offices are responsible for their downfall.

The extent of prostitution cannot be stated in definite figures, for there are no dependable statistics. The social evil is regulated in some countries, and the women are regularly licensed to ply this vocation, but the number of licenses by no means gives an adequate account of the number of women of this class. The nineteenth century furnished the system of regulation, generally municipal,

by which it has been sought to control this form of vice. In some cities regular fines are imposed as a substitute for the licenses required in other places. Some communities make an effort to segregate the houses in which the women live.

The problem of attempting to regulate this form of vice is one that is still debated among social experts. There can be no question that the thing desired is the suppression of prostitution. There is much question whether that is possible in the present state of public morals in the great centers of population.

England does not license or officially recognize the social evil, but it is very much to be doubted whether the morality of London is equal to that of Paris.

The relation of license regulation and inspection to sex diseases is one of the arguments for the system. Medical men in some countries are alarmed at the widespread condition of sex diseases. It is held that police control tends to reduce it. The tragic wastes and burdens of such diseases are among the unweighed penalties of every civilization.

It would seem that restrictions upon the evil should become more and more severe with the purpose of entirely exterminating this form of commerce.

The public should see the essential distinction between illegitimacy and prostitution. The unfortunate girl mother whose ignorance and love have led her to a fall should not be classed with the hardened creature whose pollution often lures boys equally ignorant and innocent. In some countries societies under various names have been formed to attack these very difficult problems.

The extent to which there is a traffic in girls for immoral purposes, known now as the white slave trade, may be overestimated, but that such a traffic exists and is most likely to exist where there are licensed houses, is beyond reasonable doubt. These societies seek, first of all, to suppress the white slave trade. They next seek to place prostitution under the most stringent police regulations with the ultimate purpose of suppressing it altogether. The most important attack upon the evil is judicious education in the nature and function of sex as a regular part of the training of the youth of the country. To teach the sacredness of the functions of life and the easy possibility of poisoning the entire future

of the individual, and the changing of the curiosity of childhood into the safeguards of common wisdom, are obvious social duties.

The relation of solitary sexual vice to juvenile delinquency, as well as to feeble-mindedness is well understood. The relation of abnormal sexuality to crime is a subject that has not been so widely explored, but prison experts and those who have studied the abnormal classes recognize that sex perversion is perhaps the most fundamental of all evils.

SOCIAL THERAPEUTICS

The Point of View

SOME account has been given of the most important social failures, including an explanation of their place in social theory, and the more important methods which have been applied in their treatment. Along with the pathological material there goes the recurrent suggestion that these evils are worse than they ought to be, though they have already so far yielded to wise treatment as to indicate in a general way the pathway over which the race must move in order to secure better conditions, to check the spread of evil contagion, and to deprive of their most malign power such age-long enemies of the race as poverty, crime, and insanity.

In its most normal aspect the social problem has to deal with collective phenomena. Every common interest of men may be viewed as the final cause of a common social life. In this way is built the family, that persistent social form, and the state, that most imposing social structure. Those interests of men which seem only parallel, such as economic, artistic, and religious, are all indirectly connected and powerfully react the one upon the other. The social bond is like a great wire rope woven together of many fine strands and serving the purpose of uniting the common group. The pathological phenomena which we have been considering are collective because the same facts include a number of individuals, but they furnish no social organs and perform no social service. The living body rejects its worn-out cells and in like manner the biological analogy suggests that the natural elimination through old age and death is what is to be expected of the healthy social organization. But to carry the comparison a little farther, the problem of infant mortality suggests the casting off of half-grown cells, and the dependent, delinquent, and defective classes, the rejection of those forms which are in effect parasitic, do not really share

the common life, nor assist in performing the common duties. To drop the figure, the insistent social problem is to reduce the burden and waste of social growth by decimating the ranks of the socially unfit.

This suggests the place of social therapeutics. It seeks such an organization and operation of human society as shall make it difficult rather than easy to be a pauper or a criminal. The mastery of the problem indicates that before men and women are recognized as social failures they should be used as raw material by powerful social forces seeking to mold them into useful and upright citizens. The cure of social evils is well, but the prevention of social evils is far better, and though the treatment of the problem requires the results of generations of the best experience, the prevention of the evils requires the guidance of all collective wisdom and the support and direction of the social conscience.

Preliminary to the problem must be a brief glance at the proper interpretation of human history. What are the efficient forces which have built up the various forms of social organization? Karl Marx, though he leaves room for the play of other forces, has made a powerful argument to indicate that the true explanation of human history is economic. Though the full conclusions which he draws from the theory cannot be accepted, there is no doubt that this great and unifying interpretation must always have a large place in any final theory. The form of the family, the nature and extent of the state, are deeply influenced by economic conditions, and there is an economic element in all the pathological problems. The ordinary criticism that the economic theory is materialistic has no weight with those who have already seen that the economic life, when it becomes civilized and powerful, is largely psychological.

Another interpretation of history is that the race progresses by means of its great men. Carlyle, Buckle, and Mallock, each according to his gift, has developed the doctrine, and Gabriel Tarde has given it a scientific form. If any one could discover a way by which the breed of great men could be made numerous and continuous, we might let the rest of our troubles take care of themselves. Unfortunately, such wisdom has not been discovered, but, on the contrary, it is quite evident that there is no way of im-

proving the leadership of any people without improving the general level of the people themselves. Men of genius may come from a poor family, but no man of genius can arise in a low race. It is probable that every people has had as many men of genius as it could use, and sometimes there has even seemed to be a surplus of leaders. The comfortable conditions of life doubtless tend to a general improvement of the stock, but it is impossible not to recognize the effect of pressure as well as opportunity in producing manifestations of power. Many a man besides Cromwell has seemed commonplace until events called him and then he leads. The effect of pressure is one of the reasons doubtless why so many men of genius have come from the lower classes. Some of them have even been illegitimate. Wealth and education seem to furnish more than the proper number of children of talent, but this may mean that they have simply a better chance to do what is possible with their mental endowment. Ruskin and Browning doubtless succeeded better because of their fair financial position than they otherwise would have done, but their friend Carlyle, author of "Heroes and Hero Worship," did very well though he was only the son of a stone mason and much of his life was very poor. For the present we must recognize the value of superior individuals, but we cannot attempt any processes of selection because we do not know the sources of their power.

Quite an opposite theory is to regard the great men as only voices or organs of the social mind, delivering to the world a collective message, so that the latest teaching on any question really has as many authors as the poems of Homer. For such a theory there is a great deal of support. A deeper study of it reveals to some thinkers the nature of society made up of the factors of environment and inheritance, so that the poet is only the resultant of so much light and shade, so much plain and mountain, working upon him and upon the social group to which he belongs. And this is true just in so far as his verse is the result of local color, and it is false just so far as his verse is the vehicle of something universal.

Doubtless the final theory in the interpretation of history will include the economic, the individualistic, the social, and the physical theory of development. It will also have room for the measurement

of the psychological forces by which all the elements of the problem are fused into one, and man leaves his savagery and accomplishes a civilization. In so far as any social group has produced successful conventions it has been because of psychological power. Early civilization as we have seen began in the fertile river valleys where food was plenty and water furnished an easy means of communication. As men multiplied, strong groups took possession of the best places, and the weaker were driven into the hard conditions of barren soil and adverse climate. Upon some of the groups the hard conditions of life reacted so unfavorably that they became less efficient and less developed, because they lacked industrial foundation upon which law, order, production, and beauty must finally rest.

On the other hand, other races have struggled successfully against limitations of soil and climate. The Norsemen took revenge upon nature and society alike by centuries of piracy which, during the time, served them very well. The Scotch have made commerce and manufactures do what agriculture could not do, but they have had the advantage of coal and iron. The men of New England have carried on one of the most successful struggles against adverse physical environment. The charms of the land were few; its resources were less, and yet its people by dint of a thrift so unusual as not to escape honest critics have succeeded in amassing wealth enough to place a large part of the United States under economic servitude for some generations. The history of New England is the story of the triumph of psychical forces. These men belonged to a race bred to expect success, and their type had been fully formed under very favorable economic conditions.

The first successes of men were those of production in the local environment by which life became more social, labor found its natural divisions, special skill became possible, and after generations of effort a class of workers was developed, not required by the conditions of brute life. To these new workers was given the singing of songs, the building of temples, the carving of statues, and human life tended to become beautiful as well as successful.

As there are parts of the earth in which life for a social group must be carried on upon terms that are not naturally favorable,

so within every social group after the development of civilization there will always remain hard tasks and unpleasant tasks which must be done. The digging of ditches, the making of roads, the construction of sewers, are as useful for social success as productions of art are essential to the social imagination. Under every system of social organization the unpleasant tasks will be performed by those who have the least intelligence and the least skill, and consequently will be the most poorly paid. Under the greatest equality of opportunity some individuals are sure to be more successful than others. Were every man well educated and every man virtuous, there would always be a lowest social stratum unless some means could be provided for equalizing human wisdom and human strength. There will always be a lowest class, and in the dream of socialism the distinction will yet remain that some people choose commodity and employ it to better advantage than the rest. The finest triumphs of life are secured upon these terms.

The social form of the economic problem is to make it possible for every human being to secure his fair share of the material good of life. Society must aim to secure justice to the weak rather than security to the strong.

Greater economic success and greater economic justice are required for better social conditions. At present the most disagreeable employments give the lowest wages and require the longest hours, because they employ the poorest grade of workers. It is conceivable that these tasks will some day be so largely completed that they will not bulk so large in their demand for labor. The working classes may be, at some time, so developed that it will be difficult to find enough unskilled labor for even these reduced needs. It is quite conceivable that there may be a condition of society in which the most disagreeable tasks will offer the largest wages and the shortest hours.

Were the economic conditions as good as is possible in this kind of a world, were all the resources of every kind fully comprehended and wisely used, were the production large enough and the distribution just enough to make present conditions of poverty quite impossible for the normal man, there would still be vital problems to confront us.

The physical health of the people is so considerable a social

question because it has to do with both the success and the happiness of every human life. The social responsibility for the public health is one of the resultant conclusions of modern paternalism. It is believed that were all preventible disease eliminated, nearly every social question would be presented in a new light.

On the other hand, particular attention has been placed by many modern writers upon those members of the human race who are badly born, and who are malformed either in mind or in body. Heredity takes on a new significance to the minds of those who find physical reasons for every moral disorder or social defect. A new science called eugenics has been called into life, which deals with problems of marriage, and questions of sex, both in life and labor, and which has furnished a new direction for practical investigation. It is accompanied by the rebirth of the old doctrine credited to Sparta, that the elimination of the unfit is the only certain road to social progress.

There can be no adequate treatment of social therapeutics without placing a little child in the midst, considering his nature and his possibilities, the quality of his inheritance and the social responsibility for his education and upbringing. Implicit in this discussion is the final relation of the family to the state, and some account of how they must divide their responsibilities and share their burdens.

The state is not an end in itself. It is the most competent servant of the social group. It is the only organ through which a complete socialization of the common life may be achieved. There is a social health in a much larger sense than we are accustomed to think. It means far more than adequate knowledge and adequate authority for the treatment of physical conditions, though these are important. Social health is the basis of final achievement. It means the conservation and proper use of the vigor of the social group in labor and in life, but it means far more. The social health of any people is dependent upon the organization of the group through the common possession of the great survivals of the common mind. The successful democracy must share more abundantly and more consciously the proper aims of the social group. The leadership of the world must be given in the future, as in the past, to those who are strong, but it must be

a leadership approved by the common conscience of all the people, and seek to further the aims which represent the common interests, and these interests must be so common that the largest good of every kind possessed by any of the people may be as a matter of common justice shared by all the people.

The Public Health

The very term implies that public health is a social question. In some respects it is a very ancient question, for the sanitary laws of the Jews showed their interest in the subject, but organization and methods as well as the complex problems of urban and industrial life are essentially modern. Social therapeutics covers the whole range of human life, and besides physical life includes every improvement in social and economic organization. But physical life is none the less one of its most important departments. Sickness and premature death are the chief causes of social misery, and public health is vitally related to the happiness and efficiency of any population.

The relation of the health of a people to production, as well as to taxation, makes it an economic question. All the modern laws for the improvement of the sanitary conditions of factories, and for the prevention of injuries to workmen, burdensome sometimes to individuals, are of uncounted benefit to the social group as a whole.

There is scarcely any municipal question that is separate from the subject now being treated. It relates itself to the housing of the poor, condition of tenements, drainage, ventilation, and sewage. It has to do with clothing and architecture, and particularly with the water supply and the food supply. Within the last fifty years the cities of the world have practically mastered the question of the water supply. Wells and cisterns are abandoned, and a wholesome communal distribution of water is considered a primary duty for every city.

Purity of the food supply is one of the solicitudes of modern legislation. Nearly all countries provide penalty for the adulteration of foods, and furnish inspection more or less competent. Inspection of milk and of meat is of recognized importance, and of

the highest value are all the laws insisting that every article of food exposed for sale be labeled with an exact description.

The sewage, next to polluted water and milk, is perhaps a chief cause of disease. Glazed earthenware pipes put underground and protected by brick arches connected with every dwelling in which there is no defective plumbing is one of the great modern preventives of filth diseases. The inspection of plumbing is one of the requirements of the best municipal health departments. It is required for the protection of the rich as well as for the protection of the poor. Defective plumbing causing disease or death will doubtless, in the near future, subject those responsible to severe penalties.

Every movement to prevent the pollution of rivers and lakes is in the right direction. The chemistry of nature will do much, but it cannot do everything. Only a few years ago it was reported that eight cities poured into the Mississippi River 260,000 tons of refuse, and then added some 4000 dead animals. The disposal of sewage is one of the municipal problems. It has been used in some cities for municipal farming, but the crematory system, well managed, has a record of cheapness and efficiency.

The state in all civilized countries provides boards of health. In European countries the national boards of health have general charge of the problem throughout the entire country, and local boards of health act under rules prescribed by national authority. These national boards of health are expected to give advice to the whole community on all matters of health and hygiene.

In the United States in this, as in other matters, the public health is left to the several states. The usual machinery of government is a state board of health with general powers, but chiefly applied to contagious and infectious diseases. The laws of the various states differ very considerably with respect to the powers given to the health departments of the various cities and also with respect to the organization and appointment. The tendency in all civilized countries is to increase the authority and extend the functions of boards of health, both general and local. What are known as filth diseases, such as diphtheria, typhoid fever, and cholera, have been the chief object of concern.

Quarantine laws were originally enacted to prevent diseases being

carried by ships from one country to another. They were especially made against cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, and typhus. In early times all the provisions for protection were left to the cities which were ports, and originally the protection was against ships from foreign countries. Afterwards the state governments in America assisted the municipalities, which were found to be too lenient. The national government by the law of 1799 required federal officers to assist the state governments. In 1878 a national quarantine law was established, which was revised by the law of 1890, in which the nation itself organized a marine hospital service, supervised by the surgeon general, as a bureau of the treasury department. Some of the early quarantine regulations were very excessive and extended to the burning of cargoes and the placing of the sick or suspected in unwholesome camps near the seaports. Modern tendency has been to moderate the requirements, perhaps on account of better knowledge of disinfection, and to establish proper and well-located quarantine quarters in case of necessity.

Quarantine of cattle for inspection when shipped from one country to another, in case they are suspected of disease, is now well recognized by all modern nations.

The doctrine of quarantine has been gradually extended, until it includes the isolation of individuals and the condemnation of houses where contagious diseases exist.

One of the features of modern inspection and fumigation is the examination of the various means of public conveyance. Rules are made now in many cities for the proper cleansing of cars, both in the street car service and in the public railways. There has been particularly a recent demand for more care in the cleansing of sleeping cars at the end of every journey, especially to protect the public against the spread of tuberculosis.

The movement for better public health is not so recent as is generally supposed. As long ago as in the year 1821 the Board of Health in Boston published rules, regulations, and orders to govern the citizens and told the public they must prevent or destroy "all nuisances, sources of filth and causes of sickness within the limits of the town of Boston." The details of these rules published nearly one hundred years ago, if strictly enforced, would improve the health in Boston itself, as well as in every other city. Public

health has always required authority in the state and conscience among the people quite as much as knowledge of the means to prevent disease. The kingdom of Naples as long ago as 1782 discovered that tuberculosis was a preventable disease, and issued stringent laws for isolation and protection, which reduced the number of deaths from that cause from 10 per thousand to about 1 per thousand.

It was not until 1905 that the first international Congress against tuberculosis was held in Paris. Formerly it was supposed that the presence of tuberculosis was a sure sentence of death. It is now known that tuberculosis is both preventable and curable. Perhaps no movement for the public health has ever been so thoroughly organized or so widespread as the world movement against the "white plague." Being everywhere the cause of the largest number of deaths, and the fact that the disease takes those who have their youth behind them and their maturity before them, makes an appeal to the imagination as well as to the philanthropy of the public. The economic and social losses of the single disease of tuberculosis are quite incalculable. The burden upon the family, upon the individual, and upon the community, the increase of alcoholism and pauperism, are important, but the most impressive fact is that tuberculosis is the chief cause of the degeneration of the human mind, since tuberculosis in the ancestry reappears as feeble-mindedness, insanity, or anemia in the posterity.

The communicable nature of the disease by means of the sputum is now well recognized, and the healing power of rest, fresh air, and a generous diet is widely known.

The movement against tuberculosis has brought about a combination of private and public agencies for the special treatment of the sick and for the spread of knowledge of the nature of the disease among the public. It is to be doubted if ever in the history of the world there was so much successful work done in any single cause as in the campaign against tuberculosis in the last decade.

The war against tuberculosis has stimulated reforms in other directions. In England and Wales, though the urban population has been continually increasing, the percentage of the population in overcrowded tenements has been constantly decreasing. The congested population amounted to 11 per cent in 1891, while in 1901

it had fallen to 8 per cent. In the decade since, it has been proportionately decreased. The value of open air spaces in cities is more generally recognized, and reformers now see that no system of ventilation can give pure air inside of the building if there is not pure air on the outside.

The increased efficiency of the official boards of public health has been greatly stimulated by the coöperation of the medical profession. When it is remembered that the science and practice of medicine is very ancient, its recent advances become still more notable. Colleges of physicians supported by the state existed in Egypt in the eleventh century B.C. In Athens in the fifth century B.C. physicians were paid by the state. There were also public free dispensaries. At least two hospitals were attached to the temple of Esculapius. In Rome the public baths, at least some of them, were primarily intended for the poor, and were the means of promoting good health. It is said of the Roman armies that they took with them no organized medical service, but they did arrange for Roman baths.

