Anne and Armand Marts Collection Publications Scrapbook, 1972 (1/3) (Digitized) 5.5

directors will hold fast to the high ideals and practices suggested, they should find themselves becoming increasingly important factors in America's battle against poverty, disease and ignorance. The group is going through the throes of a new profession, and should be given reasonable time to develop standards for itself. It was only twenty-eight years ago that a book on social work quoted a recent concept of a paid worker as follows: "No man ought to take a salary from a charitable society, unless he would otherwise be an object of charity." Yet, in spite of this inauspicious start, a splendid new profession of social workers has been built up gradually in the past quarter of a century; a profession with high standards of efficiency and ethics, and with a very decided influence on American life. So may it be with this still newer profession!

The Poor and the Poor Social Worker

By LEONORA B. RUBINOW

[redacted]terest and no little wonder that I have [redacted]ollowing your discussion on salaries [see recent Midmonthlies, particularly January 15]—interest, because it is a problem of vital importance to every social worker, and wonder, because there has been practically no expression of opinion from those most concerned, your so-called "youngsters."

I am not equipped to write of this. I cannot talk in terms of scientific theories. I know very little about the distribution of the national income and what relation it bears to "youngsters'" salaries. I have only a hazy idea of the per capita wage earnings and the average individual contribution to the social structure. I know still less about the relative significance of the intellectual output of the various professions to the welfare of society, and I defy any one to draw up a wage-scale on the basis of such a comparison. I have never been able to formulate an accurate measuring rod for my efforts in social work, nor have I ever seen any one's else that can be accepted as infallible and fool-proof. Hence, I cannot value my work in terms of dollars and cents. Social productivity to me is still a matter of faith, not logic.

But I think I do know the "youngsters'" reaction to the problem of minimum and inadequate salaries. I have discussed it informally at the luncheon table, have heard it expounded with the air of professionalism at parliamentary gatherings, and have listened to it mournfully soliloquized over in the wee small hours of the morning—superficially, seriously, laughingly, angrily, lightly, passionately, foolishly, wisely, sanely, disparagingly. Scientific this is not, but neither is living. But it is human, and it is real.

There is one thing that Mr. Robertson seems to have forgotten, or disregarded. Or perhaps he and I differ in our conception of social work and the ideal social worker. I think that individuals should bring to social work something more than good training. They should be possessed of a capacity for a full and rich life—and a zest for living. They should have the wherewithal to develop wide mental horizons. They should have the privilege of indulging the mind as well as disciplining it. They should enjoy the companionship of good books and the comradeship of cultivated fellow-beings. They should know the luxury of the arts, should experience the exquisite joy in good music, the sense of satisfaction in the harmony of architectural alinement, and the expansion of the soul in the presence of beauty. They should have the sense of well-being and security that comes from congenial surroundings, and the tolerance and broadening of outlook that come with travel. All this takes money.

The social worker who can bring to her clients a mind thus enriched and a soul thus flowering is indeed in a position to help them to a fuller and a freer life. Poverty cramps one's style, and the social worker whose personality is so poverty-stricken that she has nothing to share, might better search for another profession.

"Self-sacrifice?" Not a bit of it. Does the young Shakespearean actor call it "self-sacrifice" when he turns down a lucrative offer from a vaudeville circuit because to him the high spots of life exist only in declaiming "To be or not to be?" No. Does the young singer call it "self-sacrifice" when she ignores more prosperous walks of life because, to her, life is song and song is life? Again no. Does the young social worker call it "self-sacrifice" because she declines to enter the commercial field where she will get better money returns for her efforts? Thrice no. Ask any of the "youngsters." To them the very word is anathema.

Rather is it a feeling of kinship with one's fellow-beings, a participating in life, or, as Mr. Bruno so aptly puts it, "the spirit of adventure." But the social worker who finds it necessary to spend most of her leisure moments in the practice of petty economies, with neither time nor means for restoring the daily losses caused by the wear and tear on her physical, mental and emotional fiber, is in grave danger of finding that her stock of "spirit" is eventually depleted.

What we need are folks skilled in the art of living, and the majority of artists—popular opinion to the contrary—need food for sustenance.

Vacations in the Spring

DOES it pay to grant vacations in the spring, the breakdown period of the year's work? Each year the idea is more prevalent among social agencies. About a year ago the News Letter of the A.A.O.F.S.W. published the report of a brief study of the question by H. J. Mayhew, general secretary of the Organized Charities Association of New Haven. The vacation policies of eleven family-welfare societies showed:

For the professional staff—three agencies offered one week spring vacation; one, half a week; three, two and a half days; one, two days. Two had no policy and one offered no spring vacation. As for summer vacation, ten out of the eleven offered four weeks. One agency grants two months' vacation on salary, in addition to the regular month, to the professional worker in the seventh year of service. Another states that full vacation is not granted those professional workers who have been on the staff less than a year, the reduction being in proportion to the length of service.

Over My Desk

A Monthly Talk with Executives

By ELWOOD STREET
Director of the Community Chest of Washington, D. C.

What Happened to a Busy Executive

THERE was a certain sales manager who was in the habit of signing his letters without reading them. His stenographer was a capable person and he thought he could safely trust her to write the letters the way he dictated them. His superior officer accidentally learned of his custom and informed him that he had better read his letters before signing them. Even though the stenographer was efficient, the proofreading of the letters would provide a double check against mistakes.

The sales manager, however, insisted that he was too busy to bother about such details and that his time could much better be employed in more important things.

The higher executive finally lost patience; and one day he called in the sales manager's stenographer and dictated to her a letter which was to be addressed to himself. The letter said:

"As I feel that my work is not up to the standard necessary for success in our business, I offer you my resignation to take effect immediately."

The girl was instructed to write the letter and place it among the others that afternoon on the sales manager's desk. She was under no circumstances to tell him about it.

The stenographer followed instructions. The sales manager signed all his letters without reading them, this one included.

Next day the executive called in the sales manager and told him that while in some ways he regretted to lose him he felt that, in view of his letter, he would have to accept his resignation.

The sales manager asked what it was all about, declaring he had not the least intention of resigning.

Whereupon the executive handed him the letter and asked: "Is this your signature?"

It was; and the resignation was accepted.

—*Told by Arthur C. Kemble and reported by The Little Schoolmaster in Printers' Ink.*

The Board Sits In

Do your board members attend the meetings of your staff? They do at the Hartford Visiting Nurse Association, of which Harriet Leck is director. At each of the weekly staff meetings two members of the board, in rotation, are required to be present. In addition to discussion of staff problems, there is usually an outside speaker who talks on a professional or a background subject. In this way the board participates in the educational program of the agency and at the same time keeps closely in touch with its problems. Student nurses also attend the staff meetings.

Using Form Paragraphs

Are you making sufficient use of form paragraphs (not form letters) in answering questions or complaints which tend to be a good deal the same? A simple way is to go through correspondence on the subject, pick out the paragraphs which best exemplify the answers to the various points which may be raised, and then tell your stenographer to use paragraph 1, paragraph 4, paragraph 17 and so forth. In that way special dictation can be given to cover unique points and form paragraphs used to cover those points which are alerady covered in previous correspondence.

Great saving, for example, has been made by the Community Fund of St. Louis in using form paragraphs to apprise its member agencies of their budgetary appropriations. In many agencies special conditions have to be made regarding the appropriation. These paragraphs are separately dictated, but form paragraphs are used for the other phases of the letter which cover such matters as general conditions affecting increases in budget, decreases in budget, etc. The form paragraph thus provides the best possible answers to questions which are frequently asked, saves time in dictating and yet allows for complete individuality where necessary in the handling of correspondence.

Laird's Book

We are glad to commend Increasing Personal Effi[illegible] Donald A. Laird, associate professor of psychology, Colgate University, published by Harper & Brothers. We found especially interesting the suggested questions for personal application at the end of each chapter, as well as the personal inventory tests at the end of the book. It ought to pay almost any one to buy the book.

Buy Them in Strips

3 x 5 tickler slips in strips of nine with perforations between the slips have proved a convenient and time-saving device in copying memoranda or names where the information is desired on separate slips. Having the ticklers in strips eliminates the necessity of putting in and taking out the paper each time, and the perforations serve as a guide in gauging the size of the slip. These are bought at the very low price of 32 cents per thousand. Gummed labels may also be bought in strips with perforations between each two labels.

When Selecting Equipment

We commend to a social agency which buys a considerable amount of office equipment during the year or to a council of social agencies which advises its members on equipment, an annual subscription to The Business Machines and Equipment Digest, published by the Equipment Research Corporation, Adams-Franklin Building, Chicago. This corporation is not a business concern but a cooperative association of business executives.

The Digest is a book of 1,460 pages, in loose-leaf form, supplying complete information and analyses on every conceivable kind and type of machine and equipment designed for economical business administration, and a monthly supplement service which keeps the service up to date by advising of any changes in style or price of present devices or introduction of new ones. It includes also a monthly survey and report service based on current investigation providing intimate detailed knowledge of existing management methods and successful equipment installations and operations by all types of business concerns and their several departments.

A typical instance of its value to the writer personally is that he was considering the question of what would be the best addressing-machine installation for a community chest. The presentation of the advantages of the various kinds of addressing-machines as given in this digest gave conclusive proof regarding the kind best suited to the particular purpose we were considering. It is of inestimable value both to be able to select the best system and also to be sure that that selection was the best which could have been made. The subscription price of $15 a year seems low considering the value of the benefits to be derived.

GOSSIP: of People and Things

THE National Tb. Association is holding its twenty-fifth birthday party at Atlantic City the week of May 27. Guests of honor at a big dinner on May 28 will be 121 of the 197 founders, who have survived the War, the tubercle bacillus and other hazards of early twentieth-century life. . . . Of seven laymen among the founders one, Elwell Stockdale of White Haven, Pennsylvania, is dead, while six are living, Edward T. Devine and Paul Kennaday of New York, Alexander Heron Davisson and James M. Willcox of Philadelphia, Irving Fisher of New Haven and Frederick L. Hoffman of Newark. . . . While of the physicians, seventy-five have died or cannot be found by the national association. . . . That makes doctoring look like an extra-hazardous occupation. . . . And we'd like to find out about the apple-eating habits of those hardy laymen. . . . There'll be an historical exhibit, with relics such as the horrific educational banners that sired our modern posters, and some early publicity that reads like old English on a tombstone. . . . Further details and a hearty welcome from Philip P. Jacobs, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York, who almost gets under the wire as a founder but is bearing up something noble. . . .

LEE K. FRANKEL had a birthday, too, after twenty strenuous years in the Metropolitan Life. All the Metropolitan girls were there—and only the Dublin statistical department knows how many Metropolitan girls there are—and lots of friends, admiring the aforementioned girls, as who wouldn't? . . . The birthday cake came from the famous restaurant, with a proper balance of candles, gimcracks and vitamines. . . . One guest, envying Dr. Frankel's boyish figure, speculated wistfully as to whether he had kept it by reading Metropolitan pamphlets on diet. . . . Many happy returns, say we. . . . Especially if there are cakes. . . .

President Hoover got to Washington at just the right time, for Elwood Street put over the first campaign of the brand new Community Chest with a cool hundred thousand dollars more than his budget. . . . Now if a beggar knocks at the kitchen door of the White House, Mrs. Hoover can send him to the Chest office with a clear conscience. . . . Elwood has bought a house and settled down in Washington to stay. . . . He could give the President a tip on how to keep fit, for he still hustles out in the morning and runs a mile before breakfast just as he did in Cleveland and New York and Louisville and St. Louis. . . . We quite like the idea of Mr. Hoover having a little morning run. . . . And it would add a human touch to the Supreme Court—and where is it more needed?—if Justice Taft should sprint down Pennsylvania Avenue in running pants. . . . But probably that's too much to expect. . . .

WHEN the postman blew his whistle early of a St. Valentine's morning, a distinguished member of The Survey staff dashed downstairs—and received the valentine below. . . . She's certain, she is, that she knows who sent it, and to prove her point the poor fish sent it around The Survey office. . . . And the office rose with a cheer and declared that while the pome may be a bit dubious, the picture looks like her. . . . Any reader who guesses it right and sends the solution addressed to The Poor Fish Contest, c/o The Survey, will receive a letter from a lady and a stick of chewing-gum. . . . The flavor lasts. . . .



Get Down to Business!

You chew your gum and flirt all day,
For real work you're too tired.
Unless you mend your idle way
You'll pretty soon get fired.

George J. Hecht, editor and publisher of Better Times, and George J. Hecht, editor and publisher of CHILDREN, The MAGAZINE for Parents, now called Children, The PARENTS' MAGAZINE, is about to publish "books for parents on the rearing of children from crib to college". . . . Probably a misprint for crib to cribbing. . . . The first book is A Doctor's Letters to Expectant Parents, by the author of Simplifying Motherhood. . . . If any lady in the audience cares to ask a question we are sure Mr. Hecht will oblige. . . . Better look around now, George, and choose the nearest exit. . . . You've opened a wide door! . . .

Thanks to our close relations with the Foreign Policy Association, we can give our readers confidential but accurate information as to the whereabouts of Leon Trotsky, ex-resident of New York and of Russia. . . . Scene, the Grand Ball Room—and grand it is—of the Hotel Astor. . . . Setting, a meeting of the F.P.A. . . . Suddenly the scene shifted to the office of the F.P.A., with the telephone ringing. . . . "Constantinople calling Mr. McDonald," said Long Distance, . . . Before a word could be gotten in edgewise, even to make sure it was a prepaid call, up spoke Trotsky himself. . . . "I have been 'listening in' to the meeting at the Astor and want to take advantage of the offer of the chairman to have questions telephoned into the office, relayed by him and answers given at once over the radio. . . . Please ask him if it is safe for me to return to Russia. . . . No, I don't want any of the other speakers to answer my question. Mr. McDonald always knows best. I will listen here at my radio in Constantinople". . . . A sudden disconnection. . . . Now, perhaps that's drawing a wee bit on our imagination. . . . But did you know that you can call Lexington 2523 during any F.P.A. luncheon and have any question pertinent to the subject of the afternoon answered P.D.Q. over the radio? . . . That's what we call service. . . .

The February issue of The Family (130 East 22 Street, New York) has been prepared in honor of Mary E. Richmond, "the pioneer of the family case-work field and the inspiration of case workers the world over." There has been no attempt to give a full and rounded picture of her life; some of her friends have simply given a picture of her as they knew her, reflecting the variety of her interests and the many phases of her influence. . . . Another esteemed contemporary, the News Letter of the Alumni Association of the New York School of Social Work, announces that two members of the school's faculty, M. Antoinette Cannon and Gordon Hamilton, have begun books "dealing with some of the most pressing problems in the methods and philosophy of social-work treatment;" and that an all-day conference of alumni and faculty is to be held in New York, probably on March 28. . . . Katherine Z. Wells Whipple is chairman of the organization committee, and the program will center on future aspects of social work. . . . The school announces a number of fellowships running from $1,200 to $1,210. . . . There's nothing in the announcement to indicate what the extra $10 is for, but as it appertains to a fellowship offered by the alumni association it may be a hard-headed scheme to make sure that this fel-

low pays his dues. . . . April 9 is the last day for filing applications. . . . And the News Bulletin of the New York A.I.C.P. bursts into mimeographing with this: "To whom it may concern: Names are being sent to Miss Page, New York Dispensary, for conference time in her Obesity Clinic. . . . No weights will be published unless by request." . . . As man to woman, we put it to you, Miss Page, where do you stand in the war between sweets and Luckies? . . . And speaking of contemporaries, this simply made our ears burn: "I have subscribed to many magazines in the last fifteen years, but Atlantic Monthly, Living Age, American Journal of Nursing, Public Health Nurse and the rest stacked up in piles unread. 'I never had the time,' etc. But at last I have got hold of a magazine I read when I *haven't* got time, and that's The Survey. So I send you not only my check but my hearty good-will." . . . It is from Dorothea M. Hughes, R.N., whose marvelous address of The Ark, Salonica, Greece, is to be changed in May to the more marvelous Prospectville, Pennsylvania. . . .

Just around our corner there's a little group of serious-minded publicitors who are all set to make everybody hereabouts so "California-minded" they'll just naturally have to beat it out to the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco the end (other end) of June. . . . Their latest scheme is to catch a tableful of innocents at lunch and offer a prize of a piece of pie to any one who can pronounce correctly a list of California place names, such as LaJolla, Mojave, Tia Juana and the likes. . . . All right, Evart, we'll bite on the pie. . . . We pronounce 'em the way they were learned at the knee of Anna F. Cobb, *selig*, who taught geography once on a time in the Kalamazoo public schools. . . . Miss Cobb had a sturdy belief that geography should be taught by those who had an itemized knowledge of the surface of the jolly old earth, and without too much regard for the queer ways that foreigners say their words. . . . Yes, she and we said Ar-*kan*-sas. . . . So that'll give you an idea of how we say San Joaquim. . . . Or spell it, for that matter. . . . Now we'll ask you another. . . . How do you pronounce California? The way we do? Or the way the Forty-niners did? . . . And was Eugene O'Neill right in the way he resurrected it in Desire Under the Elms? . . . You'll remember his Yankee farmers gave it five evenly accented syllables, thus: *Cal* as in Coolidge, *i* as in eye, *for* as in for, *ni* as in nighty, *a* as in eight. . . . Do we get the pie? Thanks. Make it pumpkin. . . . But that's *not* the way Miss Cobb pronounced pumpkin. . . .

If, after the National Conference, you would leap from crag to crag, or bore a hole in the Pacific and angle for a whiffenpoof, let the Committee on Vacations help you. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Max Stearn, the committee has been organized with headquarters in the Civic Auditorium, San Francisco. That is where the California State Conference now holds forth, and the advance parts of the National Conference. . . . The Vacation Committee will tell you whether you need a vacation, where to find one that will match your complexion, and how much it will cost you. . . . This is a real service, for, in order to get the tourist rate on the railroads from the East, you must decide before you buy your ticket what your return route will be. The return date limit is October 31, and the tickets go on sale May 15—four and a half months in which to roam about the coast, climb a mountain, swim a channel, run up to Alaska for Sunday dinner, or just set. . . . Whatever you want, the committee will give you personalized information ahead of time. . . . There is still room on the special train of the California '29 Club, but there may not be if you wait too long. The train leaves New York the evening of June 18 and stops at several cities to pick up treasure-seekers bound for the conference. . . . Write for details to the California '29 Club, care of The Survey, 112 East 19 Street, New York. . . . "We have all the problems associated with human weaknesses. . . . We are looking forward to having you with us." Thanks, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, we'll pack our little weakness in our old kit bag and bring it along. . . . No, Mary, the California '29 Club train will not be known as the Gold-Diggers Special. . . . One of the kindred groups, radios Anita Eldridge, announces that special excursions are being arranged to the Yosemite and other places in the Sierras. But the stenographer had her own ideas and typed it: "Special excursions are being arranged to cemeteries and other places in the Sierras. . . ." Kindred group? Yes, kindred to the dust. . . . Helen Pigeon is going to the National Conference across country, returning by way of the Panama Canal. . . . Just a flying trip. . . .

George L. Warren, who became director of the American Branch of the International Migration Service in December, has been engaged in social work for a number of years. During the last two years of his college course at Harvard he acted as secretary of the Joint Department for Helping Homeless Men, maintained by the Boston Provident Association and the Associated Charities. In 1912 he became district secretary of the Charleston District of the Associated Charities, and in 1916 left Boston to become general secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Bridgeport, Connecticut. . . .In 1919 he became personnel director of the Warner Brothers Company, continuing his interest in social work as a volunteer with the Bridgeport C.O.S., the Red Cross, the Community Chest, and the Council of Social Agencies. He lives in Fairfield, Connecticut, where he was also instrumental in organizing the Family Welfare Society. . . .

Greetings to the lady friend who inquired if one had to call at the office in a red dress in order to get into Gossip. . . . The answer is yes and no. . . . It doesn't have to be red. . . .

The Log of Joanna Colcord

THE post of director of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, left vacant by the death of Mary E. Richmond, has been filled by the appointment of Joanna C. Colcord, of Minneapolis, who will take up her duties next summer. The story of her childhood on the sea and of the way she blew into the port of social work, as told here by herself, will stir the pulse of every reader of this page of The Survey, be he sailorman or landlubber.

MY father, Lincoln A. Colcord, and my mother, Jennie (Sweetser), were both born in Searsport, Maine. All of my family lines that I have been able to trace back for ten or more generations go back to England, and all the other names are English, so I conclude that there is little if any admixture of other blood. My mother's people came to Maine from Massachusetts when the region was first settled, and the founder in America of my father's family (Edward Colcord, 1608-1681), came to this country in 1689 and settled in New Hampshire, where he was one of the pioneers. In Maine, they were farmers and seafarers—mostly the latter; and when my paternal grandfather died, my father, then seventeen, turned naturally to the sea.

In 1881, when he was twenty-three, he got his first command, and he and my mother were married and went to sea in the bark Charlotte A. Littlefield. I was born on March 18, 1882, on the passage from Newcastle, N. S. W., to Yokohama, about forty miles northwest of the island of New Caledonia in the South Pacific. My brother was born on the homeward voyage, about eighteen months later, and for the next six years we children and my mother stayed on shore. I made a second voyage when I was eight, in the barkentine Clara McGilvery, to Rosario in the Argentine, where I got dysentery and nearly died.

Three years later, the whole family embarked on another vessel, the bark Harvard, in which we made two short voyages to South America and another to China. In 1895 we all went on a long voyage to South America, Australia, Peru, Puget Sound, Mexico and back to the Sound, where my mother and we children left the ship and came home overland. In 1897-9, I made two voyages to Hongkong with my mother and father in the ship State of Maine. Then my father "went into steam" as the saying was; and since the masters of steamers are not permitted to take their families, we had perforce to stay on shore.

My education went on at sea without interruption, except that the times in port were the holidays, rather than the regular seasons. My parents consulted with the teachers and got the books which were being used in the home schools. I cannot remember that we were ever behind the others in our spells of schooling ashore. We were *living* geography; we were accustomed to the use of mathematics, which, in the form of navigation, are a part of life at sea, and our general reading was so wide, if undirected, that English was the least of our troubles. When I came to highschool years, the sciences were somewhat difficult, owing to the lack of laboratory appliances; but I graduated with my class, although the examination papers had to be sent out to Hongkong, and mailed back from there.

I taught a rural school for a year, spent another year tutoring for college, and entered the University of Maine in 1902. I majored in chemistry and minored in German; and during my sophomore year left college and got a job in a chemical factory in Boston. I returned and completed the three years' work in two years, graduating with honors in biological chemistry in 1906. My instructor in German was the late Orlando F. Lewis, who had come under the influence of Josiah Strong and was even then preparing to leave teaching and enter social work. He used to urge me not to waste time on chemistry, but to enter this new profession at the beginning; but I was obdurate, and spent the three years following graduation as chemist at the Maine State Agricultural Experiment Station, working mostly on experiments in nutrition. I took my master's degree in 1909, still in biological chemistry.

These were, however, restless and dissatisfied years. I saw little future for a woman in applied science; and though I began to realize that I was more interested in people than in things, I did not think I liked teaching. On account of illness in the family, it became necessary for me to give up my work and go home, where I taught for a year in the highschool there; then, early in 1910, my mother and I went for the winter to a little railroad settlement on the west coast of Mexico, where my father's steamer was running.

This taste of travel and new things made me very unwilling to return to my former work; and while in this condition of unrest, I dropped in on my way back through New York in the early summer of 1910 to see my old instructor, Dr. Lewis. He was then teaching in the old School of Philanthropy. He renewed his advice to go into social work, and this time it seemed a desirable way out; so I entered there in the fall of the same year. The course in case work, given by Mary E. Richmond, proved to be the deciding factor in my choice of a profession, and I entered the employ of the New York Charity Organization Society in July, 1911, as assistant secretary of Riverside District under the late Johanne Bojesen. The next year I was appointed district secretary of Greenwich District, and two years later came to the Central Office as assistant superintendent of district work. Frank J. Bruno, at that time superintendent, left that same fall, and I succeeded him, my immediate superior at that time being W. Frank Persons. The winter of 1914-15 was a terrible one of industrial disorganization and unemployment due to the outbreak of the War. Mr. Bruno had begun the reorganization of the districts, but much remained to be done; and the districts and their inexperienced superintendent passed through a baptism of fire that winter!

In the spring of 1917, with the entrance of this country into the War, Mr. Persons was drawn into the work of the Red Cross, and the executive management of the society passed into the hands of three young departmental heads—Barry Smith, financial secretary, Karl deSchweinitz, in charge of publicity, and myself. It was understood between us that mine was to be the deciding vote; but the situation never arose in which it had to be cast, and the strange three-headed organization went on without difficulty till the time when, nearly two years later, Mr. Persons definitely resigned and Lawson Purdy succeeded him as general secretary.

In 1920, I secured a leave of absence for one year and went to the Virgin Islands as field representative for the Red Cross. These islands had become the property of the United States during the War, and the Red Cross had completed a survey of the social needs which the Red Cross might supply through the peace-time program of its Insular and Foreign Division. During my stay, a chapter organization was set up, a successful rollcall held, a program of school nursing instituted in the public schools, and three libraries equipped and opened with the cooperation of the American Library Association. Owing to the inelastic nature of the naval government and the rapid changes of its personnel, there were many problems encountered and delicate situations to be met which do not ordinarily fall to the lot of the social worker. Although the stage was a miniature one, the performance was a liberal education in diplomacy; and only the staunch backing of the I. and F. Division, of which Howard Knight was director during the most troublous times, made it possible to push through to a successful conclusion. I am happy to say that the work has continued and grown since my time in the islands.

In 1925 I was offered and accepted the general secretaryship of the Minnesota Family Welfare Association, which I have held up to the present.

I have published two books, one a study of family desertion prepared at the instance of Miss Richmond and published in 1918 by the Russell Sage Foundation, entitled Broken Homes, and one in the field of folk-songs, a collection of sailors' songs called Roll and Go, published by Bobbs-Merrill in 1924. There have been a number of articles of mine in The Family, The Survey, and similar magazines. I am at present a member of the executive committees of the National Conferences of Social Work and the American Association of Social Workers, and president of the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work.

1929 Circuit Riding

By J. D. K.

TO take the static out of a state conference, shut off the loud speaker and eliminate the hot air. As the Pennsylvania Conference on social welfare is now organized, there are sixty seconds of learning to the square minute. Frank D. Preston, the efficient secretary, saw to it that there were enough square minutes to go around. In the mornings, eleven institutes with twenty-five social workers in each; and for two hundred others, an open forum. In the afternoon, seventeen round tables, each small enough to permit group discussion. The only oratory was in the evening, and this year it was less soporific than usual. Aaron M. Lopez, the president, knew what he wanted to say, said it, and stopped. He is known as Marriage Laws Lopez, because he started out six years ago to suggest that twelve years for a girl and fourteen for a boy is a shade too early in life for the holy bonds. Through his efforts the limits have been raised to fourteen and sixteen!

Speaking of ages, while the mental age of the Pennsylvania conference is well advanced, the chronological age is delightfully young. It is essentially a conference of young people, who are impatient of being talked at, who want to ask questions and discuss. And it is a conference committed to pulchritude, which isn't at all unpleasant; nor is it wholly unappreciated, for two men, outside of the officers, dressed for dinner. Isn't it about time for this to become a custom—not only the pulchritude of the women, but also the smart appearance of the men? There is no virtue in a baggy trouser.

Elwood Street was there as an institute leader; and Augusta; but the rest of the family had been lined up, in a column of squads, and assigned the task of running the home. Elwood drove up from Washington in his Buick. He says that social workers shouldn't splurge on Packards, which shows self-restraint when you realize that the Washington chest has exceeded its goal by $118,000.

Mary Swain Routzahn led two round tables, and Ralph Hurlin had a go at hurlin' statistics. (That from Mrs. John M. Glenn, who spoke at the family-welfare dinner.)

No conference is complete without a fight. Pennsylvanians turn to politics as readily as Californians to scenery. In the first morning forum, somebody asked what part, if any, a social worker should take in political campaigns and legislative fights. It took all Kenneth Pray's presiding genius to shut off the discussion in time for luncheon; and the following morning they were at it again.

You may have seen a book-store advertisement in which one man asks another what he shall give his best girl for Christmas. "Why not give her a book?" "She has a book." One social worker, after seven years on the job, came to The Survey book table and bought a book (Karl DeSchweinitz's Art of Helping People Out of Trouble).

While everybody (*Cont. on page* 826)

COMMUNICATIONS

Children's Institutions

To the Editor: It would be difficult to find an article in which the conclusions so completely contradict the premise as do Dr. Reeder's in his suggestions for a possible use for child-caring institutions [The Place of Children's Institutions, The Survey of January 15]. After announcing as his thesis that a proper plan of child care should consider nothing but the needs of the child, he proceeds to recommend placements based on the social status of parents, the educational deficiencies of a community, economic stress, parental matrimonial possibilities and numerous other factors. One need only examine the conditions Dr. Reeder cites as indicating the need of institutional care to realize how completely he has departed from his original premise.

The first type of case he suggests is predicated on the advantages of keeping children of the same family together. Why he should think an institution is essential for this is beyond understanding. Frequently one finds, in a large family, children either above or below institutional age; to place only the middle group in the institution brings about the very condition Dr. Reeder opposes. We in Baltimore are regularly using paid foster homes for keeping together families of four, five and even larger numbers.

In (b) and (g) Dr. Reeder suggests transferring children to institutions to give them special training or educational opportunities that he says are impossible either in their own homes or in foster homes. That children of special promise should be given the opportunity of development, and that those below average mentality should receive the special education and training they need, admits of no dispute. But why in institutions? In Baltimore we regularly provide such opportunities and special training through subsidies and "scholarships," both in the child's own home and in foster homes.

(c) Dr. Reeder states that a child with a surviving parent or close relative should be placed in an institution to keep alive the affectionate relationship. Apparently it is Dr. Reeder's idea that the way to keep alive affection is by separating those sharing it. Why not place father and child together in a paid foster home? The suggestion that the child and its parents be kept together by separation is more suitable for Alice in Wonderland than in a program of child care.

(d) "Children should be sent to institutions for study and treatment before placement in a foster home." We tried such a plan in Baltimore and discarded it, as we found the child's reaction could be studied more satisfactorily amid normal family and community contacts than in institutional surroundings.

(e) "A child should be placed in an institution if it has failed to respond to a large number of foster-home placements." Numerous transferals from one foster home to another is usually traceable to poor case-work technique in the study of the child or the selection of the home. The remedy is obvious. Poor casework produces unsatisfactory results in foster homes, institutions, or any other type of care.

(f) Dr. Reeder suggests institutions for the "almost hopeless task" of caring for motherless children. A constantly growing number of communities are keeping such families together through the use of paid "caretakers" as well as in paid foster homes. Disregarding the many other advantages of such methods, it is certainly cheaper to keep children in their own homes than to care for them in institutions.

Dr. Reeder properly emphasizes the fact that "any sound program of child welfare must be built around the family," and indicates the unwisdom of society substituting the rigid and unnatural institutional environment for the normal surroundings of the home, which he says is every child's birthright.

He takes an unassailable position when he states that "only under compelling circumstances should the institution enter the field of dependent-child care and training;" but he goes far afield in suggesting that fortuitous and remedial social and community needs constitute such "compelling circumstances."

No one who has had the opportunity for observing actual practices in many communities can disagree with his indictment of "court judges, truant officers, indigent and deserting parents, empty beds and wide-flung institutional doors which combine to railroad the dependent child into institutional life." It is all the more disappointing, therefore, to find Dr. Reeder adding himself to this group, by cataloguing as a list of factors demanding admission to an institution such conditions as are mere challenges to case-work processes or those which can and should be met by stimulating community resources.

Sidney Hollander

President, Jewish Children's Society,
Baltimore, Md.

To the Editor: Does Dr. Reeder in his The Place of Children's Institutions, in your January 15 Midmonthly, repudiate his "confession" of Our Orphaned Asylums in The Survey Graphic of June 1, 1925? I think not. He reaffirms his faith in the family as against the institution in strong phraseology, even though he is more compromising in his tactics. In 1925 he decreed in effect that the institution must go. And when it refused to obey, he concluded that the children's institution was immortal even though its humble contemporaries, the almshouse and the little red schoolhouse, have gone or are going the way of all flesh. On this assumption he proceeds to limit our friend to seven classes of children constituting about 90 per cent of the total available supply. Does not Dr. Reeder know that self-preservation and empty beds, if not a sound social policy, have already started our institutions on an "enlightened" program? They have not waited to be shown how to prolong their existence by the doctor.

Dr. Reeder must have experienced some difficulty in harmonizing principles with everyday practice. His classification presents a maze of contradictions and unwarranted assumptions. How will the state-wide, regional or national institution, of which there are many in this country, take care of the problems presented by classes "c" and "f"? And since large families usually include young children, how will he have the institution meet the problems in classes "a", "c" and "f" without violating the principles of "family nurture" and kinship ties? The large family presents the problem of a considerable age difference between the oldest and youngest child, and if they are eligible to the institution at the same time, which they usually are not, the younger ones will remain years after the older ones have left. Obviously too, the danger of attachment to foster parents, and the estrangement from his kindred is greater in the young child than in the older one.

Dr. Reeder entirely ignores the paid foster home, which combines the advantages of family life and the detachedness necessary in the care of children with interested kindred. A resourceful foster-home system can protect the kinship ties of children and keep large families together or in close contact with one another better than the institution.

I disagree thoroughly with Dr. Reeder on his seventh class. Does he mean to substitute philanthropic schools for public schools on the ground of the child's poverty? Does he know about scholarship associations enabling children to remain at school instead of going to work for economic reasons? I have no objection to prep-schools for poor boys and girls past the elementary-school age, excepting that I consider that extravagant and unnecessary. The cost of educating one child in such schools is large enough to defray the expense of a moderate-sized family, including educational opportunities for all the children. Dr. Reeder's motives are fine but he errs now as he erred in 1925. Another article, Whither Institutions, is due from him in 1932.

Jacob Kepecs

Jewish Home Finding Society,
Chicago

To the Editor: I take this occasion to express my appreciation of the article by R. R. Reeder in the January 15 issue of The Survey. It seems to me this is a very impartial statement of the place which institutions should take in the general formation of the community.

It so happens that my duties at this large school are very little associated with the institutional program except that I must make a plan for the extramural care of a few children, who are, for one reason or another, discharged from the school and placed in a community with their mothers. Mooseheart Extension Service is that program which operates quite like mothers' pensions for more than a thousand children, living in their own homes with their mothers, in districts scattered through thirty-seven states, the territory of Alaska and five Canadian provinces. The supervision is reasonably close and achieved by the cooperation of local case conferences, the chairman in each case being a member of the local lodge which sponsors the family.

We find that from time to time circumstances so change that it is wise to transfer a family receiving Extension Service to resident care at the school. It must be admitted that the institution does have its place for certain children, while there are many others who will always qualify as residents in a normal community.

I shall be much interested to observe the reaction of some social workers in this country who have seen fit to express themselves as unqualifiedly opposed to the institutional plan. I wonder if, as time goes on, we shall not all learn that the broader viewpoint makes for more sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the general program of child care.

Bertha J. Southwick

Family Supervisor
Mooseheart Extension Service,
Mooseheart, Illinois

To the Editor: Honest criticism, like confession, is good for the soul, and open discussion often clears the atmosphere. Other reactions in hearty accord with my article on The Place of Children's Institutions have been very agreeable to read, but not so stimulating as the criticisms of Messrs. Kepecs and Hollander, for which I am also grateful. To follow each of these gentlemen seriatim through the seven types of cases eligible for admission to institutions, mentioned in the original article, would unduly lengthen this reply, and lest we should be chasing one another around a circle—the family circle, since we all agree that it is the center around which all plans for the solution of child dependency must gravitate—I will touch high spots only.

A critic is prone to overstate the position which he challenges. Thus, Mr. Kepecs says that my article in 1925 decreed in effect that the "institution must go." I presume the statement to which he refers is, "As a permanent home or caretaking proposition for normal children, the orphan asylum must go out of business." His interpretation can hardly be construed as a fair inference, especially in view of the fact that in the same article I attempted to show how the "orphan asylum can be turned to magnificent account." A change in function advocated in both articles certainly does not mean going out of business. Again, Mr. Kepecs assumes that in attempting to define the scope of institution admissions I have said to all other agencies, "Keep out," whereas I have only said to institutions, "Keep within."

Apropos again of overstatement, Mr. Hollander says, "After stating as his thesis that, in a proper plan of child care, nothing but the needs of the child should be the determining factor, he proceeds to recommend placement based on the social status of the parents," etc. My statement was, "All methods must center about the child and his family rather than the means provided for his care." This certainly does not exclude other related factors, but only states what the dominant factor should be. The child is not a socially isolated being. He is the center of a network of relations, both social and kinship. Various ways and means for his welfare must function, but always with this central objective in view.

Let me call the attention of my critics to the statement preceding the proposed eligible groups for admission to institutions: "In defining the field of institution service only *broad principles* can be laid down as a basis for selecting its wards. The following types of dependent children's cases may serve to *outline* the legitimate scope of the institution."

It is fair to infer from these statements that the purpose of the article was not to lay down a rigid, water-tight-compartment classification. The wisdom of a Solomon could not do that. The circumstances of an individual case—and every case is individual—in any one of the seven groups might be such that the foster home could function better than the institution. Whenever and wherever you can solve the child problem better through foster-home care, by all means do it. But the social resources of one community may not be present in another, and always "New occasions teach new duties." One or another of the seven groups mentioned in my article may pass in whole or in part from institution to foster-home solution, depending upon the resourcefulness of the community in which the cases arise and the efficiency of the social workers. I greatly admire the courage of Mr. Hollander's position that practically any case of dependency is but a "mere challenge" to case-work processes and community resources for a solution other than institutional. However, most child-welfare workers have not yet been able to wave the magic wand of foster-home care so successfully as Mr. Hollander seems to have done. In the meantime, children's institutions will go on doing business at the old stand when the "grasses on our graves have forty years been growing." Our chief concern should be to see that they do the right kind of business.

In the case of motherless children, he says, "Why should not father and child be placed together in a foster home?" (Suppose there are several children.) By all means do it this way *if you can* and *if it will work*. "I can call spirits from the vasty deep, but will they come?" As stated in my article, I regard this group as the largest and their situation the most helpless the institution has to deal with. If Mr. Hollander has demonstrated that widowers with their children can successfully be provided for in foster-home care, as he apparently claims to have done, it is the greatest social-welfare triumph ever achieved. He is entitled to ring in a new and up-to-date version of the Scripture definition of religion: "Visit the widowers with their orphans in foster-home care and keep the situation unspotted from the world."

Again Mr. Hollander seems to have discovered a case-work technique which so unerringly selects foster homes as to obviate the replacing of children. This is another great secret which child-placing agencies would be truly grateful to have revealed.

(*Continued on page* 827)

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(*Cont. from page* 823) was polite and didn't mention witchcraft, the state capitol, just across from conference headquarters, recalled one sidelight on the gentle art of grafting. In front of the entrance are two beautiful groups of heroic figures. A cleaner was given the contract at $2,000 to restore them to their pristine purity. He erected screens behind which to work. When the screens were removed the statues were little cleaner than before. So the janitor of the building took a scrubbing brush and some soap and made them nice and clean in a few hours.

CASE work principles ran through the discussions of the Georgia Conference on Social Work. Gertrude Vaile led off, with two hundred others in full cry. It was a discussion conference throughout—Dean Lathrop on the church and social work, Ed Cavin, who is heading up the American Legion child-welfare program in Georgia, Josephine Brown on community organization, Frank Miller on community chests, and one Kenderdine on publicity—with Judge Hoffman breathing fire at the final luncheon.

Two (count 'em) laymen took a night's ride to Savannah to preside at group meetings—and such laymen! Horace Russell, a young lawyer, is president of the Family Welfare Society of Atlanta. His audience was slow in gathering so he used an awkward fifteen minutes in this manner: "You nice-looking lady by the pillar; will you introduce yourself please? Do you know that handsome man three seats ahead of you? Will you introduce yourself to him please, and then introduce him to the rest of us?" And so forth. It's a neat trick, if you have the manner for it.

The other young layman was Mark Etheridge, editor of the Macon Telegraph and president of the Georgia Press Association. He told the best story we've heard in a dog's age. If Gene Lies doesn't hear it first, we'll use it ourselves.

With two such interesting young men on the program one could almost forgive the welcoming mayor for referring to "uplift work." Maybe he thought it should be when it includes a social worker by the name of Stone Crane. Stonewall Jackson Crane is on the staff of the state welfare department.

Something ought to be done about mayors; Congress ought to pass a law about them and not let them run around loose. It's a big day when one of them finds out enough about social work or public health to make a speech on the subject. Yet most of them try. Why not merely point out that the local skyscrapers if laid end to end would please everybody? Now, the Hon. Walter E. Batterson, mayor of Hartford, really said something when he welcomed the state nurses' association, something more than the glory of being a woman and the beauty of service to mankind.

The Community Courier of St. Louis almost bursts into song over the arrival of Robert W. Kelso. It appears that Brother Kelso left his desk at the Boston Council of Social Agencies on a Saturday, arrived at his desk as director of Community Fund and Community Council of St. Louis on a Monday, and put in the time between reading proofs on his new book Poverty, shortly to be issued by Longmans, Green. That's fine. . . . Presently the middle-westerners who talk about hustle will get it through their heads how us easterners do it!

Elections and Appointments

HORACE M. ALBRIGHT, appointed director National Park Service, Department of Interior, succeeding Stephen T. Mather.

ISABEL ANDERSON, now director, Veterans Hospital, Boise, Idaho, succeeding Mrs. I. Lawrie Cahoon, resigned.

ARETA AUGUSTINE, now on staff, St. Louis Provident Assn., St. Louis, Mo.

ARTHUR D. BALDWIN, as president of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, succeeding Cleaveland R. Cross.

DR. MARSHALL C. BALFOUR, assigned to New York office, International Health Division, Rockefeller Foundation, succeeding Dr. Charles N. Leach.

MARGARET BARNERD, now with American Red Cross, Los Angeles, succeeding Margaret Gilbert.

LOUISE B. BLACKHAM, formerly on staff, Research Bureau of the Welfare Council, New York, now supervisor, girl's work, Westchester County Recreation Commission, White Plains, N. Y.