The progress in medicine during the past generation has been very important. Diagnosis has become very much more exact. The use of antiseptics and anesthetics, as well as the discovery of various antitoxins, are among the notable achievements of science. The progress of surgery has been perhaps more marked even than that of medicine, and with the new methods and appliances results are achieved every day which would have been miraculous fifty years ago. Many physicians coöperate in spreading the knowledge of sanitation and in teaching the means for the prevention of disease. Various agencies promote free public lectures upon hygiene, and the information of the general public coöperates with the public authorities in civilized communities to secure the best conditions possible. It is a question whether the shorter hours and the larger wages of labor with the consequent addition to comfort has been so important a means in the prevention of disease and the prolongation of human life as the assistance furnished from medical sources.

There remains to be briefly considered some of the institutions provided for the public health, and the first of these is the free dispensary. Municipalities usually furnish public physicians,

who are at the service of the poor in their own homes without cost, though the work of these men is not nearly so large as the free service rendered to the poor by physicians in regular practice. The free dispensary is usually organized by private philanthropy, and is intended for the assistance of the sick among the poor who are what are called "walking patients." In these dispensaries the examination and treatment by the physicians are without cost, and in many of them medicines are also provided free of charge. Diseases of the eye, ear, nose, and throat, of the nervous and digestive systems, are treated and even minor surgical operations are performed. Some social workers have recognized in free dispensaries a danger to the self-respect of the population. It is held that though the assistance given in sickness is exceptional, and is not so likely to pauperize people as help under normal conditions, it is better for those who visit free dispensaries to pay something for the service if they are able to do so. Such investigations as have taken place show that a large number of the outdoor patients who visit free dispensaries are able to care for themselves, as is the case with the families who receive general outdoor relief. With this caution and criticism the free dispensary may be recognized as one of the most practical and benevolent of bounties.

The hospital for the public care of the sick and for the free care of the poor is one of the great institutions of modern times. The ideal hospital should have a suburban location with ample grounds. It should be placed upon an elevation so that there will be natural drainage, and for the same reason the soil should be porous. It should be one or two stories in height, on the pavilion plan in order to furnish the greatest access to the light and air, and to assist in the most complete classification. As little wood as possible should be used in the construction. There should be no curtains or rugs, but hardwood floors. The bedsteads should be of iron and the mattresses of woven wire. The attendants should be trained to quietness and shod for the purpose. An efficient heating and ventilating plant is of the first importance. While the location should be suburban, it should be easily accessible, and large municipalities have often found the foregoing description impracticable, and most of the hospitals in the great cities are

neither on the pavilion plan nor surrounded with large grounds. Wards may be used for patients similarly afflicted, provided there is sufficient fresh air and no crowding.

Hospitals are chiefly of four classes: first, the religious hospital, in which the Roman Catholic and the state churches have taken the lead, but various Protestant denominations, within recent years, have established similar institutions. The early hospitals were upon a religious basis. The second class of hospitals are municipal, in America frequently established by the city and county combined. The third class of hospitals are those established by the endowment of private individuals and are usually governed by a board of trustees as provided by the deed of gift or the will. The fourth class are private hospitals founded either by individuals or corporations for patients who are able to pay and are managed for a profit. Hitherto, general hospitals have been considered, and in them there should be separate wards for infectious and contagious diseases. In large cities, however, it is better that separate hospitals for such diseases be established, and besides these special hospitals there are others for diseases of the eye and ear, for cancer, tuberculosis, and some other diseases.

In the general hospitals there is usually a governing board of some kind which has general supervision, and a physician in charge who has direct control assisted by the staff. There are internes, young physicians, who take charge of the patients under the direction of the staff, and nurses. The ideal plan for a large hospital would employ a business man to look after the general care of the place, including the kitchen, the purchase of supplies, the general finances, and the non-professional management of the institution. The physician in charge, together with his staff, should have the complete control of the medical and surgical sides of the work. Some American hospitals have suffered from the injection of politics into their control. This should not be until the tenets of party politics can be administered as medicines. It is scarcely necessary to add that the hospital should be provided with the best of everything required for the purpose.

The trained nurse is one of the products of modern times, and one of the uses of the public hospital is as a training school for nurses. The free public hospital is of the greatest value to the sick

poor, but it is of the highest value also to the entire community, as the nurse who has spent two or three years in fitting herself for her profession goes from the public hospital to care for the sick in their homes who can afford to pay for her services. The hospital has served not only as a training school for nurses but also to give clinical instruction to medical students, and the education of physicians for general practice, by means of the hospital, is of more value than the hospital's cost even if the poor received no direct benefit.

The large number of sick persons of different ages, conditions, and diseases, coming under the observation of comparatively few men, give the amplest opportunity for the study of diseases. Much of the important progress in medical science in recent years has resulted from the educational use of the hospital and the knowledge which comes as a by-product from the institution more than pays for the cost of its operation.

The relation of the public health to the economic success of any social group, the prevention of disease as a means of strengthening the family life, and the relation of the whole question to the increase of human efficiency are too obvious to need further discussion.

U

EUGENICS

EUGENICS is the science which deals with the improvement of the race. To Dr. Galton belongs the credit of first using the term in an address before the London Sociological Society in 1904.[1] He presented a conservative paper asking for the systematic collection of the facts, for recognition of the practical importance of the subject, and for its scientific treatment and development. His discussion was based upon the conviction that though the race has developed in the past largely by natural and unconscious forces, the future might give to the breeding of a better race an intelligent guidance, and the hope was expressed that "it might be introduced into the national conscience like a new religion."

Some people thought Dr. Galton went far in suggesting the possibility of assisting the physical development of the race by the control of marriage and birth, but in the few years since the fascinating subject was introduced, the largest faith in the general doctrine has been developed in some quarters, and wild and barbaric schemes have been proposed for its practical application. Some would permanently isolate all men who have been twice convicted of crime. Others propose to sterilize both men and women who belong to what are now known as the pathological classes. Some would regulate marriage to such an extent as well-nigh to relieve the contracting parties of any responsibility.

It makes the problem simple if society can be rid of its losses and burdens in a single generation by seeing to it that unfit individuals have no descendants. The world has worked so hard and so long for the advantages it now possesses that students of history always look with some suspicion upon comparatively easy methods of organizing tremendous social successes. There is a certain amount of truth in the new doctrine, but the case is by no means so simple as it appears. The offspring of the feeble-minded, the insane, the tuberculous, and the drunken doubtless furnish a much

[1] F. Galton, Sociological Papers, London Sociological Society, 1904.

larger proportion of the wards of the state than the average normal population. Germany and Austria both passed laws forbidding marriage to those who received poor relief, and in this they have done well. A number of states provide for the custodial care of feeble-minded women, and this is even more important.

It is also true that abnormal persons come from all classes of society and crop out in the finest strains of the human breed. Save for purposes of statistics and to aid in clearness of treatment the abnormal classes do not exist. It would be a sufficient objection to say that the ordinary treatment indicates a homogeneity among these people which is not to be found, but the vital objection is that it indicates segregation of certain classes from the normal life of the community, while the fact is precisely that no one can predict from what stratum of human life the troublesome or burdensome member of society may come. The degenerate members of society naturally tend toward infertility, and nature has a way of indicating her disapproval of certain forms of human conduct and certain physical conditions. But nature may well be helped in this task by human prudence, for there is a scientific presumption that births among certain people will not be favorable, and in such cases it is well for society to do what may be to prevent the degeneration of the stock. They err, however, through lack of knowledge who suppose that the pathological elements of human society are separated from the common life. Were the inmates of all the prisons, asylums for the insane, and hospitals for the sick, either murdered or sterilized at once, it would by no means furnish a solution for social difficulties. It would not do to abandon the provisions for their care already made because within thirty years there would be a population very respectable in number ready to take their places.

Society has its duty to begin the task of the prevention of the unfit. If the treatment were for a certain number of individuals of comparatively easy selection, it would be a moderate task indeed. Since the pathological classes come from all ranks and cannot be foretold by any physical condition whatever, except in a small proportion of cases, the task is coextensive with society itself and the problem is a large one.

Countries with older civilization have special difficulties. There

are more men than women and the standard of living is relatively high. If men wish to rise, they must not have a family before they are economically well placed. Where there are entailed estates, there is a tendency for younger sons not to marry at all. The population has tended for the last century on account of economic conditions to settle more and more in the large cities, where there is more sickness and a greater death rate.

The younger countries have a great advantage. The people being upon a general economic level, there is no need of any considerable wealth in order to marry. Physical strength and willingness to work are as sufficient for the founding of a family as is ability to hunt and fight among Indian tribes.

Among colonists there are more men than women, consequently the strongest men succeed in the matrimonial competition and become the fathers of the children. With a low standard of living and ease in procuring the means of subsistence, marriage takes place at an earlier age and the unions are more prolific. These people have not inherited wealth, economic chances are very nearly equal, and marriage by a mature young man is almost a matter of course.

The sharp conflict of races taking place within the last few generations permits eugenics to have its way in the history of human life, though it is in a manner not wholly to the credit of those of superior force and civilization. Inferior races are destroyed in the shock of battle, bows and arrows do not stand up against modern European artillery.

The law of imitation does not always enlarge the domain of the best, the weak races have often copied the vices of civilization instead of its virtues, and the abundance of rum which is shipped is often more influential to destroy than the occasional missionary is useful in saving life.

As a civilized people suffers in its vital forces after some humiliating defeat, so the discouragement of comparison is one of the most fatal facts for low grade races. The very vigor and energy of their successful conquerors press them more and more into inactivity and despair.

The disciples of the surgeon's knife or of the hangman's noose as a cure for human ills have raised most of this alarm with respect to the degeneration of the human race. Nature has a method of

her own of eliminating the unfit. The natural tendency of vice and physical incapacity is toward sterility. The sins of the fathers, visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation, often carry to these descendants the sentence of death. Physical virtues are as valuable in securing physical success as are moral virtues in reaching the higher forms of life.

But the average of human life is now longer and human life is more secure than it has been since the beginning of time. Some diseases have vanished entirely from the world, and others we can see quietly slipping into the shadows. The coast negroes of Africa have become immune to malarial fever, so fatal to white men, but, on the other hand, smallpox is almost entirely eradicated from Europe. Drunkenness, whether a vice or a disease, is far from having the tremendous influence often supposed. By ordinary theory, the Italians should have been feeble-minded or lunatic long ago, if we may imagine them adopting and increasing the excesses of the ancient Romans, but instead of that, drunkenness is not nearly so prevalent in Italy as among the younger nations of Europe. India, China, and southern Europe are not drunken. The older races tend to become immune from ancient evils.

Social murder as a process of race improvement has been abundantly tried. The recent patriotic proposals recall the time in England when the gallows were employed for hundreds of crimes, but in spite of the drastic methods of punishment for petty offenses, crime was not eliminated from England. The task is slower and more social. Professor E. R. L. Gould, in a paper on the Statistics of Crime before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1895,[1] details an attempt made in France between 1850 and 1860 to discover the families having criminal tendency by a study of the number of persons tried with special reference to finding out how many of them belonged to families of which some member had been previously convicted. The attempt was abandoned after ten years' experience because the study was found to have no scientific value. No other country in the world, perhaps, has more complete police records than France, and yet during the entire ten years the investigation only showed a range of from 12

[1] R. L. Gould, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1895, p. 134 *et seq.*

to 19 persons per thousand with criminal ancestry during each year. The lowest percentage was about the same as the proportion of persons tried to the entire population. In other words, the result of this experiment indicates that to destroy crime out of France by surgical means, it would be necessary to kill all Frenchmen. The reason that the research was abandoned was no doubt because it revealed the astonishing fact that in spite of the worse physical condition, lower education, and more depraved environment of the criminal population, the number of criminals from good families was about the same as that from the criminal classes.

The difference between this conclusion and that shown in the study of the feeble-minded indicates that there must be another point of view for the solution of the social problem than simple membership in some pathological class.

One concession may be made to those who would improve the race by artificial selection, and that is the custodial system for the insane, the feeble-minded, and the pauper. The custodial system prevents reproduction of the inherent physical or mental weakness indicated by these persons. The capacity for parenthood is not confined to the function of reproduction. It means, also, capacity for maintaining the normal home life. These problems must be studied and solved separately.

The apparent increase of pathological persons in civilized society is largely due to improvement in the methods of treatment and care. These methods have filled the institutions with persons who would formerly have been neglected, and whose lives were usually of short duration. If the length of life of the normal has been very much increased, it is doubtless the fact that the average length of life of the abnormal has been increased to a far greater extent. Since this is true, we have a swollen problem, more apparent than real. On the other hand, such life as they have, has been made far more pleasurable as well as more prolonged for all classes.

There are two main objections to the recent proposals made in the name of eugenics. The first is that the mutilation or destruction of the unfit would make society as a whole increasingly cruel. It would produce a despotism of pseudo-science that would be more crushing to all the gentler virtues of men than any political despot-

ism ever known. The second objection is even more fatal. Except in a very limited number of cases, we are not able to select and note those who are to be parents of the unfit, any more than we are able to predict what marriage unions will produce leaders and heroes of the race. This will appear more fully in the discussion of heredity.

The biological form of the social problem was long ago stated when, in substance, it was declared that the success of life consisted in maintaining the greatest number of human beings in a given area. The social modification of this statement must be the maintenance of the greatest number with the highest degree of comfort and well-being.

The enormous expansion of the white race since the beginning of the nineteenth century is probably the most conspicuous biological success achieved in human history. The marked decline of the birth rate in recent years has been a cause of great solicitude upon the part of some persons.

Dr. Galton, already quoted, has made a study of the infertility of the noble families of England, as a result of which many of them have died out. His investigation concludes that certain families are fertile and others are infertile, and this is also a matter of common observation. Many noblemen wish to marry heiresses, either English or American, but most heiresses have large wealth because they belong to families relatively infertile. For several reasons not stated by Galton but well known to physicians, the males of wealthy classes are frequently infertile themselves.

M. MacDougall[1] proposed to pay salaries in the English civil service in proportion to the number of children born to the office-holders. With every new child the salary would rise. This is a pathetic reminder of some features of the administration of the Poor Law in England prior to 1834. The only definite result that such a proposal promises would be the filling of the civil service with men passed their youth. There is still enough of the philosophy of Malthus left in the world to make some people think that it is not the number of children born into the world so much as it is the quality of the children and the economic, moral, and educational capacity of the home that forms the basis of improving the race.

[1] M. MacDougall, A Practicable Eugenic Suggestion, Sociological Papers (London), vol. III, pp. 57–58.

The problem is taken up in a very frank way by Dr. Rutgers in his book "Rassenverbesserung." [1] To refer to one particular discussion, it may be sufficient to consider the facts with respect to France, the country having the lowest birth rate in the world, and this shows that the number of children is not so important as what becomes of them after they are born. Quoting from Bertillon in the *Bulletin de l'Institute International de Statistique*, he shows that the economic position of the household has more to do with the fortunes of the child than any other single fact. Among a thousand children born on the same day among the rich, at the end of five years there are still living 943, but of a thousand children born among the poor, at the end of five years only 655 remain alive. At the end of twenty years more than half of the children of the poor have passed out of this world, while the majority of the children of the rich live to be between fifty and sixty years of age. At seventy of those who have lived in economic comfort, there are 235 still living, while of the offspring of the poor but 65 persons have survived the struggle.

Though the birth rate in France is particularly low, yet the population has increased from about 37,000,000, in 1876, to about 40,000,000, in 1906. In the principal nations of the world the birth rate has declined since 1875 from four to ten per cent, but in all of them the population has increased at a greater rate than it has in France. The explanation, of course, is to be found in the increase in the average length of life. In 1817, in France, it was 39.6, but from 1898 to 1903 in the same country the average was nearly 46 years for men and for women it was more than 49 years. It may be observed in passing that, biologically, city life seems to favor the female sex, notwithstanding the strain and burden of modern life.

The trouble with the new doctrines called eugenics is that they make too much of the individual, and too little of the social group to which he belongs. They overlook the law of imitation well worked out by M. Tarde and in various forms by other thinkers, which measures the development of the individual in social terms.

There is a selective imitation of which we do not know the laws

[1] Rutgers' Rassenverbesserung, p. 168.

and which has never been sufficiently emphasized. The child and the youth, precisely because of their immaturity, are affected by vagrant influences in a way unknown to the adult who has formed habits of thought and action. Prior to adolescence the real life of the child is passive. The plasticity of youth is indicated in that at birth the body is about 74 per cent water, while with the adult it is a little more than 58 per cent, but within this fluid is the nervous system, eager and sensitive for impressions of all kinds. From what source will the strongest impressions come? That depends upon whom the boy will imitate. He may begin with his father, who in turn is succeeded by his teacher; he may discover that they both have feet of clay; he may be inspired to imitate Alfred the Great or Abraham Lincoln, or he may follow the leader of the gang to which he belongs, or the hero of some pestilential novel.

For the child the social group must not be measured in a way too complete or too scientific. With some impressionable children the corrupting contagion of one bad boy or of one bad girl may undo all the other influences of the group.

There is a science of eugenics which is neither surgical nor individualistic, or rather there is a range of practical effort for improving the conditions of human life which must become more comprehensive, and at last more scientific, and of this movement special reformers like Howard, Pinel, and Wilberforce, and the great painters of human life like Balzac, Dickens, and Besant, are prophets and leaders. In the last generation a great army of students and workers have been engaged upon the problem.

The children of the very poor are deficient in weight and in height, and the same thing is true among the adults of certain urban classes of sedentary occupations who do not belong to the very poor. Nature continually seeks to return to the normal type. Change the environment, furnish room to grow, air to breathe, food to eat, and proper work to be done, and undersized and narrow-chested men and women in a generation or two overcome the bad inheritance. The constant tendency of life is to rid itself of eccentricity. Some families are tall and some are short, but, as a rule, very tall parents will have children taller indeed than the average, but shorter than themselves; but the general variations follow no

known laws, though, as it was once said in physics, "Nature abhors a vacuum," so it may be said in biology, "Nature hates a freak."

The sudden change from rural life brought with it a crowd of attendant evils which the great civic and voluntary agencies of our times are seeking to remove. It is doubtless true that an urban type may be developed which can get along with less air and sunshine than the race formerly had, but it seems probable also that such a type will not be improved. The making of public parks and playgrounds, improved dwellings, clean streets, and every other method of physical improvement is a valuable department of eugenics.

The hundreds of laws on the statute books of every civilized country to improve the conditions under which work is done, the limitation of the hours of labor, the efforts to reduce the evils that beset women wage earners, protection from accidents by machinery, guarding against occupational diseases, are all efforts to make a better race possible.