DOROTHY BONAR, formerly nutritionist, Letcher County Chapter, A.R.C., Whitesburg, Ky., now with Fayette County Chapter, Connersville, Ind.

FLORENCE D. CAMERON, appointed social worker, U.S. Naval Hospital, Mare Island, Calif., succeeding Florence Martin, resigned.

MISS FRANK CLAWSON, formerly with Family Welfare Society, Queens, now full-time case worker, St. Christopher's Home, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.

ELEANOR G. COIT, formerly with National Board, Y. W. C. A., now with department on resident summer schools, Women Workers in Industry, 218 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.

RUTH WHITE COLTON, formerly field secretary, National Child Welfare Assn., now director State Bureau of Character Education, Hartford, Conn.

L. E. CREIGHTON, director, Public Charities Assn. of Penn., appointed president, Beaver County Community Chest.

CAMILLE DAVIED, formerly editor, Girl Scout magazine, appointed managing editor, The American Sketch.

THOMAS DEVINE, formerly executive secretary, Memphis Community Fund, now executive secretary, Jacksonville Community Chest Assn.

DR. STEPHEN A. DOUGLASS, formerly medical field secretary, National Tuberculosis Association, now superintendent and medical director Sunnyside, Marion County, Ind.

FRANCES DUFFY, formerly with United Charities, Norfolk, Va., now with N. Y. Catholic Charities.

ALICE L. DULIN, appointed director, Red Cross service, U. S. veterans Hospital, Outwood, Ky.

MARY G. ELLETT, appointed Red Cross hospital worker, Walter Reed Hospital, Washington, D. C., succeeding Miss Gueydan.

HERBERT EVERSON, elected executive secretary, National Conference on State Parks, succeeding Beatrice Ward Nelson.

NELL FINDLEY, now manager, Honolulu Social Service Bureau.

SYBIL FOSTER, formerly psychiatric social worker, Habit Clinic, Boston, Mass., now educational secretary, Mass. Society for Mental Hygiene, Boston.

ANNIE KATE GILBERT, appointed national executive, Girl Reserves, the junior "Y" group.

MARY E. GILBERT has returned to her post as assistant head resident of Hiram House, Cleveland, after a four-months trip to Japan, China and Korea.

SYLVIA HARRIS, formerly with Institute for Crippled and Disabled, now with Family Service Society, Louisville, Ky.

IVA B. HARTMAN, for ten years in tuberculosis work with Bellevue Hospital, New York, and Trudeau Sanatorium, appointed superintendent, new Rock County Sanatorium.

DORIS HOWARD, formerly director, Veterans Hospital, Tucson, Ariz., now director, Red Cross Service, Veterans Hospital, Walla Walla, Wash., succeeding Emme Fish.

WORTH L. HOWARD, for five years accountant consultant, Welfare Federation, Cleveland, Ohio, appointed director of service, new Montefiore Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa.

MARY RANDOLPH HUGHES, formerly case worker, National Soldiers Home, Sawtelle, appointed to staff, Letterman General Hospital, San Francisco, Calif.

JOHN IHLDER, formerly with U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia Housing Assn. and Nat'l. Housing Assn., appointed executive director of the recently organized Pittsburgh Housing Assn.

ALBERT J. KENNEDY, formerly with South End House, Boston, now head worker, University Settlement, succeeding Walter Lee Sullivan.

DR. EDWARD L. KEYES, N. Y., recently elected president, American Social Hygiene Assn.

EDITH MERRY, appointed assistant secretary, (Bushwick) Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.

BENJAMIN W. MOORE, appointed judge, Children's Court, Westchester County, N. Y.

MADELEINE MOORE, formerly research secretary, New York C.O.S., now extension secretary, Family Welfare Society, Queens.

M. NORENE MUNZ, appointed financial secretary, National Child Welfare Assn., succeeding M. Gertrude Browne.

DR. CHARLES A. NEAL, formerly health commissioner, Hamilton County General Health District, now state director of health, succeeding Dr. John E. Monger.

MARJORIE PARSONS, appointed to Bedford staff, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.

WARREN D. PIERCE, formerly with Boys' Work Department, west side Y. M. C. A., New York, appointed director of promotion, Boys' Club Federation, N. Y C

MAUDE PITTENGER, now on staff, St. Louis Provident Assn., St. Louis, Mo.

(*Continued on page* 829)

(*Continued from page* 825) Let us have all these finer fruits of expert service in foster-home placing brought into the open, and furthermore, if the seven types of institution cases mentioned in the original article can be reduced in number in favor of the foster-home solution, by all means let us do it. And let there be no occasion for rivalry in our great responsibility for the dependent child. Institutions and placing agencies should cooperate and supplement each the other's program. The problem is too serious and the material we are dealing with is too precious for conflicts. Let us look at the situation steadily and see it whole.

R. R. REEDER

Director, The Marsh Foundation School
Van Wert, Ohio

Madame Breshkovsky at Eighty-five

TO THE EDITOR: Catherine Breshkovsky, "the Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," was eighty-five on January 26. Her friends had arranged, without her knowledge, to celebrate the day; and she received many letters and telegrams, from many different parts of the world.

Madame Breshkovsky twice visited America, and has very warm friends here. A nobleman's daughter, from her childhood she longed to help the peasants, and as a little girl would give away her warm clothes to the shivering peasant children. Later she became a revolutionist and spent many years in prison and in Siberia. Everywhere she was a center of courage and cheer to the other exiles. George Kennan, who saw her in a tiny village just under the Arctic Circle, wrote: "My standards of courage, of fortitude, and of heroic self-sacrifice have been raised for all time, and raised by the hand of a woman." Many of her American friends could say the same.

When the revolution finally came, she was recalled from Siberia, and her journey home was like a royal progress. She was made head of the department of education, under the Kerensky regime, and traveled all over Russia to promote more and better schools. She always stresses the immense importance of right education for the young.

After the Bolsheviki seized power, she left the country. Unable to live in Russia because she was out of sympathy with the government, she finally settled in Prague. In Russian Carpathia, now a part of Czechoslovakia, where the people are of Russian stock, poor and ignorant but eager for education, she has founded a number of boarding-schools for poor children.

These she has maintained for eight years, chiefly with money obtained from America, and many of the girls educated in them have gone out as teachers and are doing a fine work. But the need is greater than the supply. She is always hard pressed to support her schools, and the difficulty grows greater as her physical powers grow less. Her courage never fails, but her strong body is at last giving out. She has become partially blind through cataract, and the cold and damp winter climate of Prague is very hard upon her. A post-card just received from her said her hands were so nearly frozen that she could hardly write.

It is not too late to send her birthday greetings from America. They will be just as welcome if they are received after the day. And if the friends who write will enclose a contribution, large or small, for her schools, it will make her happy. Her address is Catherine Breshkovsky, Chorvatska No. 5, Vrsovice, Chez Haselbauer, Prague, Czecholsovakia. I can forward contributions for any person who cannot conveniently send money abroad.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

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by

ROBERT B. IRWIN AND EVELYN C. MCKAY

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FOUNDATION FOR STUDY OF PROHIBITION AND THE NEGRO— H. J. Mason, Director, Research and Publicity. M. W. Dogan, President; I. Garland Penn, Founder. Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

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THE NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME AND WELFARE ASSOCIATION is a federation of pioneer state wide children's home finding organizations. Herman Newman, President; John L. Sutton, First Vice-President; Owen J. Lovejoy, Second Vice-President; Dimmitt C. Hutchins, Counsel; C. V. Williams, Secretary-Treasurer, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

Let's Murder Mrs. X.

LET all of us workers in every welfare field whet our pens and load our typewriters for the belated laying-low of Mrs. X, Mr. A, Miss B, and those other Alphabeticals who've been dehumanizing pamphlets, letters, bulletins, circulars and annual reports these many years!

Let's sharpen our sense of values, and wade into the gory work of annihilating this tribe of nonentities which has made tons of our pleas and publicity as appealing as an algebraic formula.

Regardless of time, place or circumstance, let's kill off forever these staring initials that stifle the pulling power of even the most gripping stories of human interest.

Let's show the public, which supports our work, that we can at least match the minds which name Pullman cars and freight and passenger trains. If necessary, let's expel from our ranks those who cannot coin suitable substitutes for Mr. G., Mrs. T., and Miss R.

If a majority of us objects to murder, lets seek relief more peaceably.

—Leigh Mitchell Hedges, in Bulletin of Child Welfare League of America.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Wiley H. Swift, acting general secretary, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York. To improve child labor legislation; to conduct investigation in local communities; to advise on administration; to furnish information. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly publication, "The American Child."

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS— Mrs. Robert E. Speer, president; Miss Anna V. Rice, General Secretary; Miss Emma Hirth, Miss Helen A. Davis, Associate Secretaries; 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This organization maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries for advisory work in the United States in 1,034 local Y. W. C. A.'s on behalf of the industrial, business, student, foreign born, Indian, colored and younger girls. It has 103 American secretaries at work in 16 centers in the Orient, Latin America and Europe.

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC. (est. 1912, incorp.1914), 70 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. (tel. Algonquin 9690). Promotes as its chief object the building of character in the children of America through the harmonious development of their bodies, minds, and spirits. Its method is, in cooperation with other organizations, to originate and disseminate educational material in the form of posters, books, bulletins, charts, slides, and insignia. Through its "Knighthood of Youth" it provides homes, schools and church schools with a method of character training through actual practice. Officers: Dr. John H. Finley, Pres.; Charles F. Powlison, Gen. Sec'y.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.—Dr. William H. Welch, honorary president; Dr. Charles P. Emerson, president; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director; Dr. Clarence J. D'Alton, executive assistant; Clifford W. Beers, secretary; 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene, mental and nervous disorders, feebleminded-ness, epilepsy, inebriety, delinquency, and other mental problems in human behavior, education, industry, psychiatric social service, etc. "Mental Hygiene," quarterly, $3.00 a year; "Mental Hygiene Bulletin" monthly, $1.00 a year.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK— Porter R. Lee, president, New York, N. Y.; Howard R. Knight, sec'y, 277 E. Long St., Columbus, O. The conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Conference will be held in San Francisco, California, from June 26th to July 3rd, 1929. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS—Mrs. S. M. N. Marrs, President. Mrs. A. C. Watkins, Executive Secretary, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. To develop cooperation between home and school, and an informed public opinion which will secure highest advantages for all children.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN— Mrs. Joseph E. Friend, President; Mrs. Estelle M. Sternberger, Executive Secretary, 2109 Broadway, New York City. Program covers twelve departments in religious, educational, civic and legislative work, peace and social service. Official publication: "The Jewish Woman."

Department of Immigrant Aid and Immigrant Education, 799 Broadway, New York City. For the protection and education of immigrant women and girls. Maintains Bureau of International Service. Quarterly bulletin, "The Immigrant." Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman, Chairman; Cecilia Razovsky, Sec'y.

Department of Farm and Rural Work, Mrs. Elmer Eckhouse, Chairman, 5 Columbus Circle, New York City. Program of education, recreation, religious instruction and social service work for rural communities.

DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL AGENCY

NATIONAL HEALTH CIRCLE FOR COLORED PEOPLE, Inc.—70 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Honorary President; Dr. Jesse E. Moorland, Pres.; Dr. George C. Booth, Treasurer; Miss Belle Davis, Executive Secretary.

To organize public opinion and support for health work among colored people.
To create and stimulate health consciousness and responsibility among the colored people in their own health problems.
To recruit, help educate and place young colored women in public health work.
Work supported by memberships and voluntary contributions.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING—370 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y. Mrs. Anne L. Hansen, President. Organized to promote public health nursing, establish standards, offer field advisory service, collect statistics and information on current practices. Official monthly magazine: *The Public Health Nurse.*

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Lewis H. Carris, Managing Director; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Associate Director; B. Franklin Rover, M.D., Medical Director; Eleanor P. Brown, Secretary, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York. Studies scientific advances in medical and pedagogical knowledge and disseminates practical information as to ways of preventing blindness and conserving sight. Literature, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, charts and co-operation in sight-saving projects available on request.

THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR INSTITUTION EXECUTIVES AND OTHER WORKERS—At the Children's Village, Dobbs-Ferry-on-Hudson, New York. To furnish adequate training to properly qualified people wishing to engage in, or already engaged in, institution work. Provides opportunity for carefully guided study in all phases of institution management and activities. Aims to furnish a trained personnel for child caring Institutions. The first and only school of its kind in the country. For further information address Leon C. Faulkner, Managing Director.

NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. Dr. Eugene L. Opie, president; Dr. Kendall Emerson, managing director. Pamphlets of methods and program for the prevention of tuberculosis. Publications sold and distributed through state associations in every state. Journal of the Outdoor Life, popular monthly magazine, $2.00 a year; American Review of Tuberculosis, medical journal, $8.00 a year; and Monthly Bulletin, house organ, free.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE—For social service among Negroes. L. Hollingsworth Wood, pres.; Eugene Kinckle Jones, exec. sec'y; 17 Madison Ave., New York. Establishes committees of white and colored people to work out community problems. Trains Negro social workers. Publishes "Opportunity"—a "journal of Negro life."

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION— Mrs. Ella A. Boole president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the department of Child Welfare, Economics of Prohibition, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Racial Groups, and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication: "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA— Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Miss Rose Schneiderman, president; Miss Elisabeth Christman, secretary-treasurer; 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through trade union organization; and for the enactment of industrial legislation. Official publication, Life and Labor Bulletin. Information given.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—315 Fourth Ave., New York City. Joseph Lee, president; H. S. Braucher, secretary. To bring to every boy and girl and citizen of America an adequate opportunity for wholesome, happy play and recreation. Playgrounds, community centers, swimming pools, athletics, music, drama, camping, home play, are all means to this end.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—For the Improvement of Living Conditions—John M. Glenn, dir.; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization. Delinquency and Penology, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Remedial Loans, Statistics, Surveys and Exhibits. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE—An institution for the training of Negro Youth; an experiment in race adjustment in the Black Belt of the South; furnishes information on all phases of the race problem and of the Tuskegee idea and methods; Robert R. Moton, principal; W. H. Carter, treasurer; A. L. Holsey, secretary, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

THE WOMEN'S FOUNDATION FOR HEALTH, Inc.— 370 Seventh Ave., New York. Lenna M. Means, M.D., Med. Dir. To create, among the apparently well, an individual and community health consciousness by interpreting the technique of the health examination and a definitely prescribed health building program with Positive Health as the ultimate goal. Official Text: Handbook on Positive Health, $1.50. Courses in Good Body Mechanics adapted to group and individual needs.

WORKER'S EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA—A cooperative Educational Agency for the promotion of Adult Education among Industrial Workers. 476 West 24th Street, New York City. Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary.

(*Continued from page* 826)

MARGARET PLATNER, formerly with Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene, now head social service in State Hospitals, Ill. Dept of Public Welfare.

FRANK D. PRESTON, formerly with Public Charities Assn., Pa., appointed general secretary, Home Society, Richmond, Va.

MRS. FRANK D. PRESTON, district superintendent, Associated Charities, Pittsburgh, goes to Richmond with husband.

DOROTHY THOMPSON REEDER, formerly secretary, Junior Red Cross, Pasadena, Calif., appointed recreation worker U. S. Veterans Hospital, San Fernando, Calif.

FRANCES REID, appointed to Bedford district office, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.

MARY M. RICHARDSON, formerly with Providence District Nursing Assn., appointed directress of nurses, Manhattan Maternity and Dispensary, N. Y.

REV. RALPH M. SOCKMAN, elected president, Greater N. Y. Federation of Churches, succeeding Dr. Daniel A. Poling.

SAMUEL S. SOLENDER, formerly principal, Technical School, Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, now executive director, Y. M. C. A., Washington Heights.

JOSEPHINE STARR, now head, Riverside District, C. O. S., succeeding Ada Rankin.

HAROLD R. STEVENSON, formerly with Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio, now on publicity staff, Community Fund, Cleveland, O.

J. G. SULLIVAN, formerly with U. S. Revenue Department, now superintendent, Queensboro, S. P. C. C.

MARGUERITE L. SWETT, appointed Red Cross recreation worker, Veterans Hospital, Portland, Ore.

EDGAR SYDENSTRICKER, appointed director of research, Milbank Memorial Fund.

MARGARET WEBSTER, formerly assistant general secretary, now general secretary, Y. W. C. A., N. Y. C., succeeding Bertha M. Boody.

HOMER WICKENDEN, formerly assistant director New York Community Trust, has been appointed director of the United Hospital Fund, succeeding Minott Osborn, who becomes vice-president of the Fiscal Service Corporation of New York and Boston.

HELENA L. WILLIAMS, formerly publicity assistant, National Tuberculosis Assn., now with Wales Advertising Co.

PIERCE WILLIAMS, formerly on staff, A. C. C. C., now director of the study of Corp. Relationship to Community Welfare Service, under Nat'l Bureau of Economic Research.

EDWARD H. WILSON, formerly boys' work secretary, Y. M. C. A., Detroit, appointed executive director Columbus Hill Neighborhood Center, N. Y. C.

Resignations and Leaves

FOSKINE ANANIAN, married in December to Mugerditch Yanekian.

EMILIE BACA, Red Hood District, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, resigned.

EMILY S. BERNHEIM, resigned as executive secretary, United Neighborhood Houses.

EDWARD CAVIN, resigned as executive secretary, Florida State Board of Welfare, to organize and demonstrate child-welfare program, American Legion, Georgia.

MARIE A. FOLEY, New York Dispensary, granted indefinite leave of absence because of illness.

CHARLES P. HOUSEMAN, resigned as purchasing adviser, Chicago Council of Social Agencies.

RUTH HUDDLESON, resigned as recreation worker, U. S. Veterans Hospital, Tucson, Ariz.

DR. L. D. INSKEEP, resigned as health officer, Jackson County, Ore.

SALLY LUCAS JEAN, school consultant, Cleanliness Institute, has gone to Philippines to develop educational health program in schools.

MARIA JOHNSON, resigned as assistant to director, Nursing Service, Pacific branch, American Red Cross.

MARY A. JONES, secretary, District Nurses Assn., Fall River, Mass., resigned to take year's rest at home Claremont, N. H.

MARGARET LEAL, of New York School of Social Work, on leave of absence for six months, for a world cruise.

MARGARET MCMILLEN, executive secretary, Worcester (Mass.) Girls Club, resigned to marry George H. Powers of Washington, D. C.

J. STERLING MORAN, resigned as Red Cross field representative, Eastern area.

MINOTT A. OSBORN, resigned as general director, United Hospital Fund, N. Y., to become vice-president, Fiscal Service Corp., Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

LOUISE PETTIBONE, formerly assistant secretary, Ft. Greene District, Bureau of Charities, married Raymond Samuel Fanning.

E. BURBANK SAUL, resigned as Red Cross field representative, western Tennessee.

ANNE SIMPSON, resigned as director of health education, Marion County Child Health Demonstration, Ore., to supervise health education in teachers' colleges, northern California.

FLORENCE SYTZ, resigned as psychiatric social worker, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, to become instructor in sociology, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Deaths

ADOLPH ENGEL, president of Charity Chest of the Fur Industry, died recently.

J. RAY JOHNSON, chief, Division of Immigrant Interpretation, Foreign Language Information Service, and editor of The Interpreter, died on December 16.

ANNA L. LANCASTER, executive secretary, Evanston Social Service Exchange, died December 26.

SISTER ANNA MICHELLA, N. Y. Foundling Hospital, died recently.

DR. JOSEPH A. SAILER OF PHILA., formerly president, American Heart Assn., died.

DORA WENDROFF, assistant and visitor, Jewish Welfare Society, Erie, Pa., died December 9.

CHARLES A. WORDEN, scout executive, Queens Council Boy Scouts, died recently.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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WANTED: A Social Worker for the Staff of a general Hospital located in the eastern part of United States. Must be college graduate with either two years case work experience or certificate from a school of Social Work. 6249 SURVEY.

BAND INSTRUCTOR: A position is open in a New Jersey State institution for band instructor. Single man preferred. Will live in the institution. Good living conditions prevail. 6313 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY; expected to do some case work; long established family welfare society; medium sized Eastern city. 6309 SURVEY.

GRADUATE NURSES, dietitians, laboratory technicians for excellent hospital positions everywhere. Write for free book now. Aznoe's Central Registry for Nurses, 30 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

WANTED: Enthusiastic social worker or teacher to extend the circulation of The Survey locally. Liberal commissions. Address THE SURVEY, 112 E. 19th St., New York.

MEN WANTED

MEN interested in advancing in the field of institution and social work are wanted as students in The National Training School for Institution Executives and Other Workers. See classified Ad on Page 831.

WORKERS WANTED

"The Detroit Civil Service Commission will hold competitive, non-assembled examination for Female Social Case Workers, on April 15th, 1929, to fill vacancies in the Department of Public Welfare, in the City of Detroit, Michigan.

The duties and typical examples of this position are as follows:

Duties Statement:

Under general supervision, to investigate cases for temporary or permanent charitable relief or other social service; to gather and verify necessary information and compile case records and other data; to make adjustments or provide relief where possible; and to perform related work as required.

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Investigating the living conditions, character, reputation, and circumstances of needy families and studying their problems; interviewing subjects and their relatives, landlords, neighbors, etc., making arrangements to obtain assistance for indigent persons from the Department of Public Welfare, other social agencies, or their relatives; determining whether hospital patients are proper charges for local relief; dictating case histories and correspondence.

Induction Salary—$1800 per year

Vacancies at present existing—three, and probably others beginning July 1st, 1929.

Successful applicants must have education equivalent to university training or from institutions specializing in the teaching of social science, and must have records of successful experience in this field of endeavor.

All inquiries addressed to the undersigned will bring prompt, detailed information concerning same.

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WANTED: Trained Matron for the Seattle Children's Home of Seattle. Please write stating age, experience, salary and give references. 6327 SURVEY.

HOUSEKEEPER for settlement house. Must be experienced. Room and board furnished. 6328 SURVEY.

WANTED: A superintendent, for an orthodox institution for aged, helpless and infirm Jews, housing about 150 inmates. Applicant must be an observer of orthodox Judaism. State age, previous experience, qualifications and give reference. Louis Cohen, Associated Jewish Charities, 205 W. Lombard Street, Baltimore, Md.

WANTED: Head Counsellor; Jewish Girls' Camp, vicinity Philadelphia. Reply stating age, education, training, camp experience, references, salary desired. Submit photograph. 6320 SURVEY.

WANTED: EXPERIENCED CASE WORKER. Please state experience, age and remuneration desired, giving all information that will describe your qualifications. Jewish Welfare Federation, 555 East Rich Street, Columbus, Ohio

SITUATIONS WANTED

COLLEGE MAN qualified by experience and training for personnel and vocational guidance. 6323 SURVEY.

COLLEGE GRADUATE, Jewish, desires position as supervisor of boys activities. Two years practical experience. Excellent references. 6326 SURVEY.

CAPABLE EXECUTIVE, now employed in State Institution for delinquent girls, also former Supt. of Childrens Home, wishes executive position in an Institution, Hospital or Orphanage. Highest references furnished. 6324 SURVEY.

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YOUNG LADY, College Graduate, with some graduate work, four years experience in social service, including family case work and child welfare, wishes to locate in New York City or vicinity. Would accept resident position. 6306 SURVEY.

POSITIONS WANTED by organization interested in training community workers for small towns or rural districts. Workers are graduates of recognized school of social work, with practical experience with social agency in rural field.
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SUMMER CAMP DIRECTOR or assistant, heading athletics and aquatics, twelve years' experience, desires position. 6329 SURVEY.

SUCCESSFUL WOMAN EXECUTIVE, at present head of Jewish Settlement Center, wishes to make change. Available for WESTERN POSITION ONLY. Six years experience as head executive. Would consider Jewish Family Welfare Assoc., or Jewish Settlement Center. University training. Excellent references. 6325 SURVEY.

BULLETIN BOARD

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN: Minneapolis, Minn., March 18-20. Secretary Harry H. Howett, Elyria, Ohio.
NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK ALUMNI: New York, Russell Sage Foundation, March 21. Secretary, Mrs. L. K. Browning, 120 East 22nd Street, New York.
NORTH CAROLINA STATE HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION: Charlotte, March 21. President, Martha Creighton, Box 1351, Charlotte.
ALABAMA EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION: Birmingham, March 21-23. Secretary, F. L. Grave, First National Bank Building, Montgomery.
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION: Columbia, March 21-23.
DELAWARE STATE HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION: Georgetown, March . President, Marion F. Breck, Dover, Delaware.
TENNESSEE STATE HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION: Nashville, March 9. President, Gladys Smith, Peabody College, Nashville.
NEW YORK STATE HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION: New York City, April 1-2. President, Anna M. Cooley, Teachers College, New York.
INSTITUTE OF FAMILY SOCIAL WORK: New York, April 1-27. Secretary, Betsey Libbey, American Assn. for Organizing Family Social Work, New York.
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE NURSES' ASSOCIATION: Columbia, April 3-5. Secretary, Meyeral Engelberg, Roper Hospital, Charleston.
TENNESSEE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK: Knoxville, April 3-5. Secretary, William C. Headrick, 316 Memorial Building, Nashville.
OHIO STATE EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: Columbus, April 4-6.
RECREATION WORKERS CONFERENCE: West Chester, Pa., April 4-6. Director, Frank E. Sutch.
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE: Louisville, Ky., April 9-12. Executive Secretary, Eugene Kinckle Jones, 17 Madison Avenue, New York.
MISSISSIPPI STATE HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION: Jackson, April 11-12. President, Mary E. Doney, Box 10, Vicksburg.
NEW ENGLAND NURSES' ASSOCIATION: April 11-13, New Haven. Secretary, Mary Grace Hills, Visiting Nurse Association, New Haven.
MICHIGAN STATE NURSES' ASSOCIATION: Detroit, April 12-13. Secretary, Mary C. Wheeler, 51 W. Warren Avenue, Detroit.

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MARYLAND STATE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK: Hagerstown, April 14-16. President, Katherine Kirwan, 2109 No. Calvert Street, Hagerstown.
GEORGIA STATE HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION: Savannah, April 19-20. President, Leila Bunce, Fulton High School, Atlanta.
AMERICAN RED CROSS: Washington, D. C., April 22-25.
NEW ENGLAND HEALTH INSTITUTE: Hartford, Conn., April 22-26. President, Dr. Stanley Osborne, Conn. State Department of Health, Hartford.

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"TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP, A Practical Program Based Upon Many Years of Experience." Philip L. Seman, Jewish People's Institute, 3500 Douglas Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. Single Copy $.50.

"A SKELETON IN INDUSTRY'S CLOSET," an illustrated pamphlet presenting in simple, popular form the injustice done youth by present compensation laws. Price 10c. National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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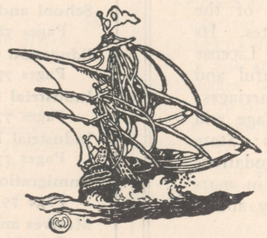
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71 West 47th Street **New York City**

THE SURVEY

MIDMONTHLY

MARCH 15, 1929



P 818
ACM

My Labor Department Job
By Frances Perkins

Main Street Under a Lens
By Henry M. Busch

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SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.
112 East 19 Street, New York
PUBLISHERS
THE SURVEY—Twice-a-month—$5.00 a year
SURVEY GRAPHIC—Monthly—$3.00 a year

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THE SURVEY, *published semi-monthly and copyright* 1929 *by* SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC., 112 *East* 19*th Street, New York, N. Y. Price: this issue (March* 15, 1929, *Vol. LXI, No.* 12) 25 *cts.;* $5 *a year, foreign postage,* $1 *extra; Canadian* 60 *cts. Changes of address should be mailed to us two weeks in advance. When payment is by check a receipt will be sent only upon request. Entered as second-class matter, March* 25, 1909, *at the post office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of March* 3, 1879. *Acceptance for mailing at a special rate of postage provided for in Section* 1103, *Act of October* 3, 1917, *authorized June* 26, 1918. *President, Robert W. DeForest. Secretary, John Palmer Gavit. Treasurer, Arthur Kellogg.*

THE SURVEY

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All issues of The Survey are indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, to be found in most public and college libraries.

The Gist of It

FRANCES PERKINS has been up to her elbows in social work, public or private or both, since her graduation from Mt. Holyoke College in 1902, with brief interludes of teaching and writing books. She tells of it, modestly enough (page 773), and of the motive behind her intelligent, unselfish years—"the hope that America's contribution to modern civilization is going to be the establishment of an industrial order which is also a social order."

HENRY M. BUSCH (page 775) is assistant professor of group work in the School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, formerly taught group work and supervised student field work at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

HELEN BOWYER of the San Diego Teachers College was class leader in the course on Mexican backgrounds with which her college experimented last summer in exploring into the failure of Mexican children in California schools. Page 783.

DR. HENRY NEUMANN (page 785) is the leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society and closely in touch with the Ethical Culture School of Brooklyn.

WILLARD H. EDWARDS teaches in the School of Organic Education at Fairhope, Alabama, and has been one of the leaders in the experiment in building a new curriculum which he describes on page 786.

MARGARET L. FARRAND is on the administrative staff of the Women's College in Brown University. Page 787.

HELEN B. LEAVENS, as her readers will guess, is the intrepid social worker who is carrying the services of one branch of the New York Charity Organization Society into the haunts of big business. Page 789.

WHY case workers sometimes smile is apparent in the true stories told by members of the staff of the New York Girls' Service League to R. LECLERC PHILLIPS, and recounted by Miss Phillips, a former newspaper woman, on page 791.

PORTLAND'S WANDERERS (page 792) summarizes a few of the high-lights in an interesting paper by MARGARET DUFFY, visitor for the Portland Bureau of Public Welfare, which The Survey is unable to publish in full because of limitation in space.

FLORINA LASKER, who recently resigned as chairman, is now serving as vice-chairman of the Department of Immigrant Aid of the National Council of Jewish Women. Page 795.

ROSALIE MANNING, director of Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association (page 796), has always taken an active interest in the housing situation in New York City.

HENRY JAMES, member of the Committee on Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, is chairman of a committee to report on the result of the conference on a project for research and instruction in city and regional planning (page 797).

HELEN MAYERS, of the staff of The Inquiry, has been engaged in the study of community-conflict situations of which she writes on page 798.

ISABELLE STRONG ALLEN is state chairman of child welfare of the Wisconsin League of Women Voters. Page 801.

HILDA WORTHINGTON SMITH, formerly dean of Bryn Mawr College, is now director of the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry. Page 802.

CLARE L. LEWIS is in charge of the employment work of the Vocation Service for Juniors in New York City. Page 804.

ROBERT W. BRUÈRE (page 805), an associate editor of The Survey, is also industrial secretary of the J. C. Penney Foundation.

LUCILE EAVES, whose interpretations of social studies have previously enriched the pages of The Survey, is director of research for the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston. Page 807.

MARJORIE MEYER, R.N., whose true story on page 810 will cause a pang of sympathy in the hearts of nurses and social workers alike, is county nurse in Saugatuck, Michigan.

ARNAUD C. MARTS (page 818) is senior partner of Marts & Lundy, directors of financial and publicity campaigns, New York City.

LEONORA B. RUBINOW has for the past four years been director of the Social Service Department of Beth Israel Hospital, Newark, N. J. Page 819.



BLUE SKY

Woodcut by Leo J. Meissner

THE SURVEY

MIDMONTHLY

March 15
1929

Volume LXI
No. 12

My Job

By FRANCES PERKINS

I TAKE it that we are gathered not so much to celebrate Frances Perkins, the person, as we are to celebrate Frances Perkins as the symbol of an idea. It is an idea that has been at work among us for many years—the idea that social justice is possible in a great industrial community.

Men and women all over the state and all over the country have shared the belief that it is possible so to modify our social and economic institutions as to make possible good lives for those in our great machine-like community who cannot govern and control their own situations. I take it for granted we are all committed to the thought that through such modification of these institutions there comes social progress for us all, to the end that modern industry shall bear down kindly and not bitterly upon those who serve its interests.

I believe that those ideas are firmly established in this country, and that we are beginning to see ahead of us a future of real social progress for America. I say this in the hope that America's contribution to modern civilization is going to be the establishment of an industrial order which is also a social order—an industrial order in which there is happiness and peace and security for every one.

Not only do I think you are celebrating a symbol today but, in a peculiar way, I feel that I am the product of all of you and of all the effort that has gone into these ideas.

Perhaps every one who makes a modest success of life has many debts to the community in which he grew up, but I am particularly the debtor to the people of New York. There is hardly a person here today who has not contributed something to my equipment, to my knowledge, to my information, and to my character. I cannot begin to tell you all that I have had in the way of help since I started on my modest career to improve industrial conditions in this state.

It seems to me a tribute to American men to be able to recall how many there were twenty years ago, when the position of women was not so well established as it is today, who were willing to open the door for a young girl who had no knowledge and only "meant well." What a liberal education I was given, free gratis, by technical men of tremendous knowledge in their own fields—engineers, architects, chemists, physicists, men who dealt with the very fiber of modern industrial life! They taught me in private lessons, for nothing, what makes a safe factory. Some of them are here today. Two who are dead I must mention by name—Professor Ira Woolson of the National Board of Underwriters and F. H. J. Stewart of the New York Underwriters. At the head of great fire-underwriting organizations, of teaching staffs and engineering schools, they had accumulated perhaps the most valuable

HER housekeepers, her husband, her daughter, insurance experts, economists, chemists, physicists, engineers, leaders in social work, organized labor, enlightened employers, women's organizations, fellow-workers, personal friends—to this long roll Frances Perkins pays tribute as those who had made possible her years of public service, and her recent appointment as head of the Labor Department of the State of New York. To them, too, she gives credit for her belief that "social justice is possible in a great industrial community," and for her vision of the possibilities of legislation and of public agencies as forces to this end. The luncheon attended by nearly a thousand people in New York City in honor of the new industrial commissioner was made memorable when Miss Perkins put aside her prepared address and substituted the spontaneous expression of this gratitude and this vision that we are privileged to publish here in part.

knowledge on industrial fire prevention that has ever been gathered together in the world. And they sat with me, hour after hour, painstakingly teaching me the rudiments of their great knowledge. All through this country there have been people who were willing to give me what they knew, trusting me to use it for their common advantage as well as for the common advantage of the rest of us.

HOW can I express what I owe the loyalty, the intelligence and the wisdom of the women of this state, both organized and unorganized? There is, a little above the rest, that group who, stealing the phrase from dear Mary Dreier's Christmas card, have called ourselves—humorously, I hope—The Children of Light. That cordial, interlocking group of minds has meant much to all of us who have been welcomed to the inner conference of those who were trying to decide the best thing to do this year, and next year, and the year after, for the cause of industrial reform. That little group includes not only Mary Dreier but that mother of us all, Florence Kelley. Countless times Mrs. Kelley's steely look and steady, "Frances, you've got to do it!" have meant the difference between doing it that year and not doing it at all. And so, in a strange way, I am the product of that group's thought and hope, and all I have ever done is, after all, what they have done, too.

Much of what some of the good people today have been referring to as "my" reputation comes from the work I have been able to do in the Labor Department—the people in the department are the ones to whom that credit should go. I can never be grateful enough for the help—the intelligent support, the honest reporting and great good-will—they have given me in all the years we have worked together. They know, as I know, that we are going to continue to give that good-will each to the other.

Above all, as a background and a contribution to my work, I have had that greatest blessing any one can have, man or woman. I have had a happy personal life. I have had the friendship of a husband who has put a brilliant mind to work on some of my knotty problems, and let me have the praise. I have had a good daughter, who has grown to girlhood without being a troublesome child. And I am thankful indeed for my great good fortune in the women who have helped me bring up my child and take care of my home, for I am one of those who believe that, after all, some one must look well into the ways of the household. There is no coin in which I can repay those fine and loyal helpers who have worked for me and with me in that intimate way. No one succeeds in a career without the help of many people, and I have had my satisfaction of achievement through the cooperation and the good-will of those who have made it possible.

AND now I come to the Labor Department at what I think is a very fortunate time for me. The Labor Department has been growing for many years in strength and in ability to serve this community. This year we are having the largest appropriation we have ever had, and a great responsibility attaches to that. I am a thrifty woman, and I shall try to spend it thriftily. I shall try to get as much for that money as it is possible to get in service. The Labor Department is primarily a service organization, set up to serve not only workers, but the employers and the community at large.

I estimated this morning that our department is actually doing business each year with between three and four million people in the state of New York. We have, further, a range of influence far beyond the people whom we can set down in our annual report as having had actual contact with us. To all these people we should be, and we shall try to be, a service organization.

The time at which I come to the department in this new relationship is fortunate also because industry in general is prosperous and industry in general is committed to the idea which in England and Germany they call "the American idea." I like that name, for it means that out of good conditions and high wages and short hours there comes the cure for over-production and under-consumption and poverty and all the industrial ills that go in its train. Thus I come into office at a time when the industrialists of the state are ready to cooperate in any plans which, as they see them, are going to make for the economic and social welfare of the whole community.

Now, what of the future? I regard the great mission of the Labor Department, as of all of us who are thinking about these matters, to be the prevention of robots. Whenever I see that picture which is becoming so familiar of the great mechanical man who does things automatically and can perform almost anything that a human being can perform, I confess to chills of horror lest we become like him. I repeat that we are committed to the belief that the human race is not destined for that kind of efficiency, but for an efficiency of the spirit and of the mind. If this robot-man can release us from chores like turning off switches—all right, let him release us! But let him release us to be human beings and let us not develop a race who are going to be patterned after him.

FOR the realization of this aim we are going to need in this state both intelligence and education on the part of the people who are interested in these problems and on the part of the people who are themselves the problem—that is, capital and labor. Albert Edgar Wiggam recently said to me, "Intelligence is that thing which enables people to get along without education; and education is that thing which enables human beings to get along without intelligence." But to make industry serve the social good we are going to need in this country the marriage of intelligence and education. I hope the Labor Department is going to be the priest who shall lead us all to the consummation of that marriage.

And now what can I promise? Only a few simple things:

I promise to use the brains I have to meet problems with intelligence and courage.

I promise that I will be candid about what I know, of the Labor Department or of the state of industry in this state and in this country.

I promise to all of you who have a right to know, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so far as I can speak it.

If I have been wrong, you may tell me so, for I really have no pride in judgment. I know that all judgment is relative. It may be right today and wrong tomorrow. The only thing that can make it truly right is the desire to have it constantly moving in the right direction. In the matter of my job, judgment must be in this direction: that industry shall in this country gradually become a positive rather than a negative social force; something we may be proud of; something which may be an educative experience to all of us, rather than a negative, even a fearful experience, bearing down with bitterness upon its victims.

I ask all of you to think about the work which has to be done in this department with simplicity and sincerity. I ask your help and your cooperation and your advice. I shall seek it in detail and I shall be glad to know that it is presented generously.

I will not ask you to share my responsibility. That I know is mine and mine alone. I must decide and I must stand by my decisions. I must be made or I must fall by their wisdom and intelligence. I do ask you to lift up your hearts that I be made both wise and watchful, so that only good shall come. And when I am left alone in the last analysis to make my decisions on important matters, I shall not be alone then, either, for "I shall lift up mine eyes unto the hills whence cometh my strength and my salvation."

Main Street Under a Microscope

By HENRY M. BUSCH

IN the recent "all-talkie," The Home-Towners, one of the characters, a New Yorker, falsely accused of trickery by the gentleman from South Bend, Indiana, retorts about as follows: "You're a dangerous man, Mr. Hammond. You carry with you a weapon more deadly than a knife or a gun—a Main Street mind." Is there a Main Street mind? If there is, what are its characteristics? Is it dangerous?

Robert and Helen Lynd, who lived for over a year in a city of 38,000 which they call by the pseudonym Middletown,[1] point out that there are two types of mind to be found on Main Street—the mind of the business class and the mind of the working class. The business class is composed of that group of people who get their living from activities primarily directed to people, while the working class get their living from activities primarily directed to things. These two groups share the culture of that area comprising Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and contiguous states, but each group stresses elements not stressed by the other with the result that out of a supposed common heritage and common environment two types of psychological orientation appear:

"The mere fact of being born upon one or the other side of the watershed roughly formed by these two groups is the most significant single cultural factor tending to influence what one does all day long through one's life; whom one marries; when one gets up in the morning; whether one belongs to the Holy Rollers or Presbyterian Church; or drives a Ford or a Buick; whether or not one's daughter makes the desirable highschool Violet Club; or one's wife meets with the Sew We Do Club or with the Art Students' League; whether one belongs to the Odd Fellows or to the Masonic Shrine; whether one sits about evenings with one's necktie off; and so on indefinitely throughout the daily comings and goings of a Middletown man, woman or child."

In every segment of Middletown society the activities connected with getting a living are central and dominant. Ethics, religion and sociability are rationalized, twisted and made to subserve economic ends. It is here that we begin to feel the threat of the Main Street Mind. To the degree that it is so saturated with political, economic, social and religious fundamentalism that it resists and defeats attempts to bring about changes needed for expanding life, to that degree it is dangerous to the well-being of society. Let us be specific: Main Street insists that a laissez-faire economic policy, stressing the individualistic virtues, application, foresight and thrift, is sufficient to meet modern economic needs. The Lynds show that no member of the working class can insure the tenure of his job by hard work or loyalty to his employer. When the inevitable business depression comes, the worker's job just evaporates. Since his wages have been too low to make possible any real measure of protection against unemployment, he is soon confronted with the necessity of swallowing his pride and appealing to the Social Service Bureau, which draws its funds from the Community Chest. In Middletown the chilling rain of economic insufficiency falls alike on the diligent and the sluggish members of the working class.

Middletown is industrialized. Its thirty-six factories articulate to form the backbone of the economic structure. The worker no longer makes articles consumed in his town, as was so largely true in 1890—the date which the Lynds use as the baseline for comparison all through their studies. No longer does he utilize craftsmanship in the manufacture of an article which he sees grow from raw material to finished product. Instead he has become a routinized, semi-skilled machine tender doing the same operation over and over again, year in and year out until he loses his job at the ripe age of forty-five.

In return for his services to the Great God Industry, the average worker gets just less than enough to meet the demands of a minimum standard of living. In 1924, this standard was estimated as requiring $1,920.87 per annum for a family of five. Yet in that year, of 100 typical workers, 42 with families of five earned less than the minimum; 35 more, with families of three or four, were under this amount; and only 10, with families of five, earned over the minimum. When family earnings are considered, 39 families of five earned less than $1,920.87; 35 with three or four members had less than the minimum; and only 13 earned over the minimum. Eighty-five per cent of the population of Middletown did not file an income-tax return, and of the 2,245 blanks returned, 1,036 were not taxable after deductions and exemptions for dependents were made. Thus is prosperity regnant in Middletown.