Never were the halls of legislatures so beset by eager reformers; never were there so many proposals having for their end social betterment framed into laws; and with the whole movement for the protection of labor, and the general improvement of the physical conditions of human life, all social workers find themselves in complete sympathy.

The time has come, however, for a very careful scrutiny of proposed legislation, lest we reach the point where we are doing too much rather than too little, so that corporate responsibility will weaken individual responsibility, and the social conscience assume the functions that belong to the personal conscience. It seems quite possible that too much may be done to furnish food, clothing, and comfort for every human being. Those who think that the sense of personal responsibility is the most important virtue, private initiative the most important method of action, and personal reward for personal achievement the surest incentive to great deeds, have a platform for thought and action quite different from many honest and enthusiastic lovers of their kind. They would postpone the development of a better race in the interests of the best race possible which they think will be bred further in the future. It may be admitted at once that if society is to remain stationary the

proposals of socialism would give larger opportunities of a certain sort to men and women upon the lower levels of life. This is not the place to discuss the proposals of socialism, and it is only in passing that the remark is made that it has taken a long time and tremendous sacrifices to produce as good a civilization as we now have, and judged from the point of view of history, the remedies of socialism seem too cheap and too easy.

As an illustration, however, of doubtful methods which have secured the support of many philanthropic people, may be mentioned the public dinners for school children. They have been given in Paris for a long time, where it was soon found that the more public dinners that were offered, the more poor children were discovered, until it was necessary to limit the amount of public funds to be used in that manner. In London the dinners for poor school children have been provided by private benevolence and served by public administration. The little child is the most appealing thing in all the world, and the statement that he goes to school in the morning hungry, is not able to do his work, his life is robbed of joy, and he is permanently maimed physically and mentally, stirs the heart and moistens the eyes, but there are many sides to the question of public feeding for school children. Even in a socialistic state this would not be done, according to the wiser teachers of present-day socialism. In society as organized at the present time dinners at the expense of the state prepare the children for food and lodging at the expense of the state, that is, for pauperism. It may be perfectly right to give every child an opportunity for knowledge without money and without price, but the parental function of the state must not go too far. There is no one so plastic and so imitative as a little child. If he is accustomed to poor relief while he is at school, it will be the more easy for him to seek poor relief when he is an adult.

There is a certain amount of vicarious suffering which must take place, and even children are required to bear their share. We cannot afford to feed the children of all the poor, and so relieve the parents of the sense of responsibility. If parents know that their hungry children will be fed by the public if food is not provided for them at home, one of the most important incentives to necessary and successful work on the part of the parent is removed. What a

man will not do for his child, he will not do at all. It simply means that in multitudes of homes the money that should go for the children's dinner will be spent for beer and tobacco.

Whether the children's dinner comes from public funds or private funds, it must be provided, at last, out of industry. Whatever is a burden upon industry reduces the value of labor; whatever reduces the value of labor in the long run reduces wages. If the public undertakes to feed the children of the people, and the father thinks he has something more to spend upon himself, he wakes up at last to find that his wages are reduced, his children are on the way to pauperism, while he himself is no better off.

It is better to abandon forms of philanthropy which are only methods of concealing the larger faults and injustices of social and industrial organization. The state ought surely to provide methods by which every family may have chances for a wholesome and well-conducted existence, but the policeman cannot compel the family to make the most of its opportunities. Multitudes of wage earners live on too low a plain because their wages are smaller than they ought to be. For a general expansion of wages, of course, there must be more successful production, but the point is that the wage earner does not receive his share of the general output of industrial effort. This is particularly true of all forms of what is called unskilled labor.

It is of little use, however, to give the workman more money unless you furnish him at the same time more intelligence with respect to the use of it. The modern effort to make a scientific diet, to teach the common man and woman the relation of food values to nutrition, will become increasingly successful as it is shown that nutrition leads both to success and to character. Every effort that is used to destroy the monotony of life and the undue pressure upon the human mind or body at a single point is an element in the problem.

But the leadership of the world must be improved as well as the rank and file. The speed of modern life must be slackened and the fever of human effort must be lowered. It is a shameful thing for a man to overwork, and such a strife for either money or glory must never be regarded as a mark of heroism. It is not alone the children of the poor who are deprived of vitality by bad conditions of

work or residence; it is also the children of the well-to-do who are deprived of their birthright by the struggle for money upon the part of the father or by passion for pleasure or social distinction upon the part of the mother.

The diffusion of modern education for both children and adults is a conscious effort to improve the quality of human life. For the children there are the public schools and for adults there are night schools, continuation classes, and university extension lectures. Schools for adults, especially intended for the working classes, are established in various countries. In some places more subjects and more classes are furnished for the adults than are provided by law for the children. There never was a time when so great an effort to secure efficient and thorough knowledge was made, and while this effort has manifest advantages, it also has certain limitations. There is constant danger in too much brain work in connection with severe manual labor. Working with the hand by day and with the brain by night consumes the vitality. The physical well-being of the young people in night schools must be carefully considered.

It is possible that popular amusements of a clean and wholesome sort are quite as useful for the breed as the so-called higher education for adults. Doubtless the active brain is, for the most part, the healthy brain, but it is even truer that the man or woman whose imagination and emotions are enlivened and diverted in such a way as to be able to forget toil and care by other means than intoxicants, not only has a larger life but is also fitter for parenthood. The provider of clean and cheap amusements for the people is as real a public benefactor as the man who wishes to teach them lessons upon subjects for which they have no taste and knowledge which they can never use.

Problems in Heredity

Every thinker upon social questions and every worker in social problems must, sooner or later, face the question of heredity. There can be no science of eugenics until there is some agreement as to what part of the history of the individual is predetermined by his ancestry. The term "heredity" has been used

in the loosest ways possible. Sometimes it means the influence of the immediate parents, and sometimes the direct line of ancestry, and some theorists find it necessary and interesting to group together the collateral branches of the various families under consideration. That there is an inheritance from parents and other ancestors more remote, there can be no question, but what necessary influence that inheritance has upon the future of the individual, is not so easy to settle.

The term "environment" has been used with equal looseness in the discussion. Some writers seem to mean nothing more by it than climate and other physical influences, while others use it for the influences of the home, and still others for the whole psychical apparatus of the social group.

It is perfectly certain that environment, however defined, is not enough to account for variations in human character and action. Persons may be brought up in the same social group, subject to the same general influences of law, literature, and tradition, and one of them may be hung and the other write his name in the calendar of the saints. Children born of the same parents, reared under precisely the same circumstances, differ very widely in character and conduct, so that heredity and environment combined seem unequal to the task of a complete explanation of the history of the individual. There is no doubt that heredity and environment is each influential in forming the individual, but in heredity there is as much room for variation as there are numbers in the group considered, and in environment there are such changing elements that no two individuals ever have precisely the same influences. There is a variant of organization which makes each individual of the human race absolutely unique, and without going into the metaphysics of personal desire or choice, there is an unmeasured, and probably unmeasurable, variant in the attitude of every individual toward his opportunity. The problems are not easy of solution.

When Dr. Galton says that "the science of heredity is concerned with large populations rather than with individuals," [1] he practically gives up the case for all the specialists who base character and conduct upon immediate ancestry. Every living individual who counts back ten generations may have over a thousand grand-

[1] F. Galton, Natural Inheritance, chap. 4, p. 35.

parents. In the direct line of descent all of them must be considered in the question of his inheritance, but the thousand grandparents a few generations back are completely lost in the social group, and it is quite evident, apart from any special theories, that whatever the inheritance of an individual may be, it is pretty difficult to give it scientific definition.

A human being is born a man. He finds himself a member of a particular race, located in a certain social group, usually the inmate of some home whose history and conditions he shares. Up to this point his history seems to be determined.

But the problem of race is as unsettled as the problem of the individual. With all that anthropology has been able to do, with all the study of climate and resources, no valid explanation has yet appeared for the production and permanence of the various races of men. The North American Indians lived for uncounted generations in the most fertile and usable continent upon the globe, but neither climate nor resources created for them a civilization.

We have gone far beyond the biological theory of nations of which Herbert Spencer [1] was the greatest teacher. It does not now seem evident that nations must be born, come to maturity, and die, at the most, in the space of about fifteen hundred years. It begins to seem that nations may renew themselves by the new individuals continually coming into their lives if only ideas and wants can be provided to work out a varied and successful activity. We have discovered that wants come first and deeds follow after. Even biology shows us that the eye was developed from a mere eye point by the lure of light and by the sense of need. We also discover that it is not the piano that makes music, but it is the capacity for music that makes the piano. The great lady chapel of the cathedrals does not create an enthroned Madonna, but the doctrine of the Madonna makes the lady chapel a necessity. We have discovered that there are great turning points in human history. If France had always had religious liberty, the Huguenots would never have enriched Holland, Germany, and England. If George Washington had taken the same point of view of his duty and his opportunity that was taken by Napoleon Bonaparte, the whole history of the world would have been changed. The biological

[1] Herbert Spencer, First Principles, chap. 12.

theory of social groups has failed, and it is so recognized by nearly all sociologists, but, curiously enough, it is not clearly seen that the current doctrines grouped under the term "heredity" are essentially biological. If the animal explanation will not do for a nation or a race, still less will it do for a single personality. It is not necessary in a social discussion of the question to treat with any fullness the theories of Weismann that no acquired traits of the parents are transmitted to individuals. The law of Mendel, based upon experiments chiefly with the sweet pea, has been made the basis of a great deal of theory with respect to human descent. Mendel taught that a certain number of abnormalities and defects were to be expected according to the quality of the ancestry. But the chief result of his experiments is stated in the doctrine of dominance which teaches that one parent may transmit qualities to the exclusion of the other parent.

Professor Bateson, one of the leading exponents of the doctrine of Mendel, says that there is little evidence of the transmission of abnormal characteristics, and he naïvely says that "if in the simple matter of color our population and their descendants followed rules such as those which prevail in the color of the sweet pea, of the mouse, and of the cat, the essential facts of Mendelism must long ago have been part of the common property of human knowledge." This shows a dawning light upon the eyes of Professor Bateson,[1] revealing to him that the complex human animal cannot be expounded in biological terms.

Some of the teachers in order to save the doctrine of inherited characteristics declare that they often remain dormant in one generation to reappear in another. They remain dormant because the environment is not of the right kind to make them active. Such a statement may save the doctrine for the biologist, but it has lost the gift of prophecy in the mazes of uncertainty, and will not do for the uses of social science. Charles Darwin may learn important lessons from pigeons and from pigs, and a brood of lesser men may talk about human marriage in the terms of the stock farm, but the men of our generation who are studying the problems at close range will more and more discuss them in terms of social psychology.

In discussing the problem of heredity as a social question, it may

[1] Bateson, Mendel's Principles of Heredity, chap. 12, p. 205.

be stated at once that neither heredity, environment, nor personal choice alone will explain the facts of social life. Heredity determines that the individual is a man, that he is of a certain race, and that he belongs to a particular social group. Environment and type act and react upon each other in the form of every new generation. The element of choice seems to mean a great deal to some individuals and less to others. There has never been any conclusion of facts to show the relative importance of heredity, environment, and personal choice in affecting the conduct of the individual. Whatever the biologists may think, social workers are more and more convinced that the influence called heredity is much less important than has hitherto been supposed. The possible variations in all the physical organs, including the sense organs, are so great that the prediction of the dominance of certain qualities with respect to men is of no value. The particular inheritance coming from the immediate ancestors is chiefly strength or weakness of body. The feeble-minded is the only pathological group in which the immediate ancestry seems to be most influential. The facts presented in this class fall entirely under the proposition here stated. There are a few special investigations which have had far more influence upon social theory than the facts would warrant.

The first is the study of the Jukes by R. L. Dugdale. The family in seventy-five years numbered twelve thousand persons. They cost the state a million and a quarter of dollars in these seventy-five years. They are all descended from one dissolute woman, Belle Juke. Those who have not taken the trouble to read the book or to study the problem regard this classical case as a definite proof that crime, pauperism, and other evils are clearly of an hereditary nature. But one of the most significant statements of Mr. Dugdale is, "The tendency of heredity is to produce an environment which perpetuates that heredity," [1] or, to put it plainly, the trouble with this family was that every generation of little Jukes was taken care of by depraved Jukes.

In the analysis of the family occurred two significant facts. One pair of the Juke family moved away from the original home, and in the new neighborhood the children developed fairly well. One of the women who was both a harlot and a criminal died in the

[1] Dugdale, The Jukes, p. 55.

poorhouse, leaving a daughter one year old. The child was adopted into a normal family and, as a result, lived a normal life.

The study of the tribe of Ishmael, an Indiana family traced by Oscar C. McCulloch,[1] gives an account of two hundred and fifty families, more or less related, and thirty families closely related, and the individuals were chiefly paupers during a period of one hundred years. The sex record of the Ishmaelites was also bad. The case of the tribe of Ishmael presents very little variation from that of the Jukes.

Illustrations are not confined to America. Professor Pellman of Bonn University has traced a woman who was a thief, a drunkard, and a tramp through forty years of her life. During a period of seventy-five years this woman had 834 descendants, 709 of whom were traced and the most of them were beggars or criminals or both.

A more interesting case is one of which the facts were collected by Dr. P. Z. Hebert in his address "Killing off the Unfit." Dr. F. Lange of Denmark had given an illustration of degeneration in families. He had found that 44 related families in 20 years had sent no less than 77 patients to the insane asylum. In the same families 358 serious neuropathic cases had appeared in one form or another in a few generations, from which he argued the evil effect of the first neuropathic woman, the founder of the breed.

Further investigations revealed some strange facts about these families, for in them there appeared besides the 77 insane persons, an unusual proportion of gifted men and women. There were two cabinet ministers, one foreign ambassador, three bishops, three generals, three admirals, nine university professors, and a large number of public officials, and no less than forty-four poets and artists, most of whom were known throughout Denmark. In twenty-eight of these families there were seventy-two individuals who secured very prominent positions through special intellectual ability.

It is a problem in social mathematics whether it would have been expedient to kill off the first neuropathic person, even though by this means the insane patients had been prevented. Doubtless many persons insane or markedly neuropathic might be eliminated from the race to its advantage; people of superior talent, however,

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction, McCulloch, 1888, p. 154.

are not so numerous that they can easily be spared. On the other hand, there is little doubt that proper medical care of the seventy-seven insane in their childhood, and a proper regulation of their lives, would have saved them from the asylum.

There is still another case to be mentioned as throwing light upon the general question. Artena, Italy, is said to be a town of about 4000 inhabitants, and is said to have been the home of thieves, assassins, and brigands since the middle of the twelfth century, and after a history of more than 800 years the town still flourishes in crime. The case of Artena is an illustration, not of blood relationship, but of a small social group. The town found it easier to live on crime than on productive work, and so it became with them as it is reported to be with some of the hill tribes of India, a virtue to steal. Of course a murder committed by these people, as in most cases, is incidental to the theft; indeed, it is often accidental and usually greatly deplored by the murderer.

These are among the most striking cases that have been traced where what is apparently evil heredity has been continuous through several generations. On the other hand, there are multitudes of criminals who have given birth to families that have become highly placed and respectable members of their communities.

It used to be taught that a number of diseases were transmitted from generation to generation. It is now generally agreed that there is no such thing as hereditary disease in any true sense. The most that is now claimed by physicians is that there may be some weakness or tendency toward disease, but even that admission must be qualified, for the fact is that the general social tendency is toward immunity from disease. We have ceased to hear of insanity and tuberculosis as hereditary. It is now agreed that certain diseases may be conveyed to the child in its prenatal condition, or at the time of birth, and that is the only fragment left of the doctrine of hereditary disease. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that tuberculosis in the parents, because of its weakening effect, results frequently in an offspring that may become feeble-minded or insane. This is a further illustration of the general law that the chief bequest to the child of parenthood is strength or weakness.

As disease is not hereditary, so physical mutilations are not

transmitted. The Chinese foot needs to be compressed generation after generation. The South American Indian's head never adopts the shape which to each fond mother is the ideal of beauty, and she must press out of proportion the skull of every new-born child. The father with one eye or with an empty sleeve finds himself the happy parent of a child with two round eyes and with two plump arms. The fact is, nature pays little attention to the ordinary physical ills, and is constantly attempting to regenerate them. She is abundant in vitality and good cheer. Above the sighs and groans of earth may be heard the music of her merry laughter.

The thing to hope from one's parents is strength and the thing to fear is weakness, but most children are born sufficiently strong for the purposes of life. Dr. Chapin, in charge of the children's department of the Graduate Hospital of New York City, made a record of some six hundred cases of children admitted to that institution under two years of age. He found that only twenty-two of them were born in bad condition. They were there with hip joint disease, the rickets, or other indication that life had gone wrong. Some of them were children of working mothers who had gone back to their tasks so soon after the birth of the children as to deprive them of natural food and care. Some of them had been poisoned by foul air. Many of them had been ruined by bad food. The vast majority of babies are born with a better promise of life than one would expect from the kind of fathers and mothers which they have. Nature still struggles on after uncounted generations seeking to make human life rich and sweet in spite of human sins and mistakes. The great tragedy of modern society is the number of children condemned to untimely death or to a crippled life through family incapacity or through social wrong.

How distinct are the limitations which the group sets to the organization and career of the individual is a topic not yet fully explored. Selected brains of various races even examined under the microscope do not show anything like the degree of variation that is exhibited in their ideas, occupations, and achievements. On the other hand, there is a series of facts tending to show that the mental capacity of what are known as undeveloped races is distinctly different from that of civilized men. Herbert Spencer has worked this out in some detail showing that they lack foresight and atten-

tion, and there is corroborative testimony that in general the inferior races are more precocious, but their period of development is not so long, neither are the results carried so far.

It may be that the social group organizes the individual brain for the purposes of its own social life, but in a way too delicate for even microscopic observation. However, there is not the slightest proof that the great changes of human history have been accompanied by any great changes in physical structure. The introduction of such powerful new religions as Christianity or Mohammedanism made new civilizations, but did not organize new brain types. In less than a generation Japan passes from a low state of social and political activity into a high place among the world powers, but no one has yet discovered any change in the size, weight, or conformation of the Japanese brain as a result of these important transactions.

There are, however, important group limitations of human activity which cannot by any means be overlooked. The great work has a social quality if it be not, as some urge, chiefly an expression of the social mind. Any one would agree that no great poet could suddenly arise in the midst of an isolated Indian tribe, nor could a Plato with whatever gift of genius have developed his philosophy among the primitive Australians.

We must conclude that there are certain group limits. These doubtless tend to react upon the physical organization of the individual, but the group limits are chiefly concerned with the social, economic, intellectual, and artistic life of any people. Psychical facts furnish at once the opportunity and the stimulus for intellectual achievements.

Within the group there are certain strata by reason of family differences in culture, social position, or moral stability that for the class and for the family are fairly permanent. These similarities depend upon the physical conditions of life, as well as upon the mental training and the social experience.

The limit is now reached of concessions to anything like the usual doctrine of heredity. There is not the slightest evidence that mental qualities are transmitted directly from parents to child. The Adams family in America, the Cecils in England, and other strains of blood are frequently given as examples of special mental inherit-

ance, but such families as these are easily enough explained upon the general admissions made above. Great talent on the other hand, usually called genius, is always a surprise. It has neither forerunners nor successors. The parentage of Shakespeare, of Martin Luther, of Homer, of Socrates, would not account for their marvelous places in history. No one could have predicted that the respectable citizen of Frankfort would have become the father of Goethe, any more than that poor whites should be the parents of Abraham Lincoln.

Artistic gifts are sometimes referred to because several members in a family follow common profession, but there is no more evidence of heredity in finding several musicians in the Bach family, for example, than there is in finding several farmers or shoemakers in a family. As a matter of fact, there was only one Bach. Beethoven rose like a single mountain peak out of the surrounding plain. There was only one Mozart, though his father doubtless had a fair mastery of the violin, but the father of Wagner is said to have been a clerk in the police courts. By early influences, seized upon by imitation, and still more often by social necessity, sons follow the same occupations as their fathers, but there is no such thing as the direct transmission of supreme gifts.

Trained in correct habits of life and taught the practice of obedience with proper moral inspirations, there is a reasonable expectation that children will reach the standard of character and conduct maintained by their homes, but this is very far from assuming that moral qualities are directly inherited at birth. There does not seem to be the slightest proof of such a statement. A study of children of the same families reveals that the "black sheep" may come from any home. It was not because of difference in moral strain of parentage that John became a saint and Judas went out and hanged himself. It is time to cease digging up excuses for bad conduct from graveyards, though it still remains true that every living rascal would be quite willing to lay his sins upon some dead rascal.

Some moral perverts who can apparently scarcely distinguish between right and wrong are descended from parents correct in conduct. The weakness of will and the defect of moral judgment that belong to a certain form of idiocy is an inheritance of weak-

ness, the result, it may be, of prenatal accident, or an unfortunate coming into the world.

It has been stated that the chief distinction in direct heredity is strength or weakness. This may be of any organ or capacity of the body. At the same time it would not be at all safe to regard the weak as necessarily predestined for social slaughter. The alleged Spartan doctrine will not do. Emmanuel Kant was advised to give up his university studies because of a weak chest, but he defied the chest and the doctors and lived to a ripe old age. Herbert Spencer was so delicate a child that a regular education was not indicated for him, and yet he lived to be one of the most prolific writers of his generation. Sir Isaac Newton was born a premature and posthumous child. He was so small and weak at birth that he was not expected to live throughout the day, December 25, 1643. Yet he did live to see the apples fall in the orchard of Lincolnshire and discovered and explained the law of gravitation. The names are legion of those men of great talent whose works have glorified human life and who yet were born into ill-fitting bodies which soon broke down under the tasks of life, but not before genius had done its work.

The literature of life deals with dramatic situations, and it is the grotesque and the exceptional which influences the mind and attracts the attention. It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of every coherent social group meets its requirements, mental and moral as well as physical. The outstanding fact of social life is its correctness. Offenses are necessarily the exception if the social order is to be maintained. Conspicuous is the social success in the restoration of those whose conduct at the beginning promises ill. Most homes, high and low, rich and poor, are successful with their children. It is only the small minority that come into the juvenile court. Of those who reach the juvenile court, the large majority are restored to good conduct. There are from 10 to 20 per cent of failures, perhaps, and these are sent to the reform schools. The reform schools succeed again with the large proportion of their wards, and the bad remnant who are sent to the reformatories in a majority of cases turn out well. The restorations to normal life are the rule and not the exception.

But there have been a sufficient number of restorations outside

of courts and prisons to create a social problem. The facts presented by General Booth of the Salvation Army with respect to character and conduct are more impressive and nearer the truth than the data we have received from Lombroso and Ferri. The white lily has floated so often upon the dark pool of the slums that it deserves scientific recognition. Not only does the world seem to be slowly rising in its moral standards and achievements, but there are generations of individual lives of sainthood at least as numerous and conspicuous as the surprises of human history that we call genius.

The Dependent Child

The doctrine of the sovereignty of the home has been abandoned. No man's house is his castle, even if it be a palace, for it must submit to social control and, in various respects, must meet the requirements of the state. Time was when the rights of parents in their children were held to be practically absolute. The life, the labor, the conduct of the child, were subject to the will of the father. The new doctrine of the sovereignty of the state over the home prescribes the standard, economic, educational, and moral, which the home must reach in order to avoid invasions by the authority of the state. The new sense of obligation imposed upon society in modern times is nowhere quite so conspicuous as in respect to the duty of the state toward the child. This is one of the most hopeful signs of the present, and one of the strongest guarantees for the future. The plastic child, as we have seen, is at once the hope and the danger of the social order.

The state takes the responsibility of the oversight of all the children within its limits, but there are certain children which are particularly the wards of the state. The state has direct relation, first, to orphans; second, to abandoned children; third, to delinquent children; and fourth, to the children of vicious parents. In this chapter we have to do particularly with the dependent child.

Florence Davenport-Hill finely says, "The past worshiped ancestors, whereas the present doctrine is that man's highest duties are to the living and to those that come after." [1] It is an interest-

[1] Florence Davenport-Hill, The Children of the State, chap. 1, p. 1.

ing suggestion that the child worship of to-day replaced the ancestor worship of the past, and as the Chinese best understand their ancestors, so the Saxons best understand the child. The emphasis of the present and the future enfolds all possibilities of the progress of human society.

Both public and private agencies are employed in caring for dependent children. The coöperation of the several agencies is not close. The general doctrine is that private agencies for the care of children should be under the direct supervision of the state, and where that supervision is intelligent and watchful, the tendency will be for the private institutions successfully to absorb dependent children into the normal life of the community.

The American system, because of the division of the country into so many states independent of each other, has developed probably the widest range of methods. An account of the more important ones will be given as well as the principles upon which public control should be conducted.

About fifty years ago there began in Massachusetts an agitation against the care of children in almshouses, and, as a result, the state primary school at Monson was established in 1866. This institution continued in existence until 1894, when it was closed, because of the public effort to take care of dependent children in homes rather than in institutions. The Massachusetts plan involved a state agent with local visitors under the control of the state board of charities. The dependent and the delinquent children were practically considered together. The points of the Massachusetts plan were practically these: —

1. The child might be left with the parents with a warning (delinquent).
2. Might be sent to a reformatory.
3. To prison.
4. To state primary school.
5. Placed out without payment.
6. The child might be adopted.
7. A guardian might be appointed.

As a result of the movement begun in 1867 the population of children, both in reformatories and in the state school, was very much diminished in number, with a corresponding reduction in the

cost of maintenance, and in Massachusetts the general tendency has been for the state to coöperate with private agencies in securing homes for all the dependent children.

The state of Michigan established a public school at Coldwater on the cottage plan in 1874. This system differed from that of Massachusetts in that the placing out from the state school was carefully organized by a state agency and by county agencies. The state school receives those children who are dependent because they are orphans or half orphans and also the children of those parents who have been judged by the courts as unfit to care for their children. The capacity of the school was about three hundred, but the number in the school for some years past has been less than two thirds of the capacity, and the average annual expense has been about $35,000. The work of the school has been to receive children, give them a preliminary training, and then, as soon as practicable, place them in homes. These homes are visited by the state and county agents, and the system has vindicated itself by its results. No dependent children are found in the almshouses. Those that are cared for by the state are placed in a school which has no more suggestion of dependency than the other branches of the public school system, and the children are soon introduced to the normal family life. About ten states have imitated with varying success the methods employed in Michigan. Mr. C. D. Randall,[1] who in the legislature was the author of the bill which established the public school, has laid down certain principles which he thinks ought to be embodied in any system caring for dependent and delinquent children. They are as follows:—

1. State supervision and control of all public and private institutions for children to secure full protection for children in their custody.

2. No child to be placed in an institution except on judicial approval and finding that it is a dependent or delinquent.

3. All institutions required to place dependent children in an approved family home within a reasonable time.

4. The state to furnish aid to public institutions only, but to give full encouragement otherwise to private charities reserving supervision and control.

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction, C. D. Randall, 1893, p. 131.

5. Supervision and protection of all indentured children during minority.

6. The protection of all ill-treated children by the execution of stringent provisions of law to the extent of the deprivation of parental custody if necessary.

7. The radical separation of dependent and delinquent children.

In the state of Ohio in 1866 was founded what is known as the county house system for dependent children, to separate them from the almshouses. From time to time the number has been increased, until now there are over fifty such houses in the state. It is said that about 30 per cent of the children have been placed out in families, but the general tendency of the system in Ohio, as in other places where public institutions are founded, is to prolong the residence of the children in the institution.

The California system is based more upon practice in foreign countries than in America. Private institutions for the care of children are given public support. The law reads: "Every institution in the state conducted for the care of orphans, half orphans, or abandoned children shall receive from the state treasury the sum of $100 per year for each orphan child, and $75 per year for each half orphan or abandoned child, provided that abandoned children must have been in the institution at least one year." Different religious denominations as well as different towns in California have vied with each other in establishing retreats for the care of orphans. It is estimated that at the present time there are nearly ten thousand children in the state of California in such asylums, receiving aid from the state. It has always been known among charity students that any community can have as many paupers as it is willing to provide for, but it is startling to discover that any community can have about as many orphans as it wishes to provide for. The population of the asylums in California compared with the population of the state schools in Michigan or Minnesota indicates the difference in the results between a policy that seeks to transfer the homeless child to some normal family willing to care for him, and a policy which seems to value a local institution for its own sake. No demand for public funds is quite so appealing as that on behalf of children, and yet no demand ought to be scrutinized more carefully.

The movement in England fifty years ago to separate children from almshouses was based upon principles the soundness of which is now everywhere recognized. The child in an almshouse has the contagion of feebleness, shiftlessness, and the lower manifestations of defeated life. The child deserves the contagion of health, of energy, and of thrift. In the almshouse the child is condemned to the society of the sick and the aged, but the child deserves the association of youth, vitality, and joy. One of the leaders in the early movement in England was Mrs. Way, who succeeded in establishing a home for pauper children at Brokham in 1859. In later years the name of Victoria Hill became identified with a movement for boarding out dependent children.

Three methods in general are employed in England. One is the school conducted by the guardians, of which one of the best illustrations is Marston Green, a suburb of Birmingham, which has an imitation village, is organized upon the cottage plan, and stands upon elevated ground, with good drainage. There are in England some two hundred such cottage homes. In England as elsewhere there are large and overgrown institutions for children as for other wards of the state, but the cottage system has been growing in favor.

There are certified homes to which the children of the state are sent, and those which are for children with defects are of value, such as the homes for cripples, for the blind, and for the deaf. The guardians pay for the care of the children, but retain the control of them.

Another system is that of boarding out children, either within or without the parish. The large towns frequently seek to send them into the country districts. For various reasons the American system of placing children in homes for adoption has not been very widespread in Great Britain.

The boarding out system prevails largely in France. The Bureau for the Service of Assisted Infants in Paris receives children and cares for them. Any mother who chooses may surrender her child. It must, however, be under twelve years of age, and the curious provision prevails that for the four years following she may have information regarding the child's health and well-being, but when four years are past, she must make no further inquiries and receives

no more information. Germany employs the boarding out system to a considerable extent. In Prussia children deprived of one or more parents and who are in a state of dependence are regarded as children of the state. There are also delinquent children and the children of delinquent parents who are cared for upon principles similar to those that prevail in the United States.

The orphan asylum is an institution in any country that is under private management and supported by private funds as distinguished from state control. Such institutions appeal to the imagination and to the generosity of the people perhaps more than any other charity. The least experienced person, however, must see the evil of massing so many children together. No woman, however maternal, is able to love forty children not her own. As a rule, children in these institutions wear the same clothes, have the same diet, the same occupations, and live under the same general conditions. The natural tendency is to crush out individuality and to produce that thing which is known among experts as "institutionalization." Any person living for a long time in any institution has the mark of congregate existence upon him, but the child receives more of this because of his plastic nature.

The first establishment of orphanages in the Christian world seems to have been for the purpose of checking infanticide. The Council of Niceæ prescribed retreats for abandoned children, but the Emperor Constantine had ordered them ten years before. The reader must not suppose that the event meant anything like modern charity, for abandoned children were made slaves under the Roman law, and even the church in various places made its orphans permanent servants upon ecclesiastical land. For nearly sixteen centuries orphanages of various kinds have been established in all Christian countries, and it is only in recent years that the value of them as the permanent form of care for needy children has been questioned. Modern philanthropy, however, seriously objects to the prolonged residence of children in any institution. In the United States the development of orphanages of every kind is generally checked, and many of them have been entirely given up. This is owing to the development of new methods and particularly to the new and increased emphasis upon the home.

Practical workers will generally agree that many children who

are the wards of the state, whether dependent or delinquent, may require to be placed in an institution for the purposes of care and treatment. The institution may and should be upon the cottage plan, but many children are not yet prepared to be absorbed into the normal home life. Some have been enfeebled by exposure and need special care and nourishment; some have physical defects or the beginnings of disease and require particular medical examination and treatment; some have been in bad homes, and though they may not yet be delinquent, they may need to come in contact with very definite authority in order to learn lessons of obedience under formal law in order that later they may be the more able to respond to the law of love. The sound doctrine seems to be that in particular cases and for a definite time certain classes of children require the care of the institution, while for the development of the normal child, whether dependent or not, there is no place like home, and if his own be unfit, a substitute should be provided.

In England there is scarcely anything more dramatic in the history of charity than the organization of the George Müller orphanage founded in Bristol in 1835. A great block of buildings has been erected at large expense, and thousands of children have been cared for and educated. The growth and development of the institution are very impressive because it was founded upon an idealistic faith that prayer would provide all the money necessary for the task. Contributions were never solicited, but the ascetic-looking philanthropist had a genius for publicity, and his statements, widely printed by the various newspapers, informed the public from time to time of the state of the treasury, the value of the work, and the extent of its needs. The success of the work, however, is a fine tribute to an impressive personality of whose high character no one could have any doubt. It must be frankly said, however, that if there had been a little less faith and a little more knowledge, the same amount of money would have done a good deal more good. The girls are kept in the institution until they are seventeen, and the boys until they are fourteen or fifteen.

Another institution about which there has been more or less debate, but which seems practically to have overcome criticism by successful results, is Dr. Bernardo's homes. He established a village for girls, and an immigration scheme by which children are

sent to the British colonies, chiefly Canada. The Bernardo work is not the only one which may fairly be criticised for lack of proper supervision of the children that are placed out in homes.

The famous institution at Moscow is a vast establishment for the care of children, having, it is said, ten thousand inmates. The inmates belong to the class of abandoned children who are, for the most part, illegitimate. Any mother may give up her child to this institution and be relieved at once of the responsibility of its care. At first sight it seems like a charity of tremendous extent and of equal value, and while the place is under better management and is better kept than one would have expected, inquiry reveals a great mortality among the children. It is easy to see, also, that such institutions are an encouragement to vice because no inquiry is made as to the parentage of the child for the purpose of fixing proper responsibility.

With the large movement, more extensive and more successful in the United States than in any other country, for the placing out of children in homes, the name of Charles Loring Brace will always be connected, because he was the chief founder of the Children's Aid Society of New York City which was established in 1853. The society undertook in the beginning the establishment of lodging houses and of industrial schools in the city, and the procuring of some homes in the country, but the chief work became that of placing out children. In their lodging houses they sheltered more than four hundred children nightly, and they sent for summer outing from the tenement district of the city nearly seven thousand children every year. They maintain an institution for crippled children which has an endowment of some $500,000, but the most interesting work from the beginning has been the placing out of children. In fifty years more than fifty thousand children were placed in various cities and country districts, extending all the way from New York to Kansas, but for the most part in western states. These children were not placed out by what any one would regard as scientific methods. They were sent out by carloads. People at the stations where they were to arrive were notified, and those who wished a boy or a girl came and picked out the child they wanted. Doubtless a good deal of economic interest was mingled with the charitable impulse of some of these child seekers. There

was no organized system for supervision or seeing that the children were well cared for and properly placed. These children were often born from the loins of thieves and harlots in the worst parts of New York City. It might have been supposed that a taint would have been upon the offspring, and that the trail of the serpent might have been found following these carloads of children in almost any part of the west. On the contrary, out of their ranks the highest places in church and state have been filled. Governors and public officials, business and professional men, college professors, clergymen and missionaries, have been developed, and out of all the number, so far as known, after a careful study of the records, the annual report for 1909 states that only one fourth of 1 per cent committed even petty crimes and were arrested. They seem to have turned out about as well as the average children in the normal homes in the several localities in which they were placed. Out of a list of seven hundred children placed out in homes in New York state of whom the history was kept it was reported that only four turned out badly These children had never known a mother's love; they had, according to the common view, a bad heredity; little was to have been expected, and yet the outstanding fact is that a new environment and a new opportunity gave them a development of character and of power. Some six or seven hundred children are still placed out by this society each year, and in later times the work has been supervised, and indeed many of the states now require child placing to be put under strict state regulation and control.

More than one hundred societies have since been organized in America for the placing out of children. The more dominant type of them take the name of "Children's Home Societies," thirty of which are in a federation, making a national organization. The work of these societies is to act as a clearing house for needy children. The doctrine upon which they are founded is a very simple one, namely, that there is a childless home for every homeless child. The criticism upon all these societies in the past has been the lack of adequate inquiry as to the nature of the homes where the children were to be placed, the lack of adequate supervision afterward to find out if the children were properly treated, and, in the anxiety to secure sufficient funds for the work, an en-

deavor to find as many dependent children as possible. It has sometimes been charged that the societies have ignored the greatest of all social obligations, namely, that the parents of children, whether born in wedlock or out of it, should be held economically responsible for the care of children wherever they are self-supporting themselves. The unification of the children's home societies has tended toward a standardization of the placing out work, and has helped very much in developing wiser theory and better practice. The tendency in recent years has been toward a more scientific working out of the plan, and a closer coördination of public and private agencies. The general principle upon which the placing out work is founded is that the normal child is better off in a normal home, even though he be not born into it, than anywhere else. The reason the placing out system in the care of children has been more successful in the United States than elsewhere is doubtless owing to the greater mobility of the population and the greater productive power of the people, but even in the United States it is found that as communities become older they become less willing to receive children. The reluctance upon the part of many people to have children of their own easily extends to a greater reluctance to take care of the children born to other people. In eastern communities it is not so easy to find homes as it is in the west, and the boarding out of children there will doubtless be permanently employed. Sooner or later it will doubtless be required in even such states as Michigan and Minnesota which, through the public school and the private agencies, leaves not a single child who need be in any institution bearing the stigma of charity. It should be added that the child-placing movement in the United States has been powerfully assisted by the authorities and institutions of the Roman Catholic church, who have coöperated with great intelligence and skill in the general movement briefly described above.