THE new economic policy of a business regime which stresses mass production urges the good citizen: "Buy! Buy! Buy—on credit if necessary, but Buy." "Today Middletown lives by a credit economy that is available in some form to nearly every family in the community. The rise and spread of the dollar-down-and-so-much-per plan extends credit for virtually everything—." There is a slight counter-current of advice on behalf of savings, chiefly set in motion by the banks and the Y.M.C.A., but how can the Middletowner buy adequately to support mass production and save too? Messrs. Foster and Catchings will

[1] Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd. Foreword by Clark Wissler. Harcourt, Brace. 550 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of The Survey.

Middletowners

"Forty-three people out of every 100 in Middletown . . . specialize in getting its living."

"Four out of five of them are males."

". . . the married woman in business or industry finds herself much less readily accepted than her unmarried sister."

"Of the fifty-five wives . . . who had worked at some time during the previous five years (1920-24), twenty-four pointed to their husbands' unemployment as a major reason for their working, six to money needed for their children's education, five to debt, four spoke of 'always needing extra money' or 'it takes the work of two to keep a family nowadays,' three of needing to help out with 'so many children;' the other answers were scattered: 'Just decided I'd like to try factory work. I was tired of housekeeping . . .;' 'I needed clothes;' 'I wanted spending money of my own;' . . . 'The mister was sick and I had to.'

"From the point of view of age, . . . the section of the population which gets the city's living is getting narrower. In general, . . . male members of the working class start to work from fourteen to eighteen, reach their prime in the twenties, and begin to fail in their late forties. . . ."

"Youth plays a more prominent role than ever before in getting the city's living."

". . . in modern machine production it is speed and endurance that are at a premium."

". . . the phenomenon of recurrent industrial unemployment assumes totally different aspects as it is viewed through the eyes of a business man or a working man. . . . The condition of there being more men than available jobs, though dreaded by the working man, is commonly called by his bosses 'an easier labor market.' "

"To the working man, however, unemployment as a 'problem' varies from a cloud the size of a man's hand when times are good, to a black pall in a time of 'an easy labor market' that may overspread all the rest of their lives."

find a fertile field for the propagation of their economic ideas in Middletown if they can show the business class how to extend buying power and still hold on to profits. But Main Street and the Road to Plenty are merely two different names for the one highway, in the minds of the good-fellows of Rotary.

Not only is the worker poorly paid, dependent upon the upward swing of the business cycle for his job, routinized, mechanized, and robbed of the chance to utilize craftsmanship, but he has all but lost the power of collective bargaining. In 1893, a union executive wrote of Middletown that it was "next to Rochester, N. Y., the best-organized town in the country." In 1924, unionism was a shell. "Of 100 working-class families, only 11 contributed anything to the support of labor unions." The decline of the labor unions marked a shift in the center of social activities, which should prove significant to group workers and recreational leaders. The picnics, parties, benefits and discussion groups of the union and the lodge have practically disappeared. The unions and lodges can hardly get out a handful of members even for important meetings. "Frustrated in this [the emotional] sector of their lives, many workers seek compensations elsewhere—in such compensatory devices as hooking up the radio or driving the 'old bus'."

"The old bus." Blamed by the union officials for destroying the unions, denounced by the clergy for decreasing church attendance, responsible for "the not uncommon practice of mortgaging a home (to buy an automobile)," resulting in increased strain between parents and children, and called by the judge of the juvenile court "a house of prostitution on wheels," the automobile nevertheless stands as the chief visible symbol of present cultural striving on the part of all classes. A working-class woman whose husband has just lost his job, expresses a significant sentiment when she says, upon returning a new winter coat to the store, "I'll never cut down on gas! I'd go without a meal before I'd cut down on using the car!" The fact that two out of three Middletown families owned cars in 1923 would seem to refute the claim that economic life is a struggle to make ends meet. But the impressive directory of "makes" and "years" of the cars rolling and rattling down Main Street indicates that a goodly proportion of them are long overdue at the junk yard. If one accepts the Lynds' restrained but powerful picture of "the houses in which Middletown lives" and the other elements that operate to thwart emotional life, one can sympathize with the grim determination to hold on at all costs to the one means of occasional physical and psychical escape.

Along with the automobile in the reconstruction of the patterns of sociability go the telephone, the phonograph, the radio and the movie. The gentle art of dropping in on one's neighbors has all but disappeared. Social groups based on vicinage or residential propinquity are passing. There is "a growing tendency to engage in leisure-time pursuits by couples rather than in crowds." The unchosen individual in this era of "pairing-off" confronts a new emotional problem for which two possible solutions are seclusiveness or utilizing commercialized recreations as a "lone wolf." Social life is more active than in 1890, but it is of the type of the dance, the tea, the bridge party and the country-club luncheon. Swank, class and the clink of coin are its earmarks. On the adult level, it is chiefly the business class who can engage in such activities. The workers more and more show the development of introvert tendencies, going it alone in the "old bus" or slipping into a movie or an occasional show. But the highschool population—which incidentally has increased elevenfold while the city's population has increased three-and-a-half fold—copies the patterns of the business class. Through their children, the working class are receiving a diffusion of business-class standards, but the chief result at this point is in the further heightening of economic tensions due to the determination of the workers to give their children the "right" clothes and sufficient money to keep up the social pace of highschool life. Make no mistake; it is the social life, not the academic, that counts in Middletown. Middletown believes in education, for education makes it possible for one's child to be assured of a place in the business class. Education makes the young conform to the mores of Main Street, even though many of these be the fatal traps of moron thought which catch succeeding generations in penury, class hatreds, self-satisfied ignorance and war. Education too is responsible for the "Bear-Cats" who bring business and prestige to the city in the wake of basketball victories, which set the whole population from the mayor to the kindergarten pupil ablaze with enthusiasm.

One could consume pages in an attempt to give a bare indication of the richness and penetration of this remarkable study, but the attempt would be about as fair to the Lynds' skillful orchestration of social themes as the effort of a man with a cold in the head to hum Bach's Toccata and Fugue. Middletown is a gold mine of social data. As its authors anticipate, it may not state much that is new, but what is important is that it authenticates as definite local data much that social students have hitherto vaguely perceived. The survey staff set out "to study synchronously the interwoven trends that are the life of a small American city," attempting to preserve that detached objectivity that a group of anthropologists would strive to maintain in studying a primitive community. They have done a magnificent job, despite the fact that William Graham Sumner's statement still holds true, that completely unbiased evaluation of any culture is impossible, since one always revolves upon the hub of his own cultural wheel.

Not the least important contribution of the authors is their presentation through a popular publisher of a substantial volume of social data, so skilfully written that the layman will read with interest as well as profit. If the present indifference to deep-seated social problems—and the smug acceptance of this as the best of all possible worlds—is ever to be blasted, some such means as the authors have taken in Middletown must be used to get the information before the reading public. It would be an injustice to the Lynds to give the impression that theirs is a propagandist tract. There are many rays of light, many signs of promise in present-day life in Middletown. The authors have merely set down under such heads as Getting a Living, Making a Home, Training the Young, Using Leisure, Engaging in Community Activities, what they have discovered through the survey method of social science. The layman should read it; the professional, whether in the field of sociology, statistics or social work, dare not neglect this volume, for whether his interest be in labor, Rotary Clubs, politics, Hi-Y clubs, salesmanship, the business cycle, delinquency, Community Chests, intelligence tests, cultural diffusion, or the methodology of social survey, he will find significant data intelligently integrated with the social fabric of daily life. To some the trends isolated and rewoven with other trends will appear to indicate that urban America, as indicated by Middletown, is on the highroad of progress. Some will be left by these sketches without nice, sharp conclusions, for the Lynds do not dogmatize, nor do the thinking for the reader. To those like the reviewer, these studies will point out currents and counter-currents, but will so arrest the attention with their delineations of the dominance of crass material values that one can only urge "Read 'em and weep." Then having cleared one's vision, possibly some next steps in the race between civilization and catastrophe may become apparent.

Church and Society

"The men usually accept the religious beliefs of the civilization in which they live, but as one hears their conversations over a period of many months one gets a distinct impression that religion wears a film of unreality to many of them and that its advocates in the pulpit constitute a group apart."

"Slightly over half of all members join the church before they are sixteen. A cross section of church membership indicates a preponderance of females."

"The strong pioneer individualism . . . clings to health as a private matter." 'We don't believe in socialized medicine—no sir!' It begins to be apparent that the profession of medicine . . . swings around the making of money as one of its chief concerns."

"Nearly sixty-three fresh breakdowns a month came before the Social Service Bureau. . . . With scarcely an exception these come from the working class. . . . Sickness and unemployment are the most frequent reasons for appeals to the bureau, accounting for 35 and 32 per cent respectively of all appeals. Inadequate income brings 12 per cent and old age 9 per cent."

"Given the right group of men behind it, such a drive [for the Community Chest] appears almost irresistible in Middletown. The World War taught Middletown its technique."

"Social change and the thing Middletown calls progress are not synonymous."

". . . Middletown's life exhibits at almost every point either some change or some stress arising from failure to change."

". . . A characteristic of social change in Middletown is the sidling procedure whereby the innovation first appears in many cases as an optional alternate mode of doing a given thing, and then in time displaces its older rival."

Laid Off

". . . the great majority of those reporting unemployment had made changes in their routine habits of living to meet the emergency. Of these

43 cut on food
47 cut on clothing
27 of the wives worked for pay
14 of the 60 carrying some form of insurance got behind on payments
6 moved to a cheaper home
5 of the 20 having telephone had it taken out
4 of the 35 with children in highschool took a child from school."

" 'We get on the cheapest we can. Our living expenses are never more than $5 a week' [family of five]. 'We have been buying no fresh milk this year, using only canned milk [a family including two boys age seven and nine]. . . . 'I haven't been able to afford a movie since January' [ten months]."

"There is a deep-rooted sentiment in Middletown that home ownership is a mark of independence, of respectability, of belonging . . . [There is a] 'drift toward ownership'."

". . . a smaller percentage of the population is unmarried today than a generation ago." "Marriage . . . is becoming increasingly secularized." ". . . the exclusive emphasis upon romantic love makes way as adolescence recedes for a pragmatic calculus."

". . . literature and art have tended to disappear today as male interests."

"Traditionally, voluntary control of parenthood is strongly tabooed in this culture, . . . but this prohibition is beginning to be somewhat lifted." "At the top, among most of the business group, the use of relatively efficacious contraceptive methods appears practically universal, while sloping down from this peak is a mixed array of knowledge and ignorance, until the base of ignorance is reached. Here fear and worry over pregnancy frequently walk hand-in-hand with discouragement as to the future of the husband's job and the dreaded lay-off."

"The habit of attending religious services appears to be declining."

Publicity Awards

NEWS that will interest the literati among social workers (for these, see any contents page of any Survey) is the announcement that the Harmon Foundation is to add to its list of enterprises designed "to help people to help themselves" by offering a series of awards in social-work publicity in 1929 and 1930. It is entering this new field in cooperation with that lusty youngster of the "kindred groups," the Committee on Publicity Methods in Social Work, which has just by vote of its members bobbed its name to read Social Work Publicity Council. Announcement of the awards was made by Helen Griffiths Harmon, vice-president of the Harmon Foundation, at a luncheon of the New York division of the Publicity Council on February 25.

The awards fall into two groups. The first, which should engage experienced writers, who need not necessarily be connected with any social organization, is for the best unpublished articles—not fiction—in which social work is presented popularly, with a view to their subsequent publication in magazines of general circulation. In her announcement, Miss Harmon referred to the connection in the past of some of the best-known names in literature with the graphic portrayal of social conditions. She said:

> At the present moment we face a new age with social difficulties of its own, and again we find many of our writers discovering in these conditions material which is poignantly and humanly gripping. In many instances these writers are not only portraying conditions but manifesting an open-minded desire to focus attention upon the efforts which society is making through its organized agencies to correct. It is this attitude which we particularly wish to encourage.

SOCIAL workers day after day plunge up to their elbows in the raw material of life, and leave it and themselves affected by the encounter. On the other hand is a literate, if indifferent, public, which, as a glance at a newsstand will prove, has shown itself willing to read about anything so long as it is not bored. As the Harmon Foundation points out, among dozens of others such fields as child guidance, child welfare, the public-health nurse, probation, offer rich sources of material to popularize and dramatize.

For the best of these unpublished articles, a first award of $300 will be given, a second of $200 and others of $50 each at the discretion of the judges, who will be chosen for their acquaintance with the requirements of the general magazines but will have the assistance of consultants from the special fields covered by the articles under consideration. The contest will close September 15 of this year. Articles remain the property of their authors.

While this first group of awards is planned to go out into the market to include every one who knows how to write in a lively fashion, and knows first-hand—or can get some one in authority to tell him—what he is writing about (she is also a good pronoun), the second group stays at home. These are offered for complete records of publicity programs (covering the year's work ending some time in 1929) carried out by a public or private agency engaged in social or health work. Four awards of $100 each are to be made by the foundation: for the best record submitted by a national agency; by a state or regional agency; by an agency in a city or county with a population of 200,000 or more; by an agency in a city or county of less than 200,000 people. These classifications have been made so that there will be some fair basis for comparison. The closing date for entries for this series of awards has been set for February 1, 1930, so that records for agencies whose fiscal year corresponds with the calendar one may be complete.

THIS second group of awards is designed to encourage a more professional approach in the still-new field of social-work publicity. As yet it is the exceptional agency which considers its year's contact with the public as something to be thought out in advance and apportioned. Too many organizations are still opportunists. Spasmodic convulsions seize them at slack moments in their work to tell the public "about the fascinating things we are doing," to be duly soothed by two considerations: Is there any money to spare just now; and, Let's see; how can we do it. Evart G. Routzahn, to whom the thought of a year-round publicity program does not come as a complete surprise, divides it into five elements: why—the objective for the particular year; who—the audience to be reached; what—the message; how—the methods and materials; when—the time in correlation to the agency program as a whole. The mere holding of such a competition ought to make social agencies more program-minded (that's a new one), and the actual compilation of material for the entries should do agencies as much good in the way of a check-up on what they thought they had accomplished as an old-fashioned examination paper. Incidentally, Mary Beattie Brady, director of the Harmon Foundation, considers that the foundation too is going to learn something to its advantage before it is done with these awards.

Printed details of the terms of both these contests can be obtained from the office of the foundation, 140 Nassau Street, New York City.

CONTINUING the smaller but spirited contests which created so much interest last year, the Social Work Publicity Council announces awards in six important types of publicity, the results of which will be announced and the prize-winning material displayed at the National Conference of Social Work in San Francisco. A prize of $25, and less mercenary but important citations for honorable mention, are offered by each of the subcommittees having charge of a contest: Chicago for annual reports; New York for daily newspaper feature stories; St. Louis for news photographs published in a newspaper or rotogravure section; Cincinnati for posters used in a money-raising campaign; Boston for radio talks; Cleveland for Sunday magazine articles. These contests close on May 1, 1929. Each subcommittee has worked out the basis for judging its own contest and its conditions, and the whole, neatly bound though not in white vellum, can be obtained by writing to Mary Swain Routzahn, 130 East 22 Street, New York City, for the special-contest bulletin of the Social Work Publicity Council.

The Common Welfare

MARY SMITH, R.S.W.

BY the time this issue of The Survey reaches its readers, California may have created another thing new under the sun—the registration of social workers. For the past three months, committees of the California League of Women Voters and of the California Conference of Social Work have been working jointly on a bill to this end, which is now before the legislature with every prospect of a favorable vote. The bill would authorize the state Department of Public Welfare to issue certificates as registered social workers to qualified applicants who successfully pass an examination testing their judgment, experience and personality to carry on their profession, and these—and none others—would then have the right to affix proudly to their signatures, so long as the certificate remained valid, the impressive initials R. S. W. —registered social worker. The examinations would be conducted at least every six months, by a special committee of seven examiners appointed by the welfare department under such rules and regulations as it may prescribe. A small fee would be paid on the granting of the certificate, and another annually for its renewal. The certificate could be revoked for unprofessional conduct following a full and fair investigation and the hearing of written charges.

There is nothing obligatory about it, as Jessica B. Peixotto, chairman of the conference committee on the bill, points out in her report to the conference. Social workers would not be required to register unless they wished to; employers might hire an unregistered worker, if they preferred, just as people now may take a practical nurse instead of a registered nurse, if the requirements of the case or of the nurse's individual qualifications make her the more desirable. However the conference committee, which includes also Mabel Weed, John P. Plover, R. R. Miller, and I. Irving Lipsitch, hope that most social workers will feel the net advantage to themselves and to the profession which derives from this opportunity of establishing a professional status. "The examination and registration board should gradually set a state-wide standard of professional social work," concludes Dr. Peixotto's report. "The history of the registration of nurses warrants the hope that this bill, if carried, will enable the social worker to pass from a questioned and uncertain status to a recognized professional position. The advantage to the employer looking for competent help is obvious. The social worker's increased chances to win public respect and a good salary seem equally evident."

ROYALTY GOES SLUMMING

CONSTERNATION among mine owners, alarm among the Tories generally, was caused, so the dispatches said, by the highly sympathetic visit of the Prince of Wales to the destitute folk of the regions famine-stricken in the general demoralization of the British mining industry. Why? Do they desire to keep from the royal vision and cover up generally the starvation of hundreds of men, women and children of their own nation? Is there something extraordinary or to be deprecated in the desire of the heir to the throne—who recently came so near to ascending it and is himself a mine-owner—to see for himself this tragedy of collapsed industrialism within his own realm? What after all may be a king's business, what his excuse for living, if not to study at first hand such a disgrace to the civilization of his own country? What a day it would be for Great Britain if the wearer of the crown, or he who so soon must wear it, should determine to concern himself, in his own proper person, with exactly such affairs as this. It might be well for him to take with him, on his next exploration of some afflicted quarter of his realm, some of these very people who would prefer that he confine himself to the glory and trappings of royalty and let dismal matters of mere humanity alone. Harun al Rashid, khalif of Bagdad, some eleven hundred years ago got his name, "the just," by exactly such personal investigations of evil conditions under his rule. The Prince of Wales might well earn a new glory for the British throne and augment the adoration which already is his in large measure from the masses of the British people, by looking into other conditions and jamming down the throats of those who are content with what they are pleased to call "the established order of things" the ghastly sufferings of his subjects—their fellow-men. But let him watch his step. The young king, Richard the Second, meddled superficially with the Peasants' Revolt in Wat Tyler's day; then allowed himself to be diverted by just such folk as now are said to be alarmed by his interest in the miners' plight, and in the end succeeded in alienating all classes. Even now, it looks as if the prince had been muzzled; his expected utterances about what he saw are still to come and London despatches charge that his report has been suppressed. However, the mining situation in Great Britain calls for something more fundamental than humanitarian emotions in the breast even of royalty.

HENRY BOURNES HIGGINS

IN the death of Henry Bournes Higgins at the age of 77 Australia has lost one of her most distinguished statesmen as well as a lawyer of international reputation on constitutional law and industrial arbitration. When it came to drafting the federal Constitution, Mr. Higgins was naturally a member of the commission. He did not agree, however, with the form adopted, because he considered it provided for too little power of amendment. Time has shown that in this he was right. He had two careers, as a lawyer, and as a political leader, and was distinguished in both. Elected to the new federal parliament, he was attorney-general in the first Labor Ministry, although never a member of the Labor Party. In political life he was usually in the minority, but almost always the majority came round to his way of thinking. Later, as president of the Arbitration Court, during fourteen years he laid the foundations of its usefulness, and was the first to insist upon a basic wage for the worker in all industrial agreements. His impartiality often brought him blame from both sides. Employers declared he was biased, and the workers that he was exacting, His handbook, A New Province of Law and Order, has

placed his philosophy on record. In this country, which he has visited three times, he had made many friends. In 1924 when he visited South America, he was called on all the time to talk about the principles of industrial arbitration in universities and before legal bodies.

SCRAP THE TIN BATH-TUB

FOR the third successive session, the New York legislature is considering a bill to supplant the outworn patchwork of the present poor law of the state with a comprehensive modern public-welfare act. The present Fearon-Shonk bill is the outgrowth of study and conferences in which the state Board of Charities, the Association of County Superintendents of the Poor, the State Charities Aid Association and other groups have participated. It is not mandatory, but would permit the board of supervisors of any county to make the care of the poor in their homes, outside of the cities and excepting emergency relief, a county instead of a town function, dividing the state into city and county public-welfare districts, with an elected commissioner of public welfare in each. The supervisor of each town would be authorized to give emergency relief. The State Board of Charities has passed resolutions announcing that it would have favored the measure even if it had been made mandatory, though it regards even the permissive bill as a decidedly forward step. North Carolina, Virginia, and others stand witness of the effectiveness and economy of the county as a unit for the administration of public welfare, though the idea has had more difficulty in gaining headway in the states earlier encrusted with local systems now as out-of-date as a tin bath-tub. New York faces the opportunity for a piece of modernization long over-due.

NOW IT CAN BE DONE!