Public school education in the United States, being more extensive and more fundamental than in any other country, has no doubt had a profound social significance in the development of child life. Of special significance in recent years is the kindergarten movement. Sometimes public and sometimes private, it takes the children from the homes of the poor at an early age and molds them by influences of order and of beauty before they can be given what is

technically known as education. The other movement in connection with the public schools which has a reflex influence upon the homes is the teaching of domestic economy. This has, unfortunately, been too often confined to the higher grades. There are in most cities private schools where domestic economy and the art of living are taught without tuition by women who volunteer for the service. The indirect effect upon the homes and life of the people, as well as the direct value of the instruction given, make these schools of the greatest service.

It is a curious thing that in America the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals were organized prior to the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children. Indeed a work of this kind for children was usually incorporated into the former societies by dropping the last part of the title. The old idea of the supremacy of the home and the inviolability of parental authority were paramount, but when these were broken down, the natural social impulse organized itself for the care of ill-treated children. During the past thirty years a large number of separate societies have been organized for the prevention of cruelty to children in various countries of the world, and a considerable body of legislation for their protection has been placed upon the statute books. The ill treatment of children is now understood to be something more than cruel beating. It may mean no positive cruelty, but only that passive kind which is termed neglect.

The general movement among civilized peoples is resulting in a new conception of what constitutes a normal home. The normal home must have a parenthood which is both economically and morally responsible, and which can provide for the child not only suitable food, clothing, and shelter, but also suitable education and proper moral development. The new definitions on the part of the state have compelled the assumption of new obligations and the performance of a larger service. Any child born into the world is now regarded as possessed of the natural right to a proper development. If its parents are unwilling to meet the requirements of the state, the state intervenes in the exercise of its police power to overcome their reluctance. If the parents are unable to suitably provide for the child, the state intervenes in the name of its parental obligation to protect and care for the

child. In this problem, as elsewhere, the state wisely coöperates so far as possible with all private agencies. In the care of dependent children, perhaps even more than in the care of dependent adults, private charity under public control, and without public aid, is the ideal way. Where private charity is either unable or unwilling to assume the burden, it is the plain duty of the state to use the resources of all the people through taxation for the benefit of its needy people. Its children are the greatest asset of any nation, and children properly reared by the state, though dependent in the beginning, will by their productive power crown the benevolent task of the state with economic success.

The Delinquent Child

The genius for classification, perfect in its application to the physical sciences, fairly so in its uses for biology, becomes often nothing less than a delusion when applied to human phenomena. Implicit obedience to what is called the modern scientific method has led quite astray men who would otherwise have been wise thinkers. In no respect is the truth of the above statement more evident than in dealing with the problem of the child.

As we use the terms dependent, delinquent, and defective to apply to adults, so the terms dependent, neglected, and delinquent are applied particularly to needy children. The word "neglected" is a very loosely applied term. What is really wanted is some word to describe the failure of parenthood, for the neglected child may be treated with the utmost apparent kindness by its real parents, who are yet so vicious as to maim the character of the little one for all the future. Or, again, the child may be denied the essentials for its proper development, or, once more, the child may be abandoned outright. The same child may go through the three experiences. The cleavage between the dependent and the delinquent child is still harder to find. Some delinquent children have been allowed to form bad habits; some are in poor health, and the majority of them are also included under the description "the dependent child." Some children who have violated no rights of property or person as defined by statute are more delinquent than some of those who have found their way into the

courts. It is a pity that some word other than delinquent could not be found to describe children who have gone wrong in conduct.

In dealing with the so-called delinquent child, it is needful to state with some fullness the reason why he must not be placed in the same class as the delinquent man, and how it is that though he may have committed a crime the child cannot be regarded as a criminal. The child has only been discovered in recent years, and it is upon the new study of the child that the new doctrine for the treatment of the juvenile delinquent is founded.

The discovery has been made that the child is not a miniature man but the germinal man. The former treatment of the delinquent child which brought him into the ordinary police court, locked him up in jail with hardened criminals, and, upon suitable conviction of an offense, sent him to prison, was all based upon the theory of the miniature man. This theory supposes that if the child be enlarged in body, expanded in mind, and strengthened in will, he becomes a normal man. Nothing is further from the fact. If the infant body be enlarged and the same relative proportions continued, the result would be a human monster. If the infant mind were expanded, the result would be no less grotesque. Birth does not complete the formative process in the development of the individual. The social spirit must brood over the chaos of the child nature, and beget in it that social life which produces social adaptation. Recent studies in child psychology indicate that from the proper point of view the child may be classed as a subhuman species. It is more important that his imagination be fed by fairy tales than that his memory be stored with the multiplication tables, and the growing boy needs stories of adventures more than he needs theorems of geometry. The child is not a small man, but he is the chrysalis of a man. By birth he has left the larval state, but in order to become a man those aptitudes which we call mental organs must be rearranged and developed.

In the child, memory, reason, and imagination are not adequately adjusted, and in some children imagination is so overgrown that they are non-truthful, but this does not make them untruthful in any adult sense. The child is moved by the hungers of the body and the desires of the mind. He is not yet controlled by his relationships. The only notion of property that he readily acquires

is that of personal ownership, and possession is its only warrant. The value of the future and the notion of private property are received by education. Some children receive them more readily than others. The child who takes what he wants is not stealing; he is following the normal animal instinct. He must not on that account be branded as a thief, any more than when he fails to tell the truth, he should be regarded as a liar.

The child is not only different from the man; he is much more plastic. His nervous system is waiting to be trained. The nerves, efferent and afferent, must be taught right habits, and the brain cells are waiting to receive proper impressions. The child is clay in the hands of the human potter. What he will be, depends largely upon the wisdom and skill of those who mold him. The adult criminal is a broken piece of pottery. He may be a common vessel for base uses, or he may be a piece of splendid workmanship. The question for the prison to answer with respect to the adult is, "Can this broken vessel be repaired?" Sometimes it can in such wondrous fashion that it retains its normal use, and even the seam of the skillful mender is almost concealed. The agencies for the proper treatment of children have the joyous work of artistic creation, and while the note of the prison at its best is reformation, the true note of the child-saving agency is education. Sometimes the child is born into a home which is a picture of anarchy instead of order, and where the child is deprived of his primary and most important teacher. Again, sometimes into a normal home there is born a child of unusual individuality who does not respond readily to its proper authority. Such a child going out among his play fellows discovers that there are many lawless families, and he finds his over-weight of individualism encouraged to further rebellion, now against society, as it was formerly against his home. The child problem is the problem of lawless families. If this could be solved, there would be no child problem at all.

The apparent social failures of the child are not crime. They are indications of the incomplete development of the child. He has never left the chrysalis stage, and there are still more direct indications of the failure of the primary social forces. The adult who commits a crime must be held responsible for his deed. For the delinquency of nearly every child some one else is responsible.

The child being different from the adult, both himself and his deed belong to a different classification. If the doctrine be sound that for the sake of the child the state assumes the unfulfilled function of the home, then the duty of the state toward the child is wholly different from that toward the adult. It follows that the treatment of the adult criminal with respect to judicial procedure is not indicated for the child. The ordinary criminal court with its traditions and its odium bears no resemblance to any function of parenthood. The inquiry into the conduct of the child on the part of the public authorities should resemble as much as possible the inquiry of a wise father. The ordinary prison is a worse place for the delinquent child than the ordinary court. The criminal contagion there is more terrible than the typhus fever of the olden time. In the prison the child learns forms of corruption and misconduct of which he had hitherto been wholly ignorant. He enters the jail charged with some trifling act of delinquency; he leaves the jail poisoned at the very sources of his life. Some communities provide isolation in separate cells for juvenile delinquents, and this seems even worse than the danger of criminal contagion, for the child is, first of all, a social being, and close confinement produces both physical and moral abnormality. If the open prison corrupts the child, the solitary cell dwarfs and hardens him.

Delinquency in the child, therefore, is evidence of insufficient socialization; he has not learned his own rights nor the rights of others; he has not learned the necessity for obedience and for self-control. If he has a home, the home has failed to fulfill its function. The first duty of the state is to reënforce the home, and, where possible, this should be before the wayward child has become openly delinquent. Fortunately there is one symptom of the failure of social forces easily discovered, and this is the symptom of truancy from school. Truancy is such a definite rebellion from the rule of law and the duty of obedience that its significance cannot be overlooked. There should be a close relation between the home, the school, and the state, and they should coöperate in the work of development of the child.

Social service should be required of teachers in state schools as well as the service of instruction. The difficult and the backward child should have special attention, for such children furnish the

special problem of every schoolroom. The teacher should follow such a child to his home and endeavor to win the sympathy and confidence of the parents and acquaint himself with its primary environment. In dealing with the child the wise teacher at once discovers that he is also dealing with the home of the child.

The relation of unsound health to delinquency can be only indicated, but the evidences of such a relation are too numerous to be overlooked. Both wayward and backward children should be carefully examined by physicians in the employ of the state. The matter is too important to leave to the possible carelessness of parents and to the possible incapacity of the family physicians. Slight defects in the sense organs or malnutrition may close the gates to moral appeal. The doctrine is that the possible delinquent child can often be discovered in the school before any flagrant act of delinquency takes place, and that the state, through its physicians and its teachers, should reënforce the home.

It is from the ranks of city children that cases of delinquency generally come. A child in the city is exposed to peculiar dangers and temptations. After the school the next important agent of the state in normal sanitation is the exercise of its police power, and this power should be exercised in the strict regulation of what are known as street gangs. Whole neighborhoods are sometimes terrorized by the petty offenses which the police of many cities think too unimportant to repress, but the graduate of the street gang is often on his way from a petty defiance of the rights of others, through an ascending series of perverse acts that develop at last into mature crime. Street gangs furnish most of the desperate criminals that ravage society.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart in his admirable book "Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children"[1] thinks that the juvenile court is the result of a variety of forces which have been operating in the field of jurisprudence for at least seventy-five years. The juvenile court, however, is more than a result of the observation of social failure in the old methods of dealing with the child. It is more than all the result and the vindication of the new interpretation of the child himself.

It is necessary to give some brief account of that admirable

[1] H. H. Hart, Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children, chap. 17, p. 251.

institution which has, in one form or another, been developed in nearly every state in the Union, known as the juvenile court. This is a tribunal for the care and treatment of children. As a rule it disposes of the cases of both dependent and delinquent children. Under the former method the child accused of a petty offense was taken before a police court or a justice court and tried like any other person. The juvenile court is usually one of an entirely different order. The new tribunal is the probate, the circuit, or the district court, met in special session for a special purpose, presided over by a judge particularly designated for this task. Though the court may have other duties, at the appointed time it is organized simply as a place of inquiry into the conditions and needs of the child. The first of these courts was established in Chicago in the year 1899. Since that time legislation inaugurating such courts has been adopted in a majority of the American states, and similar methods have been employed in Great Britain and in some of the countries upon the continent of Europe.

Next in importance to the designation of the judge for this particular service and vesting in him some part of the parental authority of the state, is the securing of a sufficient number of probation officers to care for the children who become wards of the court. The probation officer is described as "a person of good character whose duty it is to investigate as may be required by the court, to furnish information and assistance as the judge may require, and to take such charge of any child before and after trial as may be directed by the court." Probation officers are sometimes paid officers of the state, sometimes they are paid by private charity, sometimes they are volunteer workers, but always they are officers of the court.

When upon investigation by the probation officer, or as a result of the inquiry by the judge, it is found that the child's home is not a suitable place for him under the circumstances, some other place must be provided. As a result, the detention home is required. This is, in the first instance, a place for the detention of children pending their hearing in court. It has sometimes been found wise to leave the child there for a few days after the hearing has been had, and sometimes it is arranged not only as a home, but as a school, though usually it is better for the school

to be in a separate building. It is obvious that only urban communities can have an adequate building provided for such purpose. It is quite evident that a distinct view as to the nature of such a place is of primary importance. To fulfill the requirements of the juvenile court it must certainly be separate from the jail and must not be administered by any penal officers. The sexes should be separated. Adequate provision should be made for the care of the children, for their instruction, and for their constant management during the whole twenty-four hours. The child must be made to feel that it is a place of detention, and neither the appointments nor the food nor the régime should be so desirable that the child easily learns to prefer it to his own home. When the child is charged with an offense, before the hearing, if possible, a full investigation of all the facts surrounding it as well as the home conditions of the child should be made by the probation officer. Indeed the probation officer should be the chief witness in almost every such examination. The judge of the juvenile court with greater flexibility and simplicity proceeds to discover the facts in regard to the child in a way impossible to ordinary judicial procedure. He inquires not only into the deed of the child, but also into his history and training. In some states the judge may even bring the parents before him, hold them responsible for the perverse act of the child and punish them accordingly. In ordinary cases of first offense, even when the family is of low grade if it be not entirely vicious, the child is left at home, but he remains upon probation. The child has discovered that he is responsible to others besides the father and mother. The shock of this discovery often brings a moral awakening. It adds strength to the environment, and the wisdom that comes from the judge provides new sources of life. The doctrine upon which all this procedure is based is that the state must represent with the child the sympathy and wisdom of parenthood rather than the authority of repressive power. Many a child who has violated the law, by being placed upon probation with a warning, may be left in his own home, the deed is not repeated, the child is restored to good conduct, and the state is saved the danger and expense of one more criminal.

When the failure of the juvenile court is added to the failure

of other social forces, it is indicated that an entirely new environment must be provided. For this purpose the public institution is substituted for the home, and the reform school, or as it is now generally called the industrial school, receives the child. The atmosphere of the industrial school should be as different as possible from that of the prison, yet its régime should be so regulated that every act during the day is a lesson in obedience to law. The ethical value of regular hours and regular occupations cannot be overstated. The instruction of the school should include besides the ordinary grammar school branches, ethical and physical training as well as education for occupation in the trades. When the boy leaves the industrial school he should leave it upon probation, and even then not until work and friends are provided. The parole should be earned by good conduct within the school, and it should be lost by bad conduct without the school. The chief element of discipline within the school should be the use of privileges and the development of an aristocracy through conduct. Industrial training is more valuable for the delinquent child than any other form of education. To know what exists in the world or to know what men and women have done is important, but more important still in the art of living is it to know how to do things oneself. Effective work furnishes the child discipline, power, and self-respect. Some children can learn obedience in no other way than from training in an institution, and the majority of those who pass through such a place, when it is well conducted, graduate into a valuable life of self-support. Most state schools have agencies which secure the indenture of their graduates, and by official visits maintain the proper standard of care, in case of failure secure for the children other places, and act as permanent friends until their majority.

It is possible that more children go to industrial schools than should be sent there. As it is found that for the dependent child the normal home is the best place, so where the natural home has failed and a new environment is required, it is often better that some other home should be substituted by the state. The delinquent child is a ward of the state in a more definite sense even than the dependent child. If the child be young, an effort should be made to find for him a normal home between the detention home

and the industrial school if practicable. In every case the state must follow the fortunes of its ward by a careful supervision, must see that the effective work of socialization has taken place, that the boy has at last come to himself and has found his rightful place in the world. The results of industrial schools, both public and private, have been such as to justify their methods. It is very difficult to sum up in percentages the work of such institutions, but the concensus of opinion among superintendents would doubtless disclose the belief that a large majority of their graduates persist in proper conduct after leaving the institution.

The juvenile court with its probation officers, reënforced as it is coming to be by the truant officer of the public school and the school physician, as well as by that wider faith in the possibilities of childhood which is everywhere manifesting itself among practical workers, has added very largely to the results formerly obtained by the industrial schools. There is already sufficient experience to warrant the belief that in the near future a very large diminution in the criminal classes will result, from the broader and wiser treatment of childhood by the state. As a few children are born into the world idiots in mind, so doubtless a few children are born into the world foredoomed to incapacity to discriminate between right and wrong or to recognize the obligation of conduct. The number of these moral defectives is, however, far less than that of the mental defectives. For practical purposes this number is negligible, and the social problem still remains the proper development of the normal child.

SOCIAL SANITATION

THE social group is successful in proportion to the number of the individuals composing it who reach the largest development and the fullest enjoyment of life. Self-preservation and self-interest are powerful motives, and if, on the whole, the progress of the world toward this end has been rather slow, the last hundred years show a clearer perception of the end and a greater rate of speed in reaching the goal. The present aim of society must always be to seek to reduce the number of individuals abnormal through disease of mind or body, limited in social capacity through weakness of will or moral infirmity, and those distressed in fortune through lack of ability or opportunity.

The care of pathological cases makes the widest appeal to untrained human sympathy because the need is so obvious, and the task is comparatively easy. The appealing little child of the poor or the blind beggar on the street receives a careless dole and the passerby goes on his way with a feeling of comfort which he has by no means earned. The second method of dealing with cases of human distress is less appealing and more difficult, though equally obvious. Here the aim is to discover the unfortunate and, so far as possible, to cure him of his malady. It is easier to care for the unfortunate than to heal the misfortune, but here also there is a direct appeal to sympathy. The third and highest effort is to seek the prevention of human ills. This task requires a great deal more character in the social worker, and since it is difficult to have sympathy with misfortunes that lie in the future, work of this kind cannot rest upon the emotions, but must be based upon intelligence and conscience. Workers in the problem of relief are plentiful and those in the tasks of restoration are many, but in the effort to secure prevention they are not so numerous, but they are of a better quality and the aim is more valuable.

A full study of social sanitation would include all the remedial agencies suggested for the making of a better social order and for safeguarding the new generation continually coming into the world. It is only possible here to point out a few of the more obvious tasks. A full discussion is the less necessary, because much in the preceding chapters which indicates the nature of social problems intimates also the methods of their prevention.

The initial problem has to do with the birth of the child. It is a doubtful and dangerous task for the state to undertake to regulate marriage except among those who are already in some form or other wards of the state. It may prevent the marriage of paupers, criminals, the insane, and the feeble-minded, but it would be very difficult to establish standards of health for those about to enter upon marriage to be enforced by public authority. The moral restraints of marriage suggested by Malthus with respect to the single evil of poverty must be enlarged in view of the fuller modern knowledge to include a number of other facts.[1] A sufficient amount of sex knowledge at the proper age is the right of the youth and the duty of their elders. It may properly be communicated by instruction in schools under definite limitations and proper conditions. Greek ideals of strength and beauty must be restored to the modern mind, and it must be regarded as a shame for any person either physically or economically unfit for the task to become the parent of a child. There is far more knowledge and conscience upon the question of marriage among English-speaking peoples now than there was a generation ago; there is still much to be desired.