THE recent seminar at Columbia University dealing with the relations of Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the community and in the country, was at least a highly significant experiment. Every social worker is aware that almost every kind of community activity is complicated by the points of view of conflicting religious groups, and if the representatives of the more important groupings can come to understand more exactly what is involved in their interrelationships in a country of diverse faiths, many salutary adjustments may eventually be made and vain contentions removed.

It was, to be sure, a meeting of individuals rather than of representatives, although in the case of one of the groups the names of those participating had been previously approved by the ecclesiastical authorities. Still, they met not simply as American citizens, but as Protestants, Catholics and Jews, to consider points of friction between them; this was, perhaps the first time in history when members of these three groups have met deliberately to consider the social implications of their differences. The very fact that they could meet at all is in itself arresting.

There was frankness, and occasionally the inevitable casualties that one must expect in dealing with conflict situations. At one of the round tables, certain alleged criticisms of Jews as employes were being reported by a Jew. These were too much for a fellow-Hebrew who left the room discoursing on prejudice and later referred to the one who made the report as an anti-Semite! At another round table, some of the Protestants felt that more attention was being given to Catholic and Jewish grievances than to grievous misrepresentations of alleged Protestant intolerance and cussedness. There was a tense moment when a prominent Catholic said: "Let me assume for a moment the role of social psychologist. Catholicism is a state of mind. It is a state of mind which believes that it has an infallible revelation of divine truth, that when its head speaks *ex cathedra,* every Catholic must accept that decision as final. Now you must decide what you can do with people who have that state of mind." No dodging issues there!

Then again a prominent Christian leader stated very frankly that in his opinion the Jews were seeking to live in a "self-imposed ghetto." Previously, they had lived in a ghetto forced upon them from without, but now many of them kept harping on the necessity of preserving their "Jewishness"—page Ludwig Lewisohn and Analyticus!—which tended to widen the chasm between the two groups and revealed another difficult "state of mind." The question of proselytism was also aired, but the Christians made it clear that the right and even the duty to proselytize could not be ignored by any group which felt that they really had a faith of universal consequence and significance.

Again, at a third round table on Community Areas of Conflict and Cooperation, the discussion even ventured into the field of birth control, and it became clear that there were limitations to the cooperation which could be effected in the area of moral reform, especially when there was a difference as to what was "moral" and what was "reform!"

As frankness abounded, difficulties emerged on every side, but the majority of those present found the discussion quite thrilling. It was recognized as a pioneering experience, and even to get difficulties and hesitations out into the open was worth much.

The seminar has probably made possible other and similar seminars in different cities. Hitherto, people have said that it could not be done, or if it could, it might do more harm than good. Now it can be done! It has been proved that people of most conflicting philosophies of life can meet together to consider the common problem of living with one another and dealing with intolerance without serious casualties. It has become increasingly clear that one of the main values in such conferences is the breaking down of the contact-fears which keep members of groups from venturing to lay their cards on the table, and in establishing contacts with choice spirits in the other groups. It made increasingly clear that our social psychologists have not ventured far enough into a consideration of the problems of adjustment created by religious difference; that they must have the courage and wisdom to enter this field and produce the facts without which such discussions can only get so far and no further.

But the furtherance of such conferences is fraught with danger, and demands the most careful preliminary planning and technique. The National Conference of Jews and Christians, which sponsored the seminar and are to publish its findings, deserve congratulation on their daring, their finesse and the measure of success which greeted their effort.

THE SPECIES PARENT

JUDGING from the crowds of parents and other adults, to say nothing of the young people, who visited the second annual Parents Exposition during the week it held forth in New York City, it should go down in history as the forebear of generations of expositions to come. Through a first floor devoted to consideration of the home, a second floor dealing with the more intangible factors of life—the parent-child relationship and child-behavior problems, and a third floor devoted to the activities of the Board of Education, parents and other citizens were presented a picture of the things involved in the education of an efficient 1929 parent. And as last year, the species parent showed itself eager to learn from all the exhibits how better to conduct its job of parenthood.

The exposition offered a number of new and striking features not included a year ago. The family housing section depicted progress in housing through contrasting good and bad dwellings pictorially, with the aim not so much of dictating housing requirements as of arousing the public to consciousness of existing bad conditions and of showing the trend of a progressive movement. The Impromptu School, demonstrated by Paul Moreno, the founder, with classes from New York City neighborhood houses—a new form of applied psychoanalysis, for Dr. Moreno believes that such impromptu tests "release the day dreams and suppressed desires of the individual—" gave the teacher a better understanding of the child's character than many people have from years of association.

Since after all, the child is the *raison d'être* of such an exposition, the play theater should be mentioned, another innovation this year, where daily programs that child groups themselves have worked out in their recreation hours were presented—music, dancing, and dramatics depicting the aesthetic side of play or games which give the child the beginning of art appreciation.

And a tribute must be paid to William J. Day, the seventeen-year-old pupil in the Boys' Hill School, who designed the murals, a Pageant of Parenthood, for the center aisle through which all visitors necessarily passed—a graphic representation of some of the main features of the exposition, various panels, emphasizing the need for intelligent parental guidance, for developing self-reliance in the child, depicting the family council as a means of setting standards of behavior, and so on. These forceful and colorful murals, lining a wall nine feet high and sixty long, were perhaps the best summary of the message the exposition was intended to convey.

TALKING IT OVER

INSOLUBLE international problems remain insoluble until there is a disposition to solve them. All over the world is moving—slowly and clumsily but moving nevertheless—the spirit of conciliation. The League of Nations has set the fashion of talking over across the table just such problems. "The spirit of Geneva" is no longer confined to Geneva. Everywhere the intelligent are learning what they always knew but feared to practice; namely, that the things that unite men are more important and more vital than the things about which they used to quarrel. Timid and superficial as is the Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war, it nevertheless marks, especially now that the United States has ratified it without expressed reservation, the end of an old epoch and the beginning of a new one. Henry L. Stimson, who worked out a formula of at least temporary pacification in Nicaragua and has actually mollified conditions in the Philippines to a point not reached before, is to be secretary of state in Mr. Hoover's cabinet. Dwight W. Morrow, who changed almost overnight the atmosphere of our relations with Mexico, might have been that secretary of state had not Mr. Hoover preferred to keep him at his Mexican post to finish his job. The Pan-American Arbitration Conference produced two treaties which not only may revolutionize the relations of the United States with Latin America, but by reflex alter the whole American attitude toward compulsory arbitration. In spite of our new cruisers, in spite of our swashbuckling irreconcilables in and out of the Senate, the logic of events and the trend of the whole world's thought, including that of the mass of the American people, have swept us out into the procession, and we cannot escape the position of leadership in it.

There was no international problem that seemed more insoluble than that of the relations between the Italian government and the Vatican. For more than fifty years—since 1871, when the Law of Guarantees drove its wedge between and the Pope shut himself into the Vatican in voluntary confinement—it has seemed that there could be no solution without an unconditional surrender. Such a surrender on the part of the Holy See was psychologically and theologically unthinkable; on the part of the Italian government it was, politically, hardly less so. The deadlock went on for more than half a century. Suddenly, quietly, the two as it were sat down together, determined somehow to work out a formula which both could accept without loss of "face"—that is what it amounted to, be what they may your sympathies and your opinion of underlying motives. The moment there came the determination to find a way to heal the sore, it almost did itself. The fact of sitting down together registered the state of mind; the rest was details, troublesome enough, to be sure, and at this writing still to be formally pinned down; but the job is done. None can say what new international problems may ensue from the renewed entry of the Pope upon the outer world as a recognized secular sovereign in his own right; but mutual concessions on the part of two powers hitherto deeply at odds have turned a page in history. The technique of talking it over with the will to peace has won another victory.

CALIFORNIA'S AGED

TO the rapidly growing list of states which are considering legislative proposals for the aid of their aged residents is added California. The State Department of Public Welfare has brought in a report and recommendations on the care of the needy aged authorized by an act in 1927, and a bill incorporating its findings has been introduced. The ultimate solution, the department believes, lies in some plan of contributory old-age insurance, and it is hoped that provision will be made for further study leading toward its adoption. In the meantime, however, California counties have a large and growing number of old people to support in institutions or by "outrelief." These could not profit by an insurance system, since their years of learning are already past. With them in mind, the proposed legislation outlines a system of state aid to the aged, similar to the present state aid to children.

This system would place primary responsibility for administration on the county or city governments which accept it, authorizing them to grant funds for the relief of citizens of seventy or over who have been resident in the state for at least twenty years, and who have neither property nor relatives capable of their support. The aid granted would be fixed by individual circumstances, but in no case would it, added to the private resources of the client, provide a total income of more than a dollar a day. Administered by experienced social workers, it would make possible the individual supervision, under standards set by the state Department of

Public Welfare, now current in well-organized systems of mothers' pensions; it would allow for advice and service in matters not primarily financial, such as medical care, housing, and the like, often as important as money to ensure the comfort and happiness of old people; and it would make it possible for its beneficiaries to stay in their own homes, as most old people want to do, unless their special needs made it advisable for them to seek the hospitals or farms which almost every California county provides for the care of the aged. The cost to the state is estimated as $350,000 for direct grants and $20,000 for administration. A second bill, also recommended in the department's report to the legislature, has been introduced to authorize the state Department of Public Welfare to accept public or private gifts as endowments or contributions in a special fund for the relief of needy blind or needy aged residents.

This recognition by California's Department of Public Welfare of the need for public aid for the aged would provide one answer to the questions recently raised by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (see The Survey, February 15, page 669), on the social policies involved in the support of old people. Since those questions were framed, the A.I.C.P. has answered some of them for itself. At a recent meeting the board of managers of that organization—one of the pioneer and most effective practitioners in this field of social work—have passed a resolution declaring their belief that the facts with regard to the uncared-for dependent aged population are sufficiently grave to call for immediate consideration and for action looking towards the establishment of suitable public agencies authorized to grant allowances to aged persons from public funds." Private benefaction, the association believes, can no longer do the job, and there lies ahead a long stretch of constructive experiment toward the use of public resources and supervision. Should California adopt its proposed plan, it will add one more to the efforts to solve a problem which has become as pressing as it is pathetic.

COMPULSORY ADULT EDUCATION

FOR probably the first time in history a serious attempt is being made to wipe out the illiteracy of an entire nation in a brief, set time. The president of Turkey, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, issued an order that at the beginning of 1929 every illiterate citizen of Turkey between the ages of sixteen and forty should learn to read and write. Only about one-tenth of the population is literate, so this is a courageous edict. However, the success with which Kemal Pasha's previous reforms have gone through makes one respect this most drastic one.

Fezes were changed for hats overnight four years ago. Only four months ago, the order that the Arabic alphabet must be abandoned in favor of Latin letters was announced. Now one cannot see a Constantinople street-sign in Arabic, and all school children know and use the new letters. All newspapers, books and reports are printed in Latin letters, and all posters, advertisements and names of business firms are in the same form. When the Latin alphabet became familiar to teachers and officials, then came the order to do away with illiteracy. Now in every Turkish city men and women are going about with notebooks, practicing their writing in trams, shops and trains. School teachers are drafted for teaching in night schools. Mosques, schools, clubs and other buildings are used for class-work. International College, an American institution in Smyrna, has a huge class of eager village people. Although attendance is compulsory, interest is spontaneous, and the new life that literacy will bring these folk makes them one and all labor with the strange forms of a new alphabet.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S CHALLENGE

ANOTHER governor of New York State has promised to stand squarely behind a program for social legislation. And if the legislators will but deal fairly with current bills involving such matters, Governor Roosevelt believes the great majority will be made a part of the laws of the state. At the recent annual meeting of the Consumers' League of New York, in no uncertain terms did the governor make his first public pronunciamento on this subject. And—most promising of all—he pledged the full weight of his influence and power to bring about the enactment of such laws. An impossible feat, however, warned the governor, unless the public does its share in *demanding* a square deal from the legislators.

Of Governor Roosevelt's sincerity there is little doubt. In his inaugural address, he said:

> I expressed my conviction of the duty to acknowledge our indebtedness to those who create the necessities and comforts which mean so much in our lives. In my message to the legislature, I outlined a very definite and specific program which needed immediate attention.

These proposals, the governor pointed out, are not new. For many years they have been sponsored by social organizations, as well as by thousands of citizens interested in justice and fair play, and "have in the main been made specifically or by unmistakable influence part of the political platform of both parties." Hence, no matter what their ultimate fate may be, they should be seriously considered by the legislature of New York, and not uniformly "killed in committee," a favorite method employed by the legislature for handling bills upon which they do not, for their own reasons, desire public discussion, and sharply denounced by the governor. He gives fair warning that he will do all in his power to combat such a procedure.

The eight measures for which the governor demands fair play are old stories. There have been bills covering most of them introduced into—and killed by—past legislatures. Briefly the measures under consideration are—a forty-eight-hour working week for women and children, extending workmen's compensation to sufferers from occupational disease, prohibiting the granting of temporary injunctions without a hearing and providing for trial of injunction cases before a jury, appointing a commission (the governor demands a commission of qualified experts and not legislators) to study old-age relief, the multiple-family dwelling bill, extending and revising the present tenement-house law, continuing the emergency rent law, recognition of the fact that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and lastly the appointment of a minimum or fair-wage board for women and children.

For the enactment of the first four of these measures, Governor Roosevelt believes the public has given an unquestionable mandate. Though there are still controversial issues unsettled in the remainder, such differences can in all probability be reconciled. But unless the citizens at large make plain to their representatives their desires to prevent the recurrence of the unfair and un-American treatment this legislation has received in the past, these measures will, the governor fears, go the way of their predecessors. A challenge appropriately made before the Consumers' League, as representative of that public to which the governor appeals.

EDUCATION

The Baja California Idea

By HELEN BOWYER

IF you read Spanish, let me advise you to get a copy of La Educación Pública,[1] a study of the schools in the northern district of Lower California. In that remote peninsula of *la Republica Méxicana* they are putting into practice an idea that might bear transplanting to our own "Republic of the North."

Mexican California is, for administrative purposes, divided into two districts and at the head of the northern one is a governor appointed by the *señor presidente de la nación*. This governor, in turn, appoints the director-general of education, and he appoints everybody else in the system. In the last analysis, therefore, the functioning of every school and the fate of every teacher in the *distrito* depends upon the attitude of the *señor gobernador*.

Since 1923, the northern district has been so happy as to have a governor who believes in schools and particularly believes in teachers. He not only says they are highly important public officials—we are all of us, Americans and Mexicans alike, used to hearing our governors say that. But the Señor General don Abelardo L. Rodriguez makes out the territorial budget on the theory that what he says is really so. The majority of the *profesores* of the northern district are teaching one-room schools in the country or in little villages, and yet most of them are drawing close on twenty-two hundred a year in American dollars. And twenty-two hundred means a lot more south of the border than north of it. How many rural teachers in American California or in any other American state are drawing salaries commensurate with that? In addition, the Mexican *profesor* in the country is provided with free living quarters and, in the proper discharge of his program of agricultural betterment, can raise much of his food.

It all works out that the teachers in the isolated villages are better recompensed than those in the urban centers and that many of the best-equipped *profesores* are to be found in these otherwise least desirable positions. But that, in the opinion of the governor, is exactly as it ought to be. If there is any place where a real personality is needed, a man or a woman who can make himself effective not only in the classroom but in the field, the home, the community council, it is in the remote rural section. In the town there are the judge, the *presidente municipal*, the leading merchant, the physician, the *comandante militar*, and other persons of education and ability. If to these you can add an outstanding teacher or two, so much the better. But if the supply of such teachers is limited, by all means send the best of them to the country districts where probably there are no other effective personalities in action.

It looks as if that attitude might hold the beginnings of a big idea for us. Suppose that instead of regarding our country schools as a necessary evil at the beginning of a teaching career, we should hold them as the recognition and reward of years of able service in the larger places. Suppose we should say: "These boys and girls with their diplomas fresh beribboned in their hands have the bigger part of their training still before them. Let us send them, then, where the chances of training are best. Let us send them to some good town where under superintendents and principals who are real people they can yoke their visions to the job without too much disillusionment, without that quick discouragement that drives so many of the best of them into other fields. Let them have their years of living contacts with good minds, with theaters and galleries and forums and causes and all the other developing currents of urban life. Then, when they have formed their habits and attitudes to the point where isolation will not impair them, and made those friendships and associations that will keep on functioning in absence; when they have learned to work with human nature and to handle things and situations; when, in short, they have enough to give, let us send them to those personality-depleted places where what they have to give is needed most."

We would need, of course, to make those places possible



Land of Mañana, by Charles Kassler in The Woodcut of Today. Courtesy E. Weyhe & Co., New York

[1] Procurable from the Señor Director, Escuela Normal y Preparatorio, Mexicali, Baja California, Mexico.

for them. There must be adequate salaries. There must be attractive homes awaiting them. There must be school plants of the kind through which real personalities could function. And there must be built up, in the country folk themselves, that attitude of expectancy to which personality always responds.

THE first three of these requisites, the material *sine qua non,* Mexican California is, in her degree, providing. It goes without saying, therefore, that we could do it in ours. If she can pay the *profesor* of a tiny village school twenty-two hundred a year, we should have no trouble in paying his American prototype forty-four. If she can furnish him a residence equal to the best in the community, couldn't we? And if she can lay out her school plants with facilities for furthering all the major interests of the regions they serve, who shall say that we could not?

The northern district envisions its country school as the very heart of the community from which must flow the vital currents that build up its life. Outside the town, life is primitive and its problems are still mainly those of wresting food and shelter from the soil and saving the body from premature death through hardship and disease. But through large sections of our own republic the problems of the common people mainly center round those two, even if the level on which they are fought out is considerably higher than in *la California.* With both these problems the *dirección-general de educación* of the northern district is deeply concerned.

It therefore lays out its rural plants not only with classrooms and playgrounds but with a little clinic and with some acres of ground for whatever adventures in agriculture, husbandry or handicraft either the children or the adults of the place may wish to pursue. It is not expected that the *profesor* will be an expert in all these things. In *la California* as here, the departments of agriculture, labor and so forth, stand ready to give technical assistance. But what is expected of the teacher is that he, or she—for some of the most outstanding of the rural *profesores* are women—shall provide the enthusiasm, shall release the spirit that will create a demand for this expert assistance and keep a series of vital experiments and demonstrations going on that plot of land.

OUTSIDE the towns, doctors and nurses are few in the northern district and the routing of disease is left largely to unassisted nature or to charms and prayers. The *profesor* must, therefore, himself officiate with his little medicine chest—if only in the interest of a working attendance at school. There are probably few communities in which his American prototype would have to go that length. Nevertheless his influence on the health of his district should be as positive as on its industries. Himself an example of mature vitality and zest of life, his interest in sanitation, his up-to-date knowledge of medical advance, his homage to true science in the face of the superstition and quackery which flourish in the country, could hardly fail to create that attitude towards men and things which results in a high state of physical well-being.

But there are rural sections in these United States where both the economic status and the health of the people are excellent and yet where life is flat and tame and unsatisfying. It is here, in this helpless void, in this tragic emptiness, that the new type of country teacher is most urgently needed. What is there this year of our Lord 1929 has to offer that he could not bring within reach of folk like this? The means of life, full, joyous, satisfying, are all around; the one thing needed is the magic of a man or woman who himself has lived, who knows the resources of life and can somehow make them assimilable to these hungry and malnourished souls.

In rural rections such as these there seem to be, at first glance, plenty of individuals already on the job of organizing activities. The agents of the Department of Agriculture, the country librarian, the public health nurse, the Y secretaries, the representatives of the Red Cross, the directors of this or that boys' or girls' organization, are at the head of services one would suppose adequate. Yet an extensive rural study[2] sponsored by some of these agencies themselves in an honest and brave endeavor to find out what they were really accomplishing, discourages any over-estimate of their contribution to the vital life currents of the more remote communities they serve. What, in most cases, seemed to be lacking was a personality who could receive these services, coordinate them, transmute them into what was needed and naturalize them in the hearts and minds of the local population.

ONCE in a while, the teacher now found in the country, a girl just out of highschool, a boy with a term or two of college to his credit, can do this thing—and does. But more often the chief preoccupation of these young people is how to escape as soon as may be from the meagerness of the existence round them, and make way for a successor as maladjusted, as ill-equipped as themselves. And let us be thankful that this is so. If they are going to be teachers they should escape—they should *want* to escape—to where experience is fuller, freer, more varied and more intense.

But later, when they have lived, when they have studied, traveled, made all sorts of ties with people, places and ideals, should not the best of them come back to the country and there, in their maturity, spend the treasures they have gained in youth? And should not those of us who stay in the cities, help to make it possible for them to go?

I had the privilege, this summer, of seeing a good deal of some of the best of these *Californio* teachers of whom I write. The things that struck me most about them were these very two—the breadth and charm of their personalities, and the joyousness with which they were dedicating them to the enrichment of life in the isolated settlements of their *territorio.* But it was not by chance that so many exceptional men and women were teaching in the schools of that remote peninsula. *La California* had reached out all over Mexico for them, had offered them exceptional inducements to come. *La California* has a governor who believes in teachers—not just says he does.

As for the other requisite of the scheme, the attitude of the country people themselves, there we come up against problems of human receptivity and non-receptivity which it is hard to gauge. The rural *Californios* are simple, affectionate folk who respond to a warm, living personality in any official as do children to a mother. Our temperament, our traditions are different. But we are a capable race and among us there are doubtless thousands who, along with the other qualifications, have the tact, the patience and the charm needed for the pioneering of an enterprise like this.

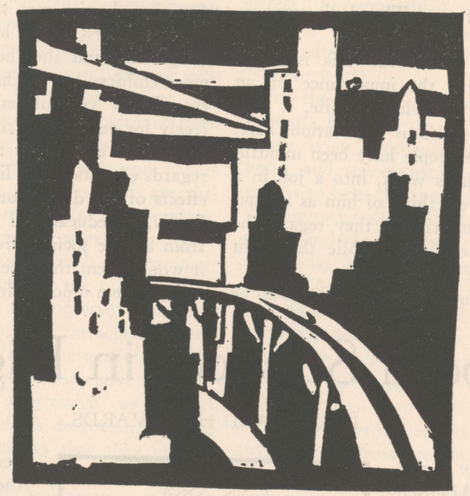
[2] How Shall Country Youth Be Served, by Harlan Paul Douglas. George H. Doran Co.

The Social Portent in the New Education

By HENRY NEUMANN

SOMETHING, it would seem, will have to be done about this Experimental-or-Progressive-Education business. It is altogether too dangerous. We simply cannot expect children, teachers, to take to heart what is taught in these new schools, and at the same time remain good, upstanding preservers of the ideals of the Founding Fathers.

How progressive schooling can be in the long run anything else but subversive is hard to see. For this, some share of the blame must be borne by the social settlements. The Daughters of the American Revolution are not entirely illogical when they blacklist Jane Addams, and peer with steady suspicion at other members of her profession. In a way, much of this new education began in the settlements. Did they not organize boys and girls into clubs where attendance was entirely voluntary, conditioned on the interest of the members? Modern education obliges the teacher to ask herself, "How long would your pupils stay in your classroom if they were not compelled?" The best teacher does succeed in holding the children, for the simple reason that they are greatly interested in what they do. But this is what the club-worker in the neighborhood house knew long ago. There the children were never forced to come. No truant officer ever called on a parent to warn him against letting his boy stay away from the club. Very few children were dragged to settlements and deposited there weeping or sulking. The whole technique was designed to make the children want to come of their own accord.



An Impression of New York
Linoleum print by a seventh-grade pupil of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture School

Not that they were coddled either when they got there. They learned how to do team work, to organize themselves, and to run their own affairs. They were admitted through their delegates into a share in the running of the house as a whole. All this is now part of the new education; and the worried guardians of the *status quo* still have reason to look askance. School is getting to be less and less a place where children are compelled to learn. They are not afraid of the teacher. The words "law and order" do not bring them automatically to a respectful salute.

O tempora, o mores! Once upon a time the teacher was the head and front of all authority. To offend his dignity was a major crime. Even asking him questions was bad form. No good child ever spoke until the teacher gave him permission. Teacher asked the questions. Pupil answered them. It was a very bold young person who dared imagine that school could be anything else but an institution where obedient children waited their turn to answer Teacher's questions. How changed the atmosphere today! A highly important modern tendency is this fact that curiosity is now much encouraged. Time was when people were quite ready to believe the substantial truth in the myth of Pandora. Even if all the evils in the world did not come from a woman's peeping into the vase, on general principles it was better not to let the inquiring disposition go too far. Today the myth brings only a smile to people who think of the curiosity of a Mme. Curie or applaud the courage of an Amelia Earhart. A generation ago, school folk, echoing Spencer, spoke of education as "adjustment to environment." But that phrase is now felt to smack too strongly of acquiescence. We hear other accents today: "Investigate. Protest. Re-build."

This is the spirit one feels in the new schools. The children are encouraged to speak up and ask questions about what is on their minds. Some of them dare to ask why America signs a peace treaty and at the same time builds more cruisers. They inquire about strikes and free speech. They are told by their teachers not to read only one newspaper but to consult more than one and to read intelligently, that is, to allow for bias, to sift, to compare, to weigh and evaluate what they see and hear. To the elderly and orderly all this is very disquieting. It might not be so bad if progressive education were confined to the private schools for the rich or to the experimental schools attended by the children of college professors. But all this interest-and-freedom business is making its presence felt in public schools. Small wonder that the regents of a certain state university, a few years ago, were asked to find out whether it was not Russian propaganda that was responsible for the combination of lawlessness on the part of the present generation with curtailed clothing and the teaching of the new psychology.

The whole tendency is really dangerous. Educational theory has always said that the first and last concern of the hours spent in school must be the transformation which they work upon the child's personality. The new pedagogy has pushed this thought into two new directions. It says in the first place that of all influences upon the child, the most effective is what the child himself actually does, rather than hears or says. So important is this that even in the most expensive private schools, the pupils are set to work at projects which take the place of household tasks once

performed on the farm or in the small town. A boy makes a toy wagon. His parents could buy a much better one for a trifling cost. But they are reminded that the point of first consequence is what happens to the child in the process of planning the wagon and seeing the job through.

This might not be so subversive if it were not, in the second place, that today insists upon education as an affair for the whole of life, not stopping with adolescence but continued in maturity as well. Adult education is spreading. But of all the educative agencies in the lives of grown-ups, what is there to compare with the effects of their daily occupations? "If the quality of the work to be done is such that it pulls men down in the moral scale, who can devise operations that will raise them up? Neither the statesman, the schoolmaster, nor the parson. The best we can then devise will be mere make-weights to an evil which, on the whole, is more powerful than they."

THIS is L. P. Jacks of Manchester College, Oxford, speaking. He even makes bold to declare that for the adults of the future, the school-house—nay, even the church—may be the factory. He is not altogether out of his mind. His thought is that human lives in the best sense are fashioned by what people do every day rather than by what they listen to on Sunday or in evening lectures. The day's work is surely a highly effective shaper of personality.

If, then, we are finding out how true this is about children, and if we are stressing the importance of an education carried on throughout the whole of life, it does look as if there were one or two perilous implications here. A child goes from a school where people have been mindful of the upbuilding power of his day's work, into a job in a store or a factory. Do his employers think of him as a pupil in the second stage of his education? Do they regard the factory as a school? How far can they, while the profit motive is kept in the foreground?

We had better stop at this point. If the factory is to be in any vital fashion the school or the church for adults, we shall run into very searching questions about today's organization of the world's work. We may not turn to the Communist program or even to the Socialist. But we can hardly look at our problem in the light of the educational influence of the day's work without being keenly aware that today's social economy is not exactly perfect.

To be sure, these implications of the new education are not in the minds of all parents and teachers who are enthusiastic about the new schools. There are fathers and mothers who send their children to such schools merely because so many other "nice" people do the same. Nor are all the teachers in these institutions alive to what their work implies. In the public schools, the number of such teachers is still relatively small. In New York City, with all its intellectual ferment, the members of the Teachers Union, for example, are only about three per cent of the teaching staff. It is also true, in the words of Edmund Burke, that men seldom "follow up practically any speculative principle either of government or of freedom so far as it will go in argument and logical illation." There are people who want their children in the newer schools but, without being unintelligent or selfish, are not attracted to the idea of thorough-going social reconstruction just yet or later. The American Legion may stay calm for the present.

Nevertheless ideas have a notorious way of becoming dangerous; and the thought will not down: If more and more children get a schooling which increasingly rejects the thought of compulsion, which encourages them to unite freely for purposes of their own choosing, which trains them to inquire and think and find out for themselves, which regards education as a life-long process where the personality-effects of the day's work are of paramount concern, and if, finally, an educational program requires hearty backing up from all the social influences surrounding the school, surely it would seem that the new education is pointing toward a social system much different from today's.

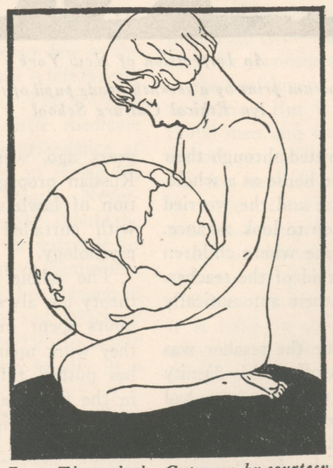
The Social Sciences in Highschool

By WILLARD H. EDWARDS

CAN the point of view aimed at by Meiklejohn of Madison be secured in some measure for highschool students? (See The Survey, June 1, 1927, page 268.)

Sections of the following curriculum have been undergoing trial for the past three years in Marietta Johnson's School of Organic Education at Fairhope, Alabama. The results have been interpreted as so encouraging that, commencing with the fall term all the history classes are following the new course of study.

The freshmen are taken over the ground of political history in one year instead of four. They follow the chain along fast enough to end the year (1928) with the situations in Nicaragua, Egypt, China and India. Many of the actors and events are familiar from scattered poems, stories, geography and history. And now—so it seems to the freshmen—they "see how it all fits together."



From Through the Gateway, by courtesy National Council for the Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

The second-year students examine the history of economic life and of scientific discovery and invention, ending the year with commercial geography and the struggles for trade and raw materials—for example, oil.

The juniors' quest is the history of man's social life and institutions, and of his philosophy. In our opinion, Hart's Social Life and Institutions and Durant's Story of Philosophy are well adapted for highschool juniors.

The seniors look at current social history. The Survey Graphic, and other liberal journals, and the bulletins from such societies as the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Public Ownership League of America, are placed in the hands of the students—with bias. Why not? Think of the recently exposed public-utility coddling in the schools.

These seniors enjoy popularly written articles whose titles connote to the academic mind, child study, civics, economics, education, ethics, aesthetics, political science, philosophy, social psychology, sociology—with a little explanation they will listen when society pleads with the general reader. The natural social concern of adolescence has not yet been checked by the "selfish zest of the battle of life" and the shadow that it casts over the college. Quite naturally they place current social phenomena as history—news of importance to them in the life adjustments that they will soon have to make.

The sophomores, juniors and seniors review each year the outline of vivid nationalistic folk history that they studied in the freshman class. The elements of its design become sufficiently familiar to hold in place the other patterns of facts about man's past.

THE usual history course and textbooks are built around variations of the following as separate studies: early or ancient European history; later or mediaeval and modern European history; English history; American history. We find social facts picked out from history and presented separately as "social sciences," civics, economics and what not. The individual books and even the history textbooks taken as a group seem to be mutually almost exclusive in their subject matter. The rapidly growing highschool student cannot be blamed for failing to synthesize it all without help. What he studied last year is a long way off in his life.

The class work is featured by student talks and papers for the benefit of the whole class, lectures that are discussions, readings selected on a moment's consideration, emancipation from textbooks, changes of plan to fit waves of interest, and frequent pauses to trace a tool, custom, institution, nation or belief from its origin to the present.

In these history classes no outside reading assignments are given as required work. And throughout the school, Marietta Johnson has divorced learning from the grading, marking, punishing, external rewarding and conspicuous advancement system in all of its forms, "progressive" as well as "old fashioned." However, the students do prepare outside of school hours for the talks and papers that they present to the class. They find meaning in the historical novels, magazine stories, non-fiction articles and moving pictures that they choose for themselves and they bring their new insights into the classroom as personal discoveries. Their history learning is free, apparently, from many of the usual distaste associations.

The fondness of these classes for orientation, synthesis and comprehension beyond what can be had through existing materials has led to the creation within the school of a new outline of political history in wall-map form—a chart series arranged so that sixteen related narrative maps are exposed to view at one time. This series (happily in line for publication) aims to show literally hundreds of links in the chain of history connected up, like the family automobile, ready for youth to take apart, put together again, understand and use.

The results that we think we can see emerging from the experiment are: more knowledge of the common history elements; greater synthesis and historical orientation; better economic preparation for individual and world problems; continued growth through history; increased socialization. And to us, this trial indicates that if we are not trying merely to crystallize our present civilization, the better way to teach economics and the other so-called "social sciences" is not as sciences, but genetically and dynamically as history.

A College Personnel Experiment

By MARGARET L. FARRAND

PERSONNEL work which shall be both positive and preventive is the purpose of the experiment inaugurated last year and continued this year at the Women's College in Brown University. The Admission Office has been combined with the Bureau of Personnel, with one college officer serving as director of both.

Though never before tried, apparently, by any college, the combination of admission office and personnel bureau seems a logical one for a variety of reasons. On the admissions side it is an advantage to the college to have its students selected by an expert personnel worker who, because of her technical training and because she has dealt personally with undergraduate successes and failures of all sorts, has special skill in selecting the type of girl for whom the college can do most effective work. She is usually able also to detect the unqualified applicant and to advise her what training better suited to her needs she can get elsewhere. The admission office thus does preventive as well as positive work.

To the personnel bureau the early acquaintance with the student, brought about by the union of the two departments, is an obvious asset. All that information concerning home and school background—so important to the officer who is to help the freshman adjust to her new surroundings—is immediately available, the first contact is automatically made, and the personnel bureau can begin educational and vocational guidance even before the opening of freshman year. The old idea that the function of a personnel bureau is to find the senior a job just before she takes her diploma is rapidly vanishing. Vocational guidance should begin, the colleges now feel, as soon as the student is enrolled. The Women's College plan is simply another application of this theory.

Some interesting results of the "preventive" aspect of the personnel-admission combination were presented in the report of the first year's work at the Women's College. At the time of registration each freshman was interviewed by the director, and as a result of these interviews it was found that 24 per cent of a class of 138 were in need of definite personnel work, exclusive of financial difficulties. The members of the college staff and those students most likely to help the individuals in question were informed of their needs and during the year only four of them became "problems" for the dean's office. Of the whole freshman class, only 5 per cent were put on "social discipline" during the year. Only nine left college, four of those because of ill-health. At the end of the year, each member of the class was interviewed again, to check with her on the value of the year's work and to start her thinking seriously on the subject of her vocation. In preparation for the admission of the next freshman class, interviews were held during the summer with all applicants near enough to come to the college.

"Self-help" is another of the personnel bureau's functions which benefits by the combination with the admission office. The task of finding work for the girl who must earn part

of her college expenses is in most institutions confided to the bureau of personnel. In her pre-freshman contacts the director can usually discover those girls who need financial assistance and the student herself learns more quickly what the opportunities for self-help are and how to avail herself of them.

In the terms of mere mechanics, the simplification of records is no inconsiderable matter.

Undoubtedly the union of the two departments can be put into operation more easily and rapidly in a small college —the Women's College in Brown has just under five hundred students—but there seems to be no good reason why it should not be possible to adapt the scheme to larger institutions where the logic of the combination and its advantages would remain the same.

MILITARY TRAINING will no longer be compulsory at DePauw University, according to a recent announcement by G. Bromley Oxnam, the new president of that institution. Dr. Oxnam gives as his reasons: to bring the university (a denominational institution) into harmony with the official position of the Methodist Church, which has declared its opposition to compulsory military training in schools and colleges; a faculty vote in favor of elective training; the fact that there is nothing in the course material of military training to make it essential for an academic degree; the belief that military training is not justified as a measure of preparedness since "true preparedness is preparedness for peace;" the opinion that compulsory military training is not really patriotic, for patriotism should be identified with "those activities that lead toward the enrichment of the life of all the people;" under the National Defense Act, the decision whether military training should be compulsory or elective rests with the educational institution itself. Dr. Oxnam adds that he is not a pacifist "as that term is generally used today. . . . When I allow these courses to be offered, I stand for the principle of free discussion and for the right of the student to hear both sides as he chooses."

A BROAD and detailed survey of the practices in American communities affecting teaching personnel is reported in a recent research bulletin of the National Educational Association (Vol. VI, No. 4). A detailed questionnaire covering salary trends, requirements affecting retention and promotion, married women as teachers, leaves of absence for study and travel, sick leave, relation of salaries to efficiency, comparative salaries of men and women teachers, was sent to all school systems of the 2,880 cities over 2,500 in population. A total of 1,532 usable replies were received. Each section of the report gives statistically the data received, summarizes it briefly, and adds a suggested bibliography of recent books and articles on the subject. The information on the relative salaries of men and women of equal training and experience supplies important factual material on a much-discussed topic. Of the 1,532 cities replying, 59 per cent listed positions in which women teachers were handicapped by their sex. Of the cities over 100,000 population, 77 per cent reported that there was no school position in which women were discriminated against on the salary scale. Two-thirds of the cities reported no rule covering this point, indicating that payment of equal or different salaries to men and women of equal competence is a matter of informal practice rather than of definite ruling.



THE FIRST institute of instruction organized by the Progressive Education Association will be held for three weeks during July 1-19, 1929, at State College, Pennsylvania, as "a school open to teachers, principals and others interested in a period of concentrated study of the problems of the newer education." Three separate courses, one week each, will be offered, to be chosen from the following: the psychology of progressive education, education through self-directed activity, the administration of the progressive school, the curriculum of the progressive school, the principles of creative expression. Lectures and recitations will be held daily, two periods of eighty minutes each, five days a week, under outstanding leaders in their respective fields. The fee for each course is $5.00, $6.00 if college credit is desired. One college credit will be given for each course. Students may take any course or all three, and may also take other courses offered by State College, though not more than one is advised. The Institute of Progressive Education has been made possible through the generosity of State College which offers its campus, including a large library and a program of summer recreation planned for its summer-session students, and will put one of the large fraternity houses at the disposal of the institute. Application for room and board in this building will be accepted. Reservation for courses and for living quarters should be made early. Further information may be obtained from W. G. Chambers, director of the summer session, State College, Pennsylvania, or from J. Milnor Dorey, executive secretary of the Progressive Education Association, with headquarters at 10 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.



Courtesy Nat'l Ass'n of Book Publishers

THE FIRST ISSUE of the new Journal of Adult Education made its appearance last month. The journal is to be a quarterly, published by the American Association for Adult Education, under the editorship of Mary L. Ely and Morse A. Cartwright, assisted by an editorial board and a staff of associate editors. The first issue shows a heartening flexibility of approach and a wide range of interest. Here are pictures of adult education as it is going forward among American industrial workers, in the "new" China, in rural America, on the college campus. Here, too, are discussions of method and viewpoint, of content and philosophy. There is a tempting book department, an embryonic "open forum," a promising clearing house of information and experiment. The magazine fills a real need in the rangy new field of adult education and, on the basis of this first issue, gives every promise of doing its job with competence, imagination and charm.

A FOURTH summer session for parents and children is announced by the Vassar Institute of Euthenics, to be held June 24-August 3. There will be a nursery school for thirty children from eighteen months to four and a half years of age, and a school for thirty-five children aged four and a half to seven. Sixteen courses are offered parents, covering physical and mental health of children and of adults, human relationships in the family group and in wider professional relations, the controllable environment, the adjustment of the individual to his environment and to his fellows. College credit will be given to properly qualified students for several of the courses. Full information may be obtained from the Institute of Euthenics, Vassar College. Early registration is urged.

SOCIAL PRACTICE

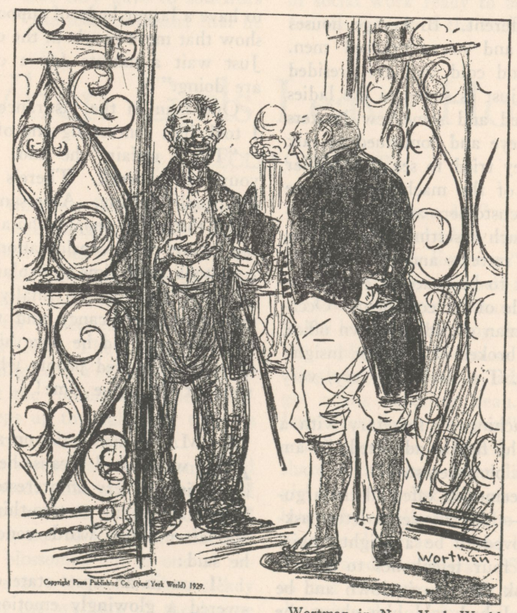
A Social Worker in Prosperity Land

By HELEN B. LEAVENS

ALL the doors were hard to push open! Revolving doors, crowded elevators, pompous attendants, busy telephone operators acting as reception clerks as well, all confused the setting. The busy frenzied atmosphere of the modern commercial world sets up barriers enough to chill an interviewer's blood. Salesmen tramp about with their wares and are somewhat expected because their kind is known. But not so the protagonist from social-work land who went to prosperity land to take these same people a few simple statements concerning a service and to discover what they were like and how they reacted to principles of social work.

The Bureau of Advice and Information, a department of the New York Charity Organization Society, was organized in 1908 to report on social-work organizations. Each organization is investigated and studied in the light of carefully formulated standards both as to the value of its social work and its financial integrity. These confidential reports are available to individual or group members of the Charity Organization Society and business men who belong to certain affiliated groups.

Since the reports of the bureau had not been used as extensively as was thought possible, it was decided to interview business men as donors or potential donors who might profit by such a service. Using a business argument so that they might be challenged on their own ground, they were told that it is just as wise to be careful about investments in charity as it is in business. It always caused a surprise among these men when they learned that there are some twelve hundred social agencies in New York City and reports could be obtained about these and all others in the state, as well as national or foreign relief organizations, by means of an arrangement with the National Information Bureau. The main object of the calls was to tell in a direct manner what this service means to the public, in order that they might give their money wisely for social-work organizations and not make indiscriminate gifts to causes which are unworthy or even fraudulent. Contributions were not solicited, although they were sometimes received as by-products of the undertaking.



Wortman in New York World

"Yes I know the master gives you a quarter each week, but you're a day early."

"Well, I'm leavin' on my winter vacation tomorrow."