The woman anticipating motherhood must be relieved of severe physical tasks and should receive adequate protection, not only for her own sake, but also for the sake of society. It seems probable that the vitality of the child depends more upon the condition of the mother than upon that of the father. She should have knowledge as to diet and the proper care of both lives. She should have the advice of a competent physician.

Questions of life and health in the near future will not be left to the chance of actual illness. It will be the duty of physicians to give direction to the physical conduct of life for the entire family

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, book 4, chap. 2.

in order to maintain them at the maximum of health and efficiency rather than to save them after sickness has actually begun, from premature death.

The normal child born into a normal home, receiving the care of trained and educated parents under the guidance of a wise physician, is put under the ministration of the various social interests built to take the raw material of the child and develop him into a useful producer and a safe citizen. This child should not be educated as was John Stuart Mill, whose unwise father put him at severe tasks at four years of age, but should be given a natural development of his faculties. The wisdom of Pestalozzi,[1] Rousseau,[2] and Goethe[3] are as useful as the school curricula worshiped by their makers and warranted to fit every child.

The function of play in the development of the child is now well known. The country boy in America, at least, gains initiative and judgment by the variety of his life. The child of the urban centers needs opportunity for those games which are a part of the education of both mind and body. The earlier education seeks to develop and coördinate the faculties of the child; later education must have to do with the probable work the man will be called upon to undertake. While the education that is called vocational may be pushed to such extremes that it becomes mechanical and destructive to both the imagination and the judgment, a large place for it must be found in any sound educational system.

The social ends of education must be studied and kept in mind. This includes the relation of the child to his world, or the education of the senses; the relation of the child to his fellows, or the development of the sense of obligation; and the relation of the child to his future occupation, or a proper economic adjustment. Children more than adults are susceptible to bad health conditions. The adults who have survived to the age of maturity are better able to endure them. The plastic child needs not only good food, but plenty of fresh air and sunlight for his development. It is quite useless for the public to educate the mind at the same time that it is maiming the body. In spite of medical inspection in some of the public schools, there is abundant evidence that

[1] Pestalozzi, Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt.
[2] Rousseau, Emile ou l'education.
[3] Goethe, Wilhelm Meister.

school life, on the whole, is a physical menace, chiefly on account of bad ventilation and carelessness in contagious and infectious diseases. All experiments tend to the conclusion that physical morbidities increase rapidly from the age of two years up to the age of fourteen. The schools are responsible for a considerable part of this disaster.

Child labor in factories, stores, and mines is both a social and an economic question. There are said to be two million children at work in the United States under sixteen years of age. This makes one in fifteen of the children of that age. In many countries the proportion is very much greater. The first evils relate to the child himself. He is deprived of proper education and the natural birthright of the proper development of mind and body. The case of the working girl is even worse than that of her brother. Her early introduction into public life is a danger to her morals, and the burdens of exhausting labor promise the degeneration of the race. The value of child labor has enormously increased in modern times on account of the introduction of machinery into production. A nimble child at a low wage is often worth more to the employer than his father would be, even on the same terms. It is urged that child labor in modern life is a necessity, and that unless it is prohibited in all countries it cannot be prohibited in any country without great economic burden and loss. An argument for social necessity is urged because the wages of the child are needed for the support of the parents. The case of the hypothetical widow supported by her young children is often put in evidence. Miss Jane Addams states that out of 2500 working children in a certain manufacturing town only 23 were supporting their mothers. The community has no right to shift the burden of poor relief from the taxpayer to the helpless shoulders of the little child. If, however, the children now at work in various countries were removed from the labor market, it would not only promise a much better generation to succeed the present, but it would also provide for all the unemployed the world over who are willing to work. Child labor is an injury both to the child and to its parents. Many fathers are actually pauperized by the wages of their children, and many a child who commences to work too early and under conditions too severe, turns out to be

a future tramp or drunkard. The strain puts the nervous system awry and prevents normal social development.

The first Act for the protection of children was the Health and Morals of Apprentice Act passed in 1802 in England. In the early part of the nineteenth century child labor was prohibited below the age of ten years. As the evil effects of youthful labor have been disclosed, and as the value of education for all the people has been appreciated, the general tendency has been to increase the age at which children can enter into wage-earning occupations. In America nearly every state has some labor laws for the protection of children, though multitudes of the young are still found in sweatshops, cigar factories, and other places of industry. There are two foes of labor legislation. One is the selfish employer and the other is the selfish parent. The states differ very much in the stringency of the laws and in the effectiveness of their enforcement. Some states allow child labor at twelve, some at thirteen, and some at fourteen years of age.

The unification of school and labor legislation is required for the protection of children. Factory inspection, genuine and efficient, must be united to compulsory education and enforced by trained officers. In addition to the age test for permission for the child to become a wage worker, in some states an educational test is also adopted. In the state of Massachusetts, for example, the child must be able to enter the fourth grade of the public schools, and this is certainly low enough.

Occupations within doors are bad enough, but the street trades are even worse, both in their physical and in their moral results. The boys in the street trades show a larger proportion of delinquents than any other class of working children.

The nimbleness and precocity of the street boys are signs of arrested growth, and while a few of them push their way through all difficulties and reach eminence on account of enormous stores of vitality, the large majority are doomed not only to an early maturity, but to a premature decay. They are precocious for similar reasons that precocity prevails among the offspring of savages.

While children at one extreme of society too early become wage earners, children at the other end are deprived of sufficient occu-

pation to develop their natural aptitudes. The child of every home, rich or poor, should very early have definite duties, sufficient in number and extent to develop a sense of obligation as well as habits of industry. The helplessness of the children of the well-to-do is often quite as marked as the undue precocity of the children of the poor, and between the two evils it is hard to choose.

An intensive study of childhood in order to learn the nature and extent of variations from the normal standard is in process, but has not yet reached results so definite that they may become part of public knowledge. Some indications must be given, however, of the kind of protection required on the part of parents, and, in case of their failure, of other agencies, for children who vary sufficiently from normality to indicate future dangers, while, at the same time, their sense organs are not noticeably defective, and their intelligence may not be below the average.

Dr. Wilson in his work on "Drunkenness"[1] has given some rules for the detection of those likely to become alcoholics. His doctrine is that certain children are predisposed to alcoholism on account of inherited nervous weakness. One of the chief danger signals is that the taste for intoxicants need not be acquired, but is natural. The normal child rejects intoxicants as the normal man rejects drunkenness. If in addition to the natural liking for intoxicants, the youth is affected by a smaller quantity than usual, he may be sure that total abstinence is for him an imperative duty.

A little fuller treatment should be given to a kindred question, and that is the prevention of insanity. The instability of nervous organization which is the premonition of mental overthrow should be discovered before the tendency has a fatal issue. Instead of waiting until insanity is so manifest that it can be no longer concealed by the patient's family and friends, mental danger should be treated before it becomes mental disease. In the detection of physical dangers the mother, the physician, and the teacher should coöperate. A more intimate relation should be established between the three than is now usual. Careful physical training under competent direction is the first duty imposed. Proper education is also required. No greater mistake can be made with

[1] Wilson, G. R. Drunkenness, chap. 4.

the ill-balanced child than to leave the mind unoccupied and undeveloped. The education must not mean, however, the routine of the ordinary public school with a set program of studies for all the children, and confinement to a task through a definite number of hours. These children need individual care and direction.

More important than the training of the body or the education of the mind is the development of character. This is not the place to debate ethical theories, but it is precisely the place to insist that the permanent enthronement of the will can only be accomplished by sound views of conduct and by strengthening the proper motives.

Indications for the special training of the child may be manifested by unusual activity or unusual dullness, and there can be no prescription for all children who are in danger of nervous diseases. So soon as the child has come to maturity he should be informed of the necessity of leading a careful life, — that activities and habits permitted to many people are quite denied to him, and that his future depends upon prudence and self-control.

To follow the prevention of insanity into the years of maturity, the man must avoid all excesses of every kind. The course of life must be run at moderate speed. Excesses of evil, of course, are prohibited, but just as certainly are the excesses of good. Vices are strictly prohibited, but so is exhausting work. Work too strenuous or too stimulating must be avoided, but so also must that idleness which leads to vice and ends in degeneration. Important is the choice and management of occupation. It is assumed that this person in danger of insanity is compelled to earn his own livelihood, as most people are, but he should do it under conditions which will afford as much air and sunshine as possible without too great strain upon mind or body, and without the fever of undue competition.

Senile dementia often clouds the last years of human life. The first rule of escape from the danger is to avoid pessimism. Pretty safe is the man who can with advancing years maintain a happy outlook. Happy is he if he has plenty of young life about him. Many a man breaks in bodily or mental health at the end of his working career, because he has nothing else to turn to. It

was his one occupation, and monotony settles upon him like a thick darkness. This monotony must be broken by fresh thoughts and emotions, new books and occupations. Definiteness of employment in some form or other is necessary alike for the health of body and of mind.

When there is sufficient public knowledge, there will be more public conscience in regard to questions of which this brief discussion of the prevention of insanity is only a sample. The time may come when the disgrace of being sick must be borne with a sense of shame by the family or the community. It will all depend upon the standards which are set up for the measurement of social judgments.

For the improvement of society better conditions of labor are required. A good deal of public opinion has been invoked in behalf of what are known as the working classes. Men who work in the midst of machinery must have life and limb safeguarded from its dangers; men engaged in tasks exhausting to the vitality should not be compelled to work long hours. Men to whom are entrusted the lives of the traveling public should not only be asked to have regular habits, but should be allowed regular and sufficient sleep. The workman should be able to earn a living for himself and family under such conditions that the ordinary fatigue of the day will vanish during the ordinary sleep of the following night, so that each day he shall be no worse for his yesterday, until old age begins to make its inroads upon his store of strength.

The class of society who are economically better placed deserve also some attention. The fever for abnormal success burns up the vitality of many a man before he has reached middle life. The ambition for social distinction for himself or for his family may drive him, or the selfishness of those whom he loves may urge him to sacrifices of strength and to narrowness of toil too costly for the best ends of human life. If the numbers of those who were sacrificed in this manner were small, the matter would still be important, but when, with the great expansion of wealth that has taken place in the last generation, the numbers themselves are worthy of consideration, and when the example of the owner of the business affects the manager and the manager's eagerness for wealth and display affects his secretary, and the extravagance

of the force in the office affects the men in the shops, all classes of society at length are influenced by a feverish greed for an abundance of material things which gives the successful too much, the unsuccessful too little, while it destroys the proper view of life for the entire social group.

The most important single agency in eliminating the unfit from the social group is the recognition of proper views of the conduct of life. The need of modern society is the readjustment of its mental attitudes and the increase of its moral forces. The task lies not so much with the state as it does with society as a whole, in whose deep-seated life are found the ideas and emotions which change constitutions and statutes, create institutions and make the future. There have been great regenerative periods in the history of the world when whole masses of men have been moved by religious forces to such an extent as to show the possibilities of social life, but to be quite universal in the discussion it may be added that the Athenian Greeks in the Golden Age created conditions of lasting significance, for they made beauty common, and seeking the good of the social group the only way to public esteem and the surest path to power.

THE INSPECTION OF INSTITUTIONS

THE methods of inspection of the various institutions, public and private, for the care of dependents, defectives, and delinquents vary in different countries, perhaps even more than the methods of administration. It is necessary to lay down a few general principles with respect to inspection, and the discussion will be completed with an outline suggesting the subjects that should be included.

If there is anything established with respect to business, both public and private, it is that the work done should not be passed upon by those who perform the service. In the erection of a building the contractor is never asked to say whether he has built according to the plans and specifications. That task is left to the architect or some other agency. All great business corporations have the machinery, the books, the conditions of labor, and the output examined by those who are not connected with the administration. In the government one set of officers is charged with the duty of organizing and administering the post-office, the navy department, the war department, and other branches of the service, and a different set of officers is employed to inspect the work. The man who purchases the supplies is not the man to decide whether the supplies purchased meet the requirements. The principle of inspection is completely established in public and private business affairs as indispensable to wise and successful management. In many European countries the inspection of charitable and correctional institutions is carried on both by local authorities and agents representing the general government. In America the methods of supervision have not been based upon a doctrine clearly understood and widely accepted, nor have there been any uniform methods employed. The fact that the state institutions depend upon appropriations from the legislatures for their maintenance has always furnished some opportunity for public investigation. The governor of each state, according to his interest and

his knowledge, has made occasional visits. Legislative committees, during the session of the body, have been appointed and have made visits announced beforehand, and neither based upon expert training nor usually characterized by great thoroughness. Under the system of state boards of charities and correction adopted by many states, frequent inspection by the paid secretary and occasional visits by the members of the board have given some thoroughness to the work.

As a rule, county almshouses, jails, village lockups, and city hospitals have irregular and inadequate supervision on the part of the state, and the visits of grand jurors are in the same class with those of committees from the legislatures for state institutions, having occasional value because composed of men of first-rate ability. Adequate inspection of institutions serves for the protection of the men in charge of their administration from ignorant or malicious assaults and so safeguards the interests of every faithful and competent man employed by the state. It safeguards the interests of the public who are taxed for the maintenance of these institutions and who may have friends among the inmates. It safeguards the interests of the inmates, for even the best men and women are liable to the dullness of monotony and the dreariness of routine arising from the same tasks day after day which are dissipated by fresh and thorough examination of their work. Suggestions of improvements and new methods will naturally come from impartial and careful observers trained in observation and having sufficient experience to make comparison with similar institutions. The last and the least object of inspection is the detection of dishonesty and unfaithfulness upon the part of those who have the duties of administration, for the superintendents of these institutions are usually selected with care, are men of good ability and high character, well fitted for their tasks, and often bear burdens for the public larger than should ever be imposed.

There are many private charities, or quasi-charities, conducted for the care of defectives and for various classes of children. When the state grants a charter by which these places are established and under the authority of which they are maintained, it has the right to see how the work is done, and a corresponding duty to the wards intrusted to them, to see that the care is wise and adequate. There

has sometimes been debate over the right of the state to investigate the management of private charities, but that debate ought to be settled in favor of the public inspection of private institutions and an adequate staff ought to be provided for the purpose.

Inspection of both public and private charities ought to include examination into the manifest character and qualifications of the persons employed in the management of the institution, examination of the buildings, and grounds, scrutiny of the methods which are used and, as far as possible, an inquiry into the results that are obtained. The economics of the institution should be carefully studied by the inspectors who should make themselves familiar with the methods of business that obtain, the books and records that are kept, and the cost of maintaining the institution. They should set themselves as much against parsimony as against extravagance in the administration. The standard for the expenses of the institution should be that amount that is required to accomplish the best results. The successful care of an institution is never measured by the size of the per capita cost, so often a glorified fetish before which legislators bow down blindly, but it is measured by the relation of the cost of the institution to the success of the institution in filling its function. In the long run, the cheapest institutions are those best adapted to their purpose, and securing the best results, for in the long run they reduce the number of the wards of the state and so reduce the financial and social burdens.

Care must be exercised in comparing the institutions of one part of the country with those of another, and this is particularly true on the financial side. Questions of climate enter into questions of expense in clothing, fuel, and food, as well as in the buildings, and all the differences of location must be taken into account. The institutions of similar size must be compared with each other, or, at any rate, allowance must be made for the general fact that the cost of a small number of inmates is more, per head, than the cost of a larger number, though there is a certain limit to this general rule, varying in the different classes for which care is provided. Comparison of the same institution with its former financial record must be carefully safeguarded by considering changes in markets, as well as difference in methods employed, either circumstance being sufficient to make a change in the cost.

It requires men of ability to manage public institutions, but it requires men of great discretion to wisely examine them.

In presenting the outline which follows for the investigation of institutions, it is not supposed that it will perfectly apply to every institution, nor that it is to be used upon every visit, but that it furnishes a fairly complete skeleton of the things which should be known. Practical experience shows the usefulness of some sort of basis for this work since men charged with the duties of official inspection frequently go year after year without any adequate conception of the range of their duties or the things for which they are to look. The bedrooms must be examined no less than the kitchen, and the arrangements for the ordinary physical functions of life no less than the schoolroom and the workshop. The health, the qualifications, and the personality of the management are even more important objects of inquiry than the methods that are employed by them in doing their work. Inspection ought to be conducted in the same spirit in which the scientist pursues his investigations. There must be a study of all the facts and inquiry into the meaning and relation of the facts and a judgment as clear as light and as cold as ice. The inspector must rid himself of every form of bias, must have no thought of politics or preferment, no interest for or against any man, — in short, the inspector should be a wise, experienced, and honest man, equipped with the knowledge and methods of social science. There are scarcely enough of these men to fill all the places.

INSPECTION OF INSTITUTIONS

I

Material Equipment.

- *A.* Grounds (land, kind, size).
- *B.* Buildings (number, size, number of stories, etc.).
  - *a.* Material (outside, inside).
  - *b.* Division of buildings (kitchen, dormitories, dining rooms, air space).
  - *c.* Furnishings.
    - *aa.* Kitchen, dining rooms, parlors, halls.
    - *bb.* Bedrooms, *e.g.* bedsteads (wood, iron, springs, cleanliness).
  - *d.* Gymnasium.
  - *e.* Work.

aa. Indoor industries.
bb. Outdoor industries.

II

Economics of Institution.
A. Value of buildings, grounds, equipments, etc.
B. Sources of income.
a. Endowments (amount).
aa. How invested.
b. Public appropriation.
c. Do inmates contribute?
d. If raised by public subscription, what methods?
C. Annual budget (salary, food, fuel, etc.).

III

Superintendence (salaries, method of appointment).
A. Number of staff.
B. Number of persons employed.
C. Duties of each.

IV

Inmates.
A. Nationality.
B. Religion.
C. Residence.
D. Classes served.
a. Conditions of admission.
b. How people get in.
c. Requirements as to age.
d. Requirements as to health.
e. Kind of disorder.
f. How discharged.

V

Daily Routine of Inmates.
A. Hour of rising.
B. Bedtime.
C. Hours of meals.
D. Work and exercise (extent and methods).
E. Amusements.
F. Instruction (extent and methods).

VI

Bills of Fare (variety and food value).
A. Breakfast.
B. Dinner.
C. Supper.
D. Other meals.
E. Number of bills of fare.
F. Amount of ration.