Bankers are a leisurely, gentlemanly lot who always ask one to be seated and can usually be reached in the morning or afternoon. Almost all bank officials now sit right out in the open where they can be seen if their time is free. Stock-exchange brokers cannot be seen during the dangerous hours of ten to three while the ticker tape moves relentlessly, and then their time is gauged by the conference, or train, or golf, to which they are scheduled to dash. Advertising men can seldom be seen, since theirs is the newest business to arrive and they protect themselves in their sumptuous offices from all contact with the common world about them as though their creative skill were so rare as to suffer from that contact! It requires an average of two and one-half calls on a stock-exchange firm to secure an interview, one and one-half calls on a bank, and two and one-quarter calls on an advertising firm. Success with the bankers is quite obvious!

As the interviews began to add up toward one thousand, it became apparent that there were just as many persons who did not think of social work at all as those who did. The latter responded in a cordial manner and were most grateful to hear about a service which would help them to avoid the dangers of answering every appeal for funds without first investigating. Half of these, however, had had a little previous experience with the bureau and were aware of its worth. Regrets were expressed for the day when mistakes had been made. Several affirmed that they had "now weeded out" all the bad ones and others submitted lists to have their "charities" analyzed. Only a quarter of the brokers interviewed made definite constructive promises, while more than half of the bankers not only promised to use the services but gave careful assistance with leads or introductions to fellow workers. At the same time,

only one-fifth of the advertising firms made any positive or helpful statements about cooperation in the task of building up good social work in their city. Almost half of the trade or civic associations furnished good material. They not only assisted with publicity articles but furnished membership lists as well.

MOST of the advertising firms are uptown in fine new buildings. As you enter the reception rooms—which are lavishly decorated—you wonder whether a butler will appear to take your wraps. Strict formality seems to be the ideal of reception ladies—waiting to receive your card in some far, shaded corner, beneath a rosy bridge lamp. A series of electric buttons are the only indications that machinery is at work. Behind all the doors marked "private" there may be work, but a great secret silence pervades the scene.

One desk within the sanctum was as ornate as the outer office. I had gone to its owner with a letter of introduction. He plead poverty in his palatial surroundings and said tersely, "We never receive any appeals for donations, so we wouldn't need to use your service."

"But why doesn't any agency send you an appeal in such elaborate offices as these?" I asked.

His answer was quite frank, "These offices are only for show, to impress our customers. You certainly came to the wrong place!"

Downtown the scene is far different. Brokerage houses present wild pictures of chaos, and nerve-wracked men. Their reception rooms are bare and cold, and are presided over by male attendants who are just as suave as the ladies uptown. A chair is rarely offered and some few brokers have watched the tape with one eye and continued to talk about a foreign subject, while they tried to see their caller with the other. You see more of the machinery because there are large rooms where the customers await the financial happenings of the day. In such a setting, the partners themselves must needs have quiet retreats and when you do reach those inner places, it is apt to be peaceful except for the telephone calls to the other side of the continent. Occasionally, it is possible to catch a man outside his own office.

I remember inquiring for one broker of a rather insignificant individual who said, "Mr. T— is busy—very, very busy."

I then asked directions for reaching his secretary with a word as to what I wanted, and he finally admitted, *"I* am Mr. T— and I'm not the least bit interested."

One member of the exchange seemed to offer all the arguments ever encountered. Mr. S— did answer a letter asking for an appointment and proved to be a bright, jovial alert person. Although he had four telephones to answer after the exchange closed, he took time to sit down and be courteous and attentive. After I had told him about the Bureau of Advice and Information service, he said positively that it would not interest him because he gave all his gifts to a federation and he had never placed a dollar through any other channel. When I asked him if his firm would be interested in it, he said:

"No, we are all of different faiths and so attend to our own charities as personal matters."

Without realizing how it happened, Mr. S— began to discuss fund-raising methods. He described with abhorrence the lady solicitors who besieged his office:

"It wouldn't be so bad if they waited the promised time before trying to secure renewals. But they cut the time down to nine months, and then if you don't keep a record under your desk blotter, they will come in again in six or three!" He deplored the floods of "literature" which came through the mail, and showed me dramatically how it all went into the waste basket.

By this time, he had evidently lost all distrust of me, when I did not try to press upon him the use of our service. Since he apparently did not consider me a "lady solicitor," I dared to plunge and seek information from the efficient business man. He seemed to appreciate the lack of a controversial attitude and being slightly flattered by this request for his own constructive opinion he became quite loquacious.

"How would you raise money for a social-work organization which depended solely upon voluntary contributions and received no public funds?" was the leading question. He settled back and began to ruminate.

"Well," he said, "there are a lot of older business men who are quite successful and don't have to give all their time to business. They ought to ally themselves with these charities and take them up as a sort of hobby—like golf. They could get their friends to rally to the cause and help out financially."

I happened to have a year-book with me and showed him in a particular instance how this might work out. I let him assign the amounts of money to each individual listed, and when he had finished he said:

"I guess you social workers are right. It would be better to have a larger body of supporters, as you say, which would show that more people in the community knew of your work. Just wait a minute for a check to help with what you are doing."

One man in the insurance business didn't like a report I took him concerning one of the coffee stands:

"That's unfair," he said. "That's the trouble with all your charity work. There's too much red-tape about helping people anyway. A person could starve before help came, and I think that people who are hungry should be fed regardless of any other consideration."

It took some time to explain what dangers lurked in such a procedure, but he finally saw that his method would encourage mendicancy and that the results would not be permanent. And he gave his check during that first interview to help feed people who were being assisted in other ways at the same time!

A MAN who carries on a large business here and abroad was visited because he had once been a donor and had lapsed into a very uninterested silence. Although very busy, he did admit me at two-thirty when he had had no lunch, and after a few words concerning the purpose of the call, he said:

"I am in an upset state concerning charity. I once answered a glowingly emotional appeal on behalf of a boy and when I sent my money, I asked how I could learn later about the boy. Then I was told that the appeal was made that way in order to secure contributions. Would you have any faith after that?"

Of course I sympathized with him, and gave him the assurance that reliable organizations will inform a donor of the progress of a case.

The definite negative attitudes concerning the whole question of social work and the manner in which it is carried on, might be grouped to show the trend or effect of certain businesses upon their members. One quarter of these negative people were cock sure about everything they contributed to, expressing absolute certainty—and then usually qualifying their statements a bit, by saying that they gave only to a few well-known, "recognized," standard "things" such as the Salvation Army and the American Red Cross. Here, the brokers led in the highest percentage, although there were a few advertising firms which gave under assumed names, so that their real names would not be passed around! Complete indifference or inertness was expressed just as often. Persons in this group simply did not think about social work one way or the other and therefore never bothered about giving. An equal number were most unpleasant and adopted an argumentative attitude refusing all assistance and were sometimes rude enough to say they were "not interested" without even hearing a word. The statement was frequently made that individuals in firms handled their own charity matters in their suburban home towns, which may or may not have been a way to find excuses for not doing it where the money was earned!

Some business men prefer to give only when they know some one on the board of the organization in question. Three times that number said they refused all appeals as the "safest" way. This desire to protect themselves was evident on the part of almost a quarter of the men interveiwed who exhibited negative responses.

In a few instances, delay about renewing subscriptions to a social-work agency was only due to carelessness, just as it might be in paying bills, while more cases represented human frailty as men admitted that they gave to solicitors "in order to get rid of them." One man confessed that he gave to beggars on the street—if he happened to be escorting a lady. Certainly other larger gifts as well can be traced to a desire for show or publicity for the donor.

Belief in a federation or a chest plan was more often expressed than any other opinion. Some of the men objected to women solicitors and said they thought it unfair for persuasive young women to be sent into their offices for contributions. A few objected to the overhead and red-tape methods of social-work organizations, saying that if it were not for the Salvation Army people could starve before help arrived. A rather distinguished board member said he gave to beggars who accosted him on the street, after he had listened to their stories carefully and "walked with them some fifteen minutes." Some others were afraid that their names were passed around from one agency to another, for it seemed "that as soon as your name was on one list, it was on all the others." Likewise it was felt that if one once stopped giving to solicitors, they would all stop coming. One man did not like pencil drives, and another did, because "it was nice to get something in return"! An equal number of banks and stock-exchange firms felt that they could investigate their own charities! More brokers than any other group had their own "pet" charities, and only one broker said he needed charity himself, although the gardenia in his buttonhole belied his words.

The plains of prosperity still stretch before the centers of social work ready to be probed—or perhaps conquered—for the future of the community which belongs to both.

When Girls Leave Home

By R. LECLERC PHILLIPS

SINCE the beginning of time men have said that girls were "funny." And occasionally women agree. Ask, for instance, the secretaries of the Girls' Service League if they do not find that their protegées are frequently very funny and they will answer a kindly yes. The league cares for shelterless, runaway, and unadjusted girls in New York City. The plight of many of them is tragic in the last degree. Yet the workers of the league will assure you that the funniness of these stepchildren of fate frequently creeps up through their troubles and throws a gleam of humor into their mishaps.

Not very long ago the league rescued a pretty young girl from a situation of desperate need. She wished before all things to dance, and the league saw to it that she obtained training. One fine day the girl, not so long before at her wit's end for a night's shelter, blossomed out at one of the giant New York movie theaters as a dancer with a steady salary of $50 a week. One of the workers of the league asked her if she didn't consider herself a very lucky girl, seeing that lots of college graduates never earned as much as $50 a week. To which the league's protegée made reply: "No. I don't see that I'm so very lucky. Look at what I have to have. I have to have a pretty face and I have to diet. All a college graduate has to have is brains."

Another attractive girl had been earning her living as a hostess in a dance hall. Her guardian, dubious as to the moral environment of the place, brought the girl to the league with the purpose of inducing her to change her job.

"I want you," she said to the girl in the presence of the league's employment counsellors, "to get a respectable job."

"The devil you do!" commented the girl.

"I never heard a lady speak like that," gasped the guardian.

"Wasn't you listening?" flashed back the girl.

In contrast to this self-assured young lady was the meek, drab-looking little creature of sixteen who not long ago came to the league demanding that it make her a lady. "You see," she explained in tones in which pathos and eagerness were mingled, "you made a lady out of my eldest sister and she got a nice American beau. Maybe if you make me into a lady I shall get one too."

As would be expected, the runaways provide their full share of humor. Some little time back a sixteen-year-old girl of somewhat bizarre appearance was brought to the league by a policeman who thought she looked queer and had questioned her and found her story unconvincing. She was, it appeared, a runaway. She wished to come to New York to test the veracity of the movies, which were eternally depicting the glorious triumphs of poor girls who came to seek their fortune in the metropolis. But this particular girl didn't possess a suitcase to pack her clothes in. Yet clothes she must have if she were to make an impression in New York as she intended to do—and as she subsequently did, only not of the kind she intended! So she escaped from home wearing all her clothes—that is, three dresses, two coats and a rain-coat. It was her obesity that most impressed New York.

Another fourteen-year-old runaway turned up at the league wearing her mother's clothes and even carrying her silver mesh bag. Her father, it appeared, had administered a spanking; and as a sort of compensation to herself for

such an indignity, the child disappeared from home attired from head to foot in the garments of a mature woman.

One curious feature about the recent runaways is the vast popularity of Nevada as a home state. At present —according to their own accounts—all runaways come from Nevada. Furthermore, the parents of the newest runaways have always died of influenza and, stranger still, always within six months of one another. The money for their long journey to New York has, in every really up-to-date case, been defrayed from the deceased father's life insurance. There must have been a lot about Nevada and the flu in the recent movie output.

One of the most amusing aspects of the runaway business is the frequent disproportion between the act of running away and the motive that inspired it. That a penniless and friendless girl of fourteen or sixteen should of her own free will throw herself on the mercies of New York is not a little thing. But if she does so because, being only twelve and measuring five feet eight inches, her schoolfellows call her a human step-ladder, then her motive is pathetically funny in comparison with the gravity of her act.



Wortman in the New York World

"Wasn't that hat the most wonderful bargain? And I didn't mind at all asking to be shown something cheaper, because I had my fur coat on"

And so is the motive of two Brooklyn schoolgirls who ran away because a boy had copied their school work and failed to admit guilt when the similarity was detected by the teacher. Rather than tell the truth when suspicion fastened on them, the two children decided to leave home. They made their way to New Jersey, where a taxi-man drove them from place to place in search of an imaginary uncle. When the machine registered $10 the taxi-man began to get uneasy. He had driven to so many addresses and still uncle was not to be found. So the next address he drove to was the nearest police station, where the children were questioned and found penniless and uncle-less. The taxi-driver, still obliging, volunteered to pay the $10 taxi charge out of his own pocket and ultimately, and by easy stages, the children reached the Girls' Service League, where their troubles were adjusted.

AMBITION, naturally, plays a very considerable part in the motives of runaways and others who find their way to the league. There is, for instance, the ambition of a very pretty girl of seventeen who left home to get a job as waitress, "so that she could meet men." Of a somewhat different type was the ambition of a queer, unkempt girl of sixteen who longed to be a dressmaker and brought a beautifully dressed doll with her to the league as proof of her skill with her needle. The league took charge of her over a period of months and the girl is now doing well as a dressmaker's assistant. There is a violent contrast between these humble ambitions just quoted and those of the girls who insist that they are Greta Garbos, Ethel Barrymores, or Mary Gardens. As it is often obvious to the least-experienced person that they are nothing of the kind and, moreover, never could be, the situation has its humors as well as its pathos and embarrassments.

The extreme poverty of the homes from which many of these girls come is responsible for the note of pathetic naïveté with which some of them regard the most commonplace things. There was one little person, for instance, who, on being sent to the league's farm school in Connecticut, expressed astonishment in finding that birds were not made in a factory. She had imagined that both the stuffed birds in shop windows and the live ones flying about New York City streets were manufactured by clever hands.

But the most pathetic humor of all is that displayed by the girls on being shown to their pretty little chintz-decked bedrooms in the league's club. "What!" they gasp. "A bedroom to myself! I've never had a bed to myself in my life, let alone a room." And some even add in wide-eyed amazement: "Why, I didn't know that any one ever did sleep alone!"

Portland's Wanderers

ONE Sunday afternoon, according to the children, a family set out for an automobile ride in Texas and just rode and rode until they finally decided to stop at the Public Welfare Station in Portland, Oregon. Their story is only one of a whole cargo of strange adventures that the bureau has unearthed in an analytical study of some 300 applications for material relief made by non-residents in 1927. There were whole families including grandma and the baby; boys out to see the country; girls chasing the rainbow trail to Hollywood; while one old lady, partially crippled and with defective speech, appeared in a hiker's outfit, and was found to be leading a merry roving life alone from one city to another up and down the coast, exploiting her infirmities.

"Stranded families," writes Margaret Duffy, visitor for the Public Welfare Bureau, which is a private agency though it acts as disbursing agent for the poor relief of Multnomah County, "are among the growing pains of metropolitan progress." The lure of the West draws on a new race of migrants quite unlike the traditional pioneers, for there is no look of permanence in the trappings of these newcomers, no provision for a rainy day. These non-resident applications to the bureau in 1927 included 180 "family groups," one or both parents accompanied by children and often other relatives as well, and of these 57 had applied for help before their first week in town was up, and 47 more with the first month. These families included a total of 849 individuals, 169 men, 185 women, and 505 children—192 children too young to go to school, 235 of school age. A third of the families were traveling by automobile.

"Do the auto camp, the transient rooming-house, the makeshift home," asks Miss Duffy, "send alert and healthy children to mingle with our school children? Should the visitor hasten to advise and insist upon the child's immediate attendance under penalty of school law? Should physical and psychological examinations be demanded at entrance? And finally, if next spring finds the child's seat vacant and the state is pocketing a new automobile-license fee—has the child gained, has value been received in return for the community's expense?" Financial assistance was given to 104 families, to a total of $3,379.70. There were recorded 100 health problems—acute at the time of the visitor's acquaintance with the family—22 mental difficulties suspected or diagnosed. Experience showed that in the face of unemployment and disillusionment it was often the most desirable families who wanted to return home, but there were only 35 among the 180 to be so assisted. Of those who stayed, only 28 could be considered "hopeful" in the visitor's most optimistic judgment.

Aside from the families, 31 couples were counted among the applicants, 8 driving their own cars, 2 riding in some one's else. They came from New Jersey, Florida, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Canada, New Orleans, and so on. "There is a touch of pathos," says Miss Duffy, "in the distress of the older couples caught up amongst strangers to whom they must admit there is no place to call home, with only memories to warm the bleak days ahead. For the younger ones, the visitor wonders if even assistance home can be a remedy when the spirit of roving is stirring. It is really the gullible, easily exploited public which is in need of services in such instances."

Because none of the established agencies had undertaken the case-work problems of "homeless women," the Public Welfare Bureau, although primarily a family agency, offered its services to 45 wanderers thus classified. These are usually women who, because of inferior capacities or domestic difficulties or physical unfitness, have been reduced to homelessness and want. Of the 45 referred to the bureau, 27 presented medical problems, 11 of which were mental. In addition there were at least 3 venereal-disease suspects, one pregnant woman, a deaf mute, a blind woman, and others in poor physical conditions from undetermined causes. Financial relief was given to 23 in the amount of $400.67; 18 were returned to legal residences or relatives; 3 were reported as going to jobs; at least 4 were considered vagrants and imposters; while a few others were referred to other agencies. It would seem, the study showed, that such a group could best be served in a centralized agency with the support of a psychiatric clinic and a case worker trained for such time- and energy-consuming service. It is difficult to fit them into the already crowded program of the family agency.

The migrant problem as it confronts us today is intricate [Miss Duffy concludes]. It seems hopeless, with too few avenues of solution. Migration to the Pacific Coast is inevitable. We must strive for a community consciousness of the fact that newcomers will bring problems with them; that these will include unskilled, probably improvident, folk for whom labor should be provided in lieu of unearned pauperizing material relief; that the dangers of habitual migration are great, to the children of today, to the families of tomorrow, and to the life of the community. Shall we enlarge our facilities for service—spiritual, material, medical, educational—and with these inducements encourage or cajole parents to remain with us for the children's sake, theirs and perhaps ours? Shall we continue the somewhat selective plan of choosing our citizens or rather choosing those who shall not be—and urge immediate return to place of residence? What shall the community attitude be towards those who come seeking assistance in growing numbers, to those who insist upon remaining, demanding help? Shall we not in turn demand some evidence of good citizenship from those whom we do assist to remain?



Courtesy Nat'l Probation Assoc.

IN CELEBRATION of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the first children's court, the National Probation Association has prepared an attractive pamphlet, The Child and The Court, from the cover of which is taken the thoughtful pair above. The text tells simply what children's courts do, and why, and concludes, "The association will not have finished its work for children until every child who breaks a law, who is neglected or uncontrolled, is brought under the influence of a progressive children's court where he will receive skillful, understanding, constructive care." The association also has published recently a substantial volume, Proving Probation, giving the proceedings of its twenty-second annual conference in 1928, including papers on timely aspects of crime and delinquency by leaders in the respective fields. Both publications may be obtained from the New York office at 370 Seventh Avenue; the pamphlet, on request; the proceedings at $1.00 for the paper-bound edition, and $1.50 in more substantial form in cloth and boards.

HOW NEW RECRUITS to social work look to a health examiner is shown in a brief resumé by Dr. C. W. Crampton of the physical examinations given to all entering students at the New York School for Social Work. In general health these students compared favorably with the average persons examined at the Health Service Clinic at Postgraduate Hospital, of which Dr. Crampton is director, and with commercial groups previously examined. They knew immeasurably more about taking care of themselves, and seemed to put their knowledge into practice. Their nerves were "in conspicuously good control which is not always the case in a group highly selected by their own intelligence." On the physical side, the unfavorable condition which ran through the whole group was a lowered blood pressure and relative anemia; in the matter of regimen, the lack of rest, recreation and relaxation. "In brief," Dr. Crampton summarized, "the impression is received by the director of a hardworking intellectual group, who with con-

spicuous exceptions do not provide themselves with sufficient margin for recuperation"—a fact which he believes of significance to students of social work and especially to those who are training themselves to direct a corps of social workers.

"CALIFORNIA wants no holocausts of the innocents," declares the federal Children's Bureau, reporting the regulations issued by the California State Department of Social Welfare which went into effect on January 1, forbidding the use of third-floor dormitories in wooden buildings used for children's institutions. These regulations also require that all employes in the institutions shall be subjected to physical examination and that at least one trained social case worker be employed for every hundred children.

HOW MUSICAL EDUCATION in a children's institution may prove of direct use later in self-support is told by Leopold Deutelbaum, superintendent of the Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans, in the report of that institution for the year 1928. Eleven boy graduates are students at present at the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, and Crane College. Seven of these are being helped by the home's educational fund, the support in most cases given for tuition and equipment, while the boys themselves earn enough for their clothing and keep. Four students are entirely self-supporting. "Here I am anxious," Mr. Deutelbaum reports, "to make mention of the fact that the musical education given the boys has proved a valuable factor in providing a means for self-support through these student days, affording as it does, highly remunerative part-time employment, which does not interfere with school hours."

AS NO. 1 in a vocational research series, the American Foundation for the Blind (125 East 46 Street, New York City) has just published Insurance Underwriting: A Study of the Business in Its Relation to Blind Agents, by Lela T. Brown, vocational research agent for the foundation. The pamphlet gives a summary for vocational counselors