VII

Clothing.
A. How furnished.
B. Uniform.
C. Actual condition.

VIII

Management.
A. Board of officers, trustees.
B. How selected.
C. Term of office.
D. Salaries.

IX

Inspection.
A. By whom.
B. Methods employed.

SOCIAL STATISTICS

NOTHING seems quite so definite as tables of figures. Nothing should be received with more skepticism on the part of the social student, and nothing is so well calculated to deceive the very elect. Skepticism and pessimism are processes through which every student of statistics sooner or later passes, and it is only by long practice and careful scrutiny that he comes at last to the more hopeful processes by which statistics are recognized as after all the final form of human history, and really the most interesting of all sciences.

It is only intended here to give the briefest introduction to the subject and sufficiently to indicate the nature of the task, the methods to be employed, and to emphasize once again the need of a scientific and universally adopted system, — a need which has been recognized by all serious investigators.

The classification of human phenomena among the normal classes includes especially vital statistics, births, deaths, and the like, and economic statistics covering the forms of industry, the income of social groups, rates of wages, commerce as shown by imports and exports. The abnormal classes who are in institutions can easily be registered, but it is very difficult to obtain the number of those who are not so placed, and there are so many grades of abnormalities which never find their way into statistics that the subject is essentially complex. We need to know not only the number of the various classes of the wards of the state, but the social classes from which they come, the conditions under which they have lived, the reappearance of the same individual, as in crime and insanity, as well as the cost of maintenance and the variation in the proportionate number of these classes among the different peoples to be compared.

Some statistics have been known among civilized peoples from the days of Egypt down to the present time. Ancient statistics

had to do chiefly with land ownership, taxation, and the number of fighting men.

It is only in modern times, however, that statistics has become anything like a science, and the economic interest of life insurance companies furnished a valuable incentive for accurate study of vital statistics. Prussia under Frederick the Great seems to have been the first modern state to publish official statistics, and it is only in the present century that national statistics have assumed any fullness or importance. The census of the United States was based upon enumeration for membership in the House of Representatives, and it has grown, in fullness at least and probably in accuracy.

The statistical process involves, first, definiteness in both time and place, the field in which the enumeration shall be made, and the day, the month, or the year taken for the purpose. After the field is determined, the next thing is the plan which involves the items to be counted and in which great care must be taken that the unit of investigation shall be clearly defined. After the process of counting has been accomplished by the field workers, the task in the office begins, which is to summarize and to tabulate for the preparation of tables, diagrams, and cartograms. The office part of the work has been pretty thoroughly organized and is essentially dependable in almost every country, but there are great difficulties in the way of the field work. In the first place, there may be ignorance on the part of the enumerator who is usually a person of only average intelligence and is not especially trained for the task, and ignorance on the part of many of those who answer the questions prepared. Deception furnishes its full share of variation in both vital and economic statistics. It is quite certain to appear in the statistics of the abnormal who are not actually in institutions. More of them always exist than are ever counted, for the temptation is always present to deny abnormality, on the part of the representative of any family.

One of the most enticing pieces of work in connection with statistics is the study of the causes of the facts that are recorded; as, where it is found that the price of rye falls and the number of marriages increases as in a calculation made in four German states; or the more doubtful case where it is discovered that as the tobacco

tax falls in Paris the number of the insane increase, and so on through various deductions that may be made upon figures. The two cases cited above are really alike, indicating the effect of industrial depression upon conditions of life. The observer might suppose that the use of tobacco was a preventive of insanity, but the statistics only mean that when there are times of financial depression men smoke less because they cannot afford it, and they worry more because the pressure of life becomes severe.

Statistical comparison can be made with a fair amount of accuracy between the same fields at different periods; and the variations of the same social group in both economic, vital, and pathological statistics, according to the increase of population, rests upon sufficiently sound data. There is, however, great difficulty in comparing statistics of one country with those of another because of the difference in the unit of enumeration. In some countries the state relief is the only relief that is put into the statistics, but in some of them relief is largely private. Some countries separate indoor and outdoor relief, and in some places they are counted together. In the statistics of crime there is no agreement as to the classification of the offenses. In some countries the insane maintained by the state are classified as paupers, while in other countries the care of the poor is left to the local organization, while the care of the insane is often a matter wholly of the province, as is the case of the United States. From the days of Malthus until now every serious investigator has been anxious for an international commission to provide a definite system of social statistics, and it is one of the first needs of social science at the present time.

Political arithmetic consists in calculations made from certain known facts to others that are unknown. If a statistician is informed of the amount of raw material consumed in a given factory, if he is acquainted with the business, he may calculate the cost of the machinery and the number of workmen. If he knows how many deaths have occurred in a particular nation at a particular time, he can predict the number of deaths that will probably occur ten years hence with a given ratio of increase in the population. Political arithmetic fails, however, when it uses the facts of one social group as a basis for calculation as to probable facts in another social group of a different race type or living under essentially different

conditions, because the same variations do not occur among different peoples. There are certain seductive laws, as they are called, growing out of statistics, among them the law of regularity discussed by Mr. Buckle in his "History of Civilization."

The general doctrine is that social facts when viewed for an entire social group eliminate the eccentricities of the individual. For instance, there are about seven times as many suicides in Saxony as there are in Belgium, and this will be found to recur year after year, and in like manner forms of crime differ with a certain regularity among different peoples. Out of this law of large numbers and doctrine of regularity there has developed for practical uses an average of statistics said to be valid for a great many problems. There is undoubtedly a certain truth in the statement that the race type and often the national type tends to regularity, and produces a normal level for social life from which there are definite variations. It is also true that the same variations do not exist among different peoples.

When, however, the contention is made that the law of large numbers destroys the freedom of the individual, it is necessary to suggest that no one will ever act upon such a theory in his own case. Out of a definite 100,000 persons insurance tables predict confidently the death of a certain number per annum, but no one of the 100,000 would agree that on that account it would be perfectly futile for him to take ordinary precautions in the care of his health. A certain number will doubtless die, but the individuals are not selected by any process known.

The law of averages has its very definite limitations. Four men drink a quart of whisky. How much does one man drink? Evidently half a pint, but, as a matter of fact, three of the men may be total abstainers and one man may drink it all. The month of July in two separate years may have exactly the same mean temperature, and one of them have as delightful weather as possible in that month, while the other month would reveal the coldest and hottest days ever known in July since the weather bureaus were established. The average income, the average length of life, the average consumption of food, are very convenient class terms, but, as a matter of fact, do not exist in individual form any more than a species exists. The real interest lies, not in the average at all,

but in the variation from the average among different classes and different individuals. And this can be seen in studies of wealth, health, production, income, and everything else that affects the family group.

Rhythmic law, or the law of recurrence is useful, but must be accepted with a good deal of caution. Under this law economic depressions, commercial panics, and even epidemics and wars recur, while their opposites are found with pretty constant regularity. To take the last question for analysis because it is perhaps the most convenient and most easy, there does seem to be a certain recurrent thirst for blood upon the part of the human family. After a number of years a nation forgets the desolated homes, the enormous and abnormal consumption of commodity and the general distress which a war occasions even to the party which is victorious. It does not, however, seem to be mere idealism to suggest that here is a social phenomenon which must some day be affected by the enormous increase in number and exactness of the death-dealing mechanisms of conflict both on sea and land and the promise of increasing slaughter where wars arise. This will doubtless act as a deterrent. Commercial interests become more and more controlling and more and more interlace the principal nations together in a federation of production and exchange, and these bonds continually make for peace. Nor is it impossible that a day will come when those psychical forces which to many now seem purely idealistic will have more definite and accurate value in determining conflicts between nations. The brotherhood of man is first of all economic. It may become vitally humanitarian to such an extent that those sentiments which have always been most forceful in human history will avail here to bring in a world program of peace through the operation of courts of conciliation and arbitration.

The object of this discussion of war is to show that social problems are not static and that society is at every period moving toward something different. This indicates that the law of large numbers, the average of statistics, and whatever other doctrines may be based upon a static form of life, will at last break down because they are only available for short periods of time on account of the constant social changes. The "law of error" by indicating certain

variations from theory in cases examined is the only way of escape in order to maintain the definite mathematics of statistics. Statistics is, of course, a mathematical science, but the paradox is that it is a science without mathematical accuracy when applied to social problems. Any social statistics are of little consequence unless we know enough of the psychical conditions and the content of the social mind within the group to which they are applied. Psychical movements in statistics are noted in the effect which laws of states have upon the laws of numbers. For instance, where there is an income tax and a personal property tax, both incomes and personal property are less than where these do not exist, and the higher these taxes are, the greater the temptation to fraud. Easy divorce laws tend to multiply divorces, and the number of divorces by no means indicates the social morality of any country. In like manner where marriage laws are rigid, and often where marriage is expensive, the social evils which are sought to be cured by processes of repression are really multiplied and illegitimate births increase.

The man who counterfeits bank notes may be hung for his crime, but this will not be nearly so discouraging as if the forgeries were made difficult by improved processes of engraving and the production of bank notes made practically impossible to imitate.

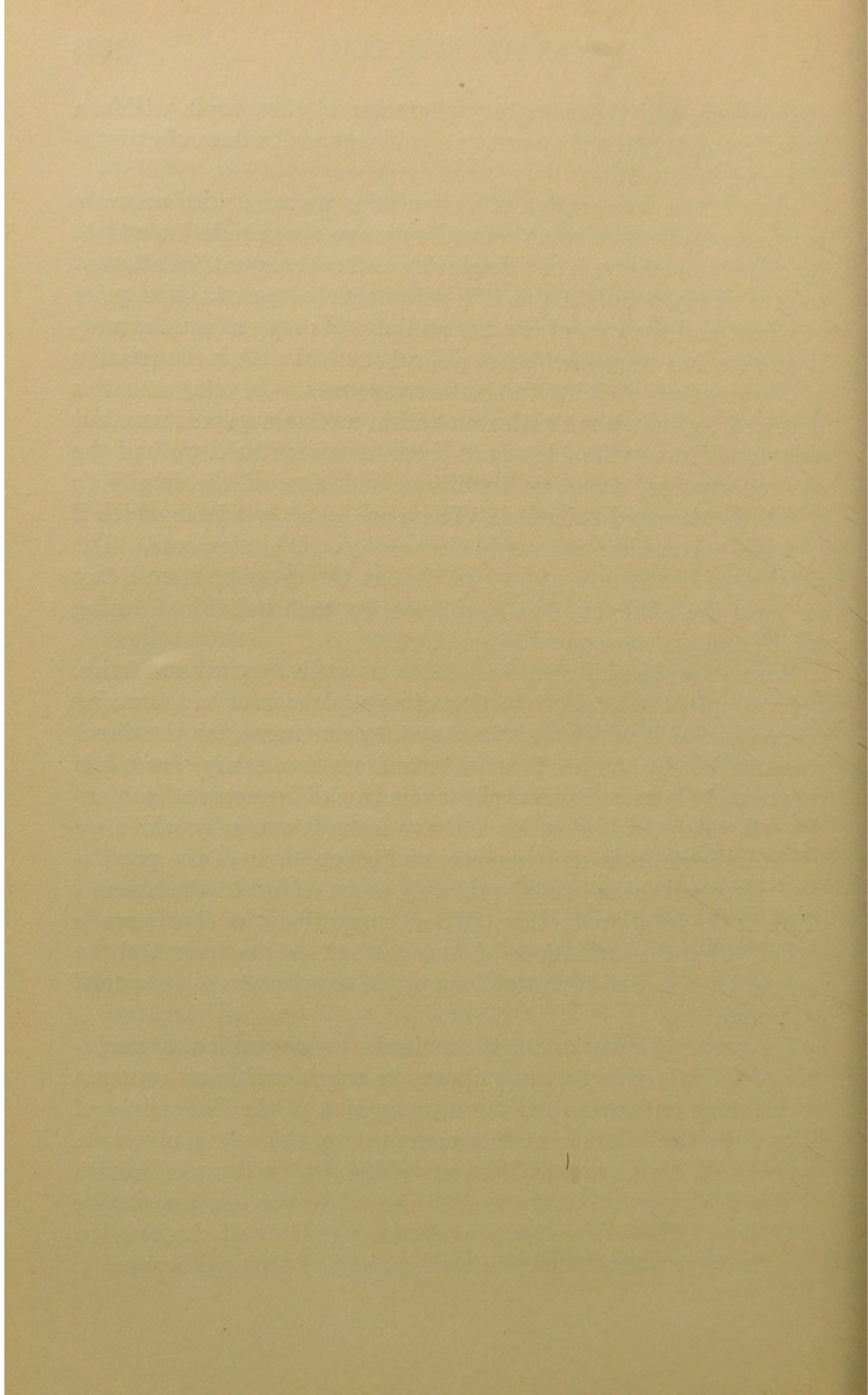
There are many things students would like to know not easily discovered in any form of census now taken. The number of families is much more important for social inquiry than the number of individuals in any social group. The economic position of the family, the nature of the employment of its various members, the wages of each member of the family, and the total income are required for any adequate study. The degree of education of the children, the ages when they commenced work, the hours of service for young and old, are very desirable data. In spending, the amount of rent and the size of the house are as important as the price of bread, but the sanitary conditions in each house are even more important. Of these our enumerations give nothing. Questions are asked with regard to defects of mind or sense, but the number of the infirmities is much larger, and it would be very interesting to know to what extent any social group may be regarded as maimed. The mobility of a population has a good deal of social

significance, and the migratory character of the people within a social group is perhaps almost as significant as the data of emigration and immigration.

Even in the enumeration of a population we are denied accurate comparisons, because some countries give us the population caught by a social photograph in a single day and other countries attempt to give us the population as it is permanently located. The price of wheat and the rate of exports and imports may affect the marriage rate, but very much more difficult to deal with is the relation of the standard of living to the marriage rate. In vital statistics it is well to know the death rate within a certain population, but very much more valuable would the information be if we had the age, occupation, economic condition, and size of the family to which the deceased belonged. There are many lost facts which if restored to consideration would alter many social judgments. The number of deaths are usually given, but the great economic fact for us is the total time lost in sickness by each individual during his life and the consequent loss and waste.

Economics has its own lost facts as well as vital statistics. For example, the total production of a people cannot be known by the volume of it which finds its way into commerce, for the direct consumption by the producers of which no account is ever taken is extremely large. Particularly is this true of farmers and gardeners. It would be interesting to have some formula by which we might indicate from the character and occupations of the population what percentage ought probably to be added to the amount given as the total production. These suggestions are chiefly made as indicating the limitations of such statistics as we have and the necessity for special investigations in the attempt to solve special problems.

The personal equation, or the attitude, predisposition, or prejudice of the investigator, must always be considered in an estimate of the value of figures. In the investigation of the Committee of Fifty into the relation of intemperance to the cause of crime, statistics of Maine revealed the prohibitionist, as those of Elmira exhibited a skeptical attitude with respect to the relation of vice and crime. Those investigations are most to be trusted where the investigator is not anxious to sustain a cause or prove a theory.



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UNITED STATES

Population

1900	1910
75,994,575	91,402,151

The following figures are taken from the latest census bulletins, but the percentages in them are based upon 1900, or else are estimated.

	Total	Per 1000
Number of Births (1900)	2,049,132	27.2

(United States Census, 1900, vol. 3, p. 54.)

Surpassed in Europe, except by France, Ireland, Sweden.

Death Rate (1906) in Registered Area

United States	16.2 per 1000
England	15.4 per 1000
Germany	18.2 per 1000
France	19.9 per 1000
Russia	32.9 per 1000

Marriages per 10,000 (year 1905) 93

(More than in any European country.)

Divorces

Year	Total	Proportion
1905	67,791	1 to 1218 of population
1875	14,369	1 to 3087 of population

(United States Census Bulletin, No. 96, Marriage and Divorce, 1908, p. 11.)

PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES

Year	1903	1890	1880
Males	52,444	40,741	35,564
Females	296,320	32,304	30,639
	348,764	73,045	66,203

PAUPERS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION

Year	1903	1880
	101.3	132

(Statesman's Year Book, 1911, p. 367.)

INSANE IN HOSPITALS

YEAR	TOTAL	PER 100,000 OF POPULATION
1903	150,151	186.2
1890	106,485	170
1880	91,959	183.3

(These figures do not include those in private asylums, in homes, in almshouses, or in jails.)

CRIME

	MALES	FEMALES
Crimes against Society	17,739	2,549
Crimes against the Person	25,172	845
Crimes against Property	36,097	1,069
Double Crimes	117	9
Not stated	570	31
Sentences to Death (in 1904)		133
Life imprisonment (in 1904)		5,026

(United States Census Special Report on Prisoners (1907), p. 20.)

SUICIDES (IN REGISTERED AREA) PER MILLION

YEAR	TOTAL
1902	127
1904	148
1905	161
1908	185

(United States Census Bulletin, No. 104, Mortality Statistics (1908), p. 104.)

GERMANY

Births, Deaths, and Marriages in 1909

	Births	Deaths	Marriages
Legitimate	1,854,657		
Illegitimate	183,700		
Total	2,038,357	1,154,296	494,127

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 831.)

Crime in Germany in 1908. Number of Persons Convicted

Males	462,745
Females	85,665
Total	548,410

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 837.)

No pauperism statistics published since 1885.

SWITZERLAND

Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces in 1909

	Births	Deaths	Marriages	Divorces
Legitimate	92,840			
Illegitimate	4,456			
Total	97,296	62,596	27,395	1,534

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 1254.)

Prison Population on December 31, 1908

Males	3,554
Females	550
Total	4,104

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 1256.)

ITALY

Statistics of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in 1909

	Births	Deaths	Marriages
Legitimate	1,059,561		
Illegitimate	54,423		
Total	1,113,984	737,221	265,263

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 953.)

BELGIUM

Crime during 1908

Convictions for Serious Offenses 60
Less Serious Offenses 45,718

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 638.)

Suicides in 1908

Males	Females	Total
788	182	970

Paupers Relieved in 1908

Total Entries	Mean Population
4,635	5,421

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 638.)

Insane in Asylums in 1907

Males	Females	Total
8,975	7,959	16,934

(Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique (1909), p. 227.)

ITALY

Statistics of Crime in 1908

Convicted of Serious Offenses	Less Serious Offenses	Minor Offenses	In Prison, Jan. 1, 1909	
2,301	70,476	336,448	Males	48,791
			Females	4,335
				53,126
total convicted, 409,225				

Pauperism

In Italy legal charity, in the sense of a right of the poor to be supported by parish or commune, or of an obligation on the commune to relieve the poor, does not exist. Public charity in general is exercised through the permanent charitable foundations, called "opere pie," regulated by the Law of July 17, 1890. General results of inquiry in 1900: Leaving out of account institutions intended for lending, or for encouragement of saving, there were 27,078 opere pie, with a gross capital of about

2,205,000,000 francs. Their net income amounted to 52,559,000 lire. Added to this net income were casual legacies, contributions from private benefactors, subsidies from communes, etc., all of which receipts are spent annually and thus the sum at disposal of opere pie in 1900 amounted to 120,765,000 lire.

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 958.)

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR THE YEAR 1906
(Tables extracted from Sundbarg's Aperçus Statistiques (1908)

	(p. 59) Marriages Total No.	(p. 67) per 1000 of Population	(p. 61) Births	(p. 63) Deaths	(p. 65) Surplus of Births
Sweden	32,450	6.10	36,700	76,400	60,300
Norway	13,539	5.89	60,851	31,362	29,489
Denmark	19,354	7.44	74,216	35,172	39,044
Great Britain	327,680	7.51	1,180,806	688,733	492,073
Belgium	58,388	8.11	186,271	118,884	67,387
Germany	498,990	8.16	2,022,477	1,112,202	910,275
Austria-Hungary	394,122	8.33	1,771,099	1,171,753	599,346
Switzerland	26,220	7.49	95,6 6	59,205	36,400
France	306,487	7.80	806,847	780,196	26,651
Italy	260,775	7.94	1,070,983	696,875	374,108

England and Wales. 1880, birth rate 35.3 per 1000, and in 1907, 26.3 per 1000. Death rate, 1880, 20.8, practically same as earlier figures since statements began, but from 1880 decreases to 15.0, so that natural increase in population was 11.2 in 1851, while in 1907, despite lower birth rate, it was 11.3.

BIRTH RATE

	1850	1907
France	26.8	19.7
Belgium	29.7	25.7 (1906)
Prussia	39.6	33.0

Part of decline due to delayed marriages and fewer marriages. Infant mortality has been steadily reduced by reducing the death rate, improving housing of poor, and increased wages.

PROPORTION OF ILLEGITIMATE TO LEGITIMATE BIRTHS FOR SPECIFIED COUNTRIES IN YEAR 1908. (PROPORTION OF LIVING BIRTHS.)

Germany	8.98	Hungary	8.91
France	8.84	Austria	14.11
Italy	6.23	England and Wales	4.10
Belgium	8.01	Scotland	6.81
Switzerland	4.53	Ireland	2.64

(Sundbarg's Aperçus Statistiques (1908), p. 137.)

DEATHS PER 1000 INHABITANTS IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES IN 1906

Country	Deaths
Austria	22.7
Belgium	16.5
Denmark	13.5
England and Wales	15.4
France	19.8
German Empire	18.2
Prussia	17.9
Hungary	25.2
Ireland	18.7
Italy	21.2
Netherlands	14.8

(Sundbarg's Aperçus Statistiques (1908), p. 71.)

DEATHS PER 100 (1906)

Country	Deaths
Norway	13.6
Scotland	16
Spain	25.8 (year 1905)
Sweden	14.4
Switzerland	16.9
United States (registration area consisting of 17 States)	16.1

(Webb's New Dictionary of Statistics (1911), p. 597, and United States Statistical Abstract for 1909, p. 83.)

SUICIDE

Mean Annual Number per Million Inhabitants for Specified Countries, 1901–1905

Country	Number
Sweden	152
Norway	56
Denmark	250
England and Wales	103
Scotland	58
Ireland	33
Belgium	120
Germany	212
Austria	170
Hungary	167
Switzerland	232
France	228
Italy	63

(Sundbarg's Aperçus Statistiques (1908), p. 143.)

SUICIDES IN CITIES PER MILLION INHABITANTS

City		City	
Berlin	170	Genoa	64
Brussels	271	Frankfort	344
Copenhagen	302	London	85
Dresden	240	Milan	133
Florence	76	Naples	60
New York	144	Stockholm	272
Paris	422	St. Petersburg	206
Rio Janiero	260	Turin	110
Rome	53	Vienna	287

GREAT BRITAIN

BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES FOR 1909

	England and Wales	Approx. Rate per 1,000	Scotland	Approx. Rate per 1,000	Ireland	Approx. Rate per 1,000
Births	914,621	25.6	128,582	26.4	102,915	23.5
Marriages	260,259	14.6	30,092	12.3	22,769	10.4
Deaths	518,075	14.5	74,594	15.3	75,096	17.2

FOR THE ENTIRE UNITED KINGDOM. RATE PER 1000 OF POPULATION

Births	1,146,118	25.5
Marriages	313,120	13.9
Deaths	667,765	14.8

PAUPERISM STATISTICS, 1909–1910

Number of paupers in receipt of relief in the United Kingdom on one day in summer of 1909 and one day in the winter of 1910.

England and Wales	887,316	One day in summer (July) 1909
Scotland	112,737	
Ireland	96,215	
Total	1,096,268	

PROPORTION PER 10,000 OF PAUPERS PER ESTIMATED POPULATION, 244 ON ONE DAY IN SUMMER

England and Wales	925,346	One day in winter (January) 1910
Scotland	116,418	
Ireland	98,016	
Total	1,139,780	

PROPORTION OF PAUPERS PER 10,000 OF ESTIMATED POPULATION, 253 ON ONE DAY IN WINTER

(Statistical Abstract for United Kingdom, 1895–1909, pp. 362 and 388.)

Amount Spent Annually on Poor Relief in England and Wales at Various Dates

Period	Annual Expenditure	Per Inhabitant Pence
1702–1714	910,000	41
1706–1775	1,520,000	58
1783–	2,050,000	66
1801–1805	5,100,000	78
1815–1820	7,106,000	152
1830–1835	6,742,000	114
1841–1850	5,250,000	74
1851–1860	5,510,000	69
1861–1870	6,740,000	77
1871–1880	7,710,000	75
1884–1888	8,400,000	73

Insanity Statistics for the Year 1909

	Insane Under Treatment		Proportion per 10,000 Population	
	1909	1910	1909	1910
England and Wales .	128,787	130,553	36.02	36.01
Scotland	18,197	18,337	36.6	36.4
Ireland	23,718	24,144	54.2	55.2

Sex of Insane for Year 1909

	England and Wales		Scotland		Ireland	
	1909	1910	1909	1910	1909	1910
Males . .	59,636	60,528	8,892	8,978	12,274	12,562
Females .	69,151	70,025	9,305	9,359	11,444	11,582
Total .	128,787	130,553	18,197	18,337	23,718	24,144

(Hazell's Annual, 1910, p. 580, and 1911, p. 581.)

FRANCE

Statistics of Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorce in 1909

	Births		Deaths	Marriages	Divorces	Suicides (1906)	
	Legit.	Illegit.					
Boys . .	375,263	36,068	756,545	307,451	12,874	Men	7,196
Girls . .	360,718	34,818				Women	1,036
							8,232

(Annuaire Statistique Republique Française, (1908), p. 80, and Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 752.)

Criminal Statistics for 1906

TOTAL NUMBER BROUGHT TO TRIAL, 511,931

	Tried at Assize Courts	Acquittals	Sentenced to Death
Murder	215	70	
Attempted Murder	70	28	
Parricide	11	1	
Infanticide	88	54	
Poisoning	6	1	
Serious Wounding (resulting in Death)	184	89	
Other Wounding	39	19	
Assassination	200	38	21
Attempted Assassination	57	9	2
Total	870	309	23

(Annuaire Statistique Republique Française (1908), p. 76.)

Insanity

Number of Insane in France on December 31, 1906 71,427
Number of Insane treated in Asylums, 1907 94,125

(Annuaire Statistique Republique Française (1906), p. 33.)

An act passed in 1905 for relief of aged poor, infirm, and permanently incurable. It provided that the cost of the scheme should be borne by the communes, departments, and the State. The system did not actually come into operation till about the middle of 1907, and the statement for 1908 is incomplete. Approximate list up to December 31, 1908, was as follows: —

Share of	1907 Francs	1908 Francs	Total Francs
Communes	17,437,000	19,300,000	36,737,000
Departments	9,016,000	10,000,000	19,016,000
State	27,687,000	30,500,000	58,187,000
Total	54,140,000	59,800,000	113,940,000

The number of persons registered for relief at their homes has risen from 515,630 on December 31, 1908, to 561,648, on December 31, 1909, and to 569,456, on June 30, 1910.

(Statesman's Year Book, 1911, p. 762.)

LUNACY

	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland
Private Insane	10,393	2,682	870
Pauper Insane	117,377	15,464	22,690
Criminal Insane	1,017	51	158
Total	128,787	18,197	23,718

TOTAL NUMBER OF CERTIFIED INSANE IN UNITED KINGDOM, 170,702

(Hazell's Annual for 1910, p. 580.)

GREAT BRITAIN

Statistics of Crime for Year 1909

NUMBER OF PERSONS TRIED AT ASSIZE COURTS AND QUARTER SESSIONS

	Males	Females	Total	Convicted	Acquitted
England and Wales	12,968	1,317	14,285	11,862	2,367
Scotland	1,772	205	1,977	1,618	337
Ireland	1,933	286	2,219	1,507	695
Totals	16,673	1,808	18,481	14,987	3,399

(Statistical Abstract for United Kingdom (1895–1909), p. 389.)

NUMBER OF SUICIDES DURING 1909 IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Males	2,683
Females	894
	3,577
Proportion per 100,000 of Population	9.99
Sentences of Death	20
Sentences of Penal Servitude	1,064

(Annual Report of Registrar General (1909), p. 312, and Hazell's Annual (1910), p. 452.)

AUSTRIA

Births, Deaths, and Marriages in 1908

	Births	Deaths	Marriages
Legitimate	845,999		
Illegitimate	119,594		
Total	965,593	627,771	213,670

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 599.)

HUNGARY

Births, Deaths, and Marriages in 1909

	Births	Deaths	Marriages
Legitimate	699,772		
Illegitimate	92,582		
Total	792,354	542,757	

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 599.)

AUSTRIA

Criminal Statistics in 1908

	Serious Crimes	Less Serious	Misdemeanors	Total
Number Convicted	35,831	8,177	556,391	600,399

Number in prison on December 31, 1908: —

Males	7,184
Females	748
Total	7,932

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 603.)

HUNGARY, 1909

	Serious Offenses	Minor Offenses	Total
Number convicted	682,113	32,081	714,194

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 617.)

AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

Pauperism in 1906

Number of Poorhouses	1,812
Number of Persons Admitted	42,282

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 603.)

BELGIUM

Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces in 1908

	Births	Deaths	Marriages	Divorces
Legitimate	172,509			
Illegitimate	11,325			
Total	183,834	121,964	57,564	892

(Statesman's Year Book (1911), p. 636.)

YEARLY STATISTICS OF CRIMINALS

	Murder Tried	Murder Convictions	Murder Convictions Per Million Inhabitants	Robbery Tried	Robbery Convictions	Robbery Convictions Per Million Inhabitants
France . . .	816	582	16	45,940	41,830	1,110
Germany . .	602	505	11	143,810	102,260	2,260
Hungary . .	1,682	1,180	67	14,520	10,270	586
Italy . . .	3,712	2,720	95	62,910	47,220	1,662
Spain . . .	1,807	1,265	83	12,430	9,920	592
Belgium . .	117	80	14	7,880	6,110	1,110
Great Britain .	430	212	28	75,320	56,530	6,622

PRISON POPULATION

	Per 100,000 Population	Of 1,000 Criminals	
		Males	Females
United Kingdom	80	845	155
France	158	876	124
Hungary	38	905	95
Italy	250	920	80
Belgium	98	890	110
United States	120	914	86

The percentage of criminals as regards sex in Germany is 826 males to 174 females, and in Denmark 754 to 246.

POPULATION AT DATE OF LAST CENSUS AND DIVORCE STATISTICS OF SPECIFIED COUNTRIES

Country	Population	Date of Last Census	Divorces Per 100,000 of Population Aged over 15, for Approximate Year 1900
Austria	26,150,708	31 Dec., 1900	
Hungary	19,254,559	31 Dec., 1900	150
Denmark	2,588,919	1 Feb., 1906	
France	39,252,245	4 March, 1906	
German Empire . .	60,641,278	1 Dec., 1905	250
Prussia	37,293,324	1 Dec., 1905	
Saxony	4,508,601		
Bavaria	6,524,372		
England and Wales .	32,527,843	1901	

Country	Population	Date of Last Census	Divorces per 100,000 of Population Aged over 15, for Approximate Year 1900
Scotland	4,472,103	1901	
Ireland	4,458,775	1901	
Belgium	6,693,548	31 Dec., 1900	180
Italy	32,475,253	10 Feb., 1901	
Sweden	5,136,441	31 Dec., 1901	160
Switzerland . . .	3,315,443	1 Dec., 1900	630
United States . . .	75,994,575	1900	400

(Statistical Abstract for Foreign Countries, 1898–1908–1909, pp. 8, 11, and Webb's New Dictionary of Statistics, 1911, p. 216.)

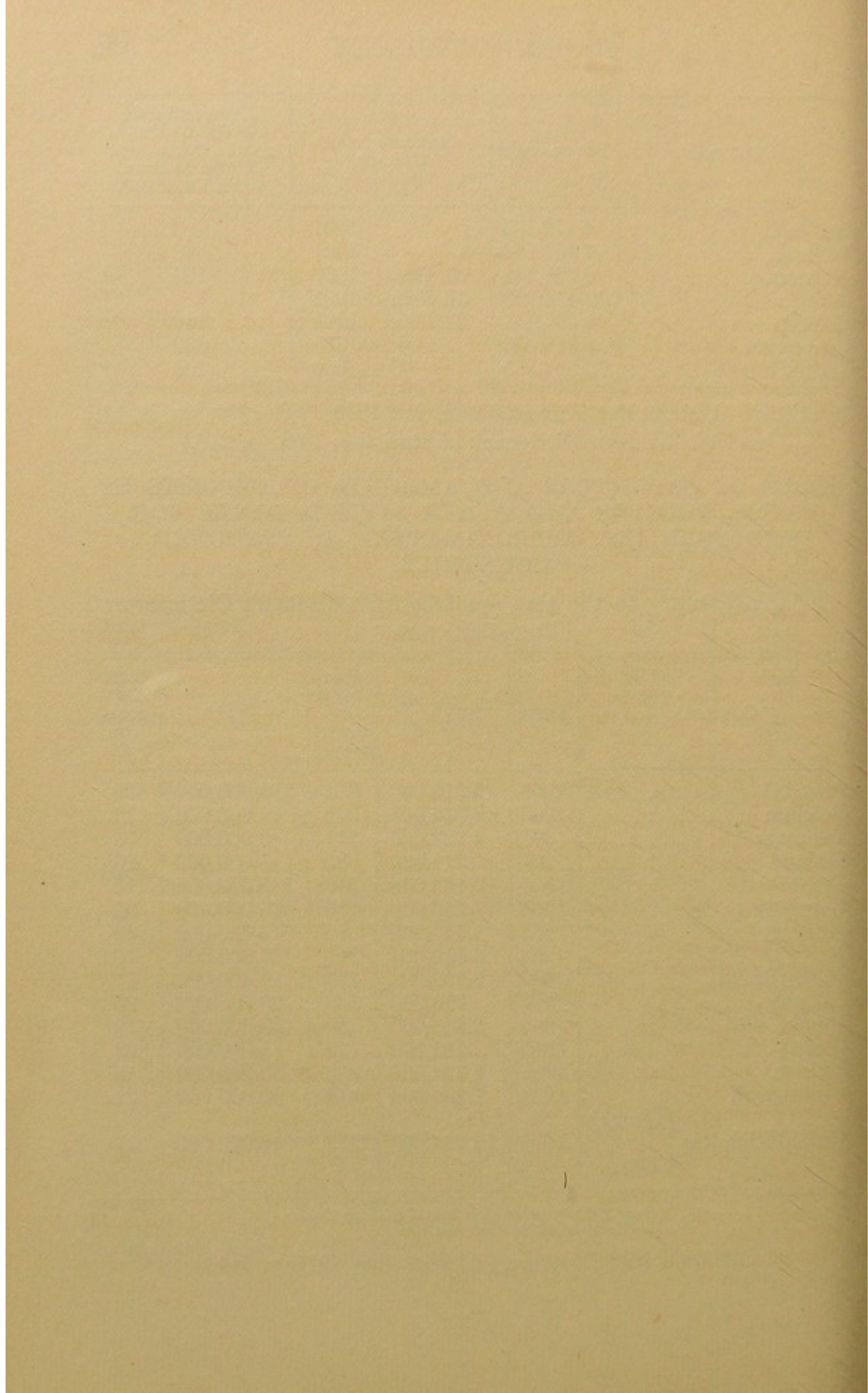
TABLE OF DEPOSITORS AND AMOUNTS OF DEPOSITS IN POSTAL, TRUSTEE AND OTHER SAVINGS BANKS FOR THE YEAR 1906, APPROXIMATELY, IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES

Supplementary to the text, quoting from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, 1899.

Country	Date	No. of Depositors	Per 1,000 of Population	Total £	Per Depositor £
Austria[1]	1905	5,515,000	204	213,000,000	39
Belgium	1905	2,354,000	329	33,000,000	14
Denmark[2]	1905	1,323,000	511	43,900,000	33
Finland	1905	244,000	85	5,000,000	20
France	1905	12,135,000	309	185,000,000	15
Germany	1905	17,950,000	285	628,000,000	35
Hungary	1905	1,547,000	80	76,500,000	49
Italy	1906	6,659,000	195	124,000,000	19.9
Netherlands	1906	1,659,000	293	19,400,000	11.7
Norway	1905	790,000	342	20,700,000	26
Russia	1906	5,666,000	39	110,000,000	19
Spain	1905	415,000	22	11,000,000	27
Sweden	1905	1,924,000	364	35,300,000	18
Switzerland	1900	1,300,000	419	40,000,000	31
United Kingdom (Nov.) . . (Dec.) .	1906	12,094,000	277	210,000,000	17

[1] Year 1904 for other than Postal Savings Banks.
[2] Inclusive of all Savings Institutions.

(Webb's New Dictionary of Statistics, 1911, p. 544.)



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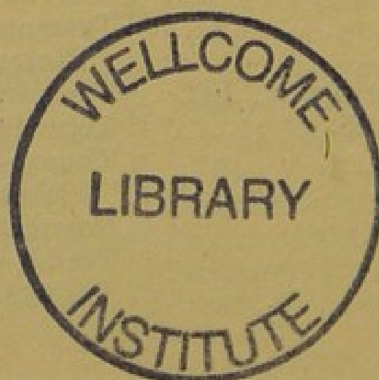
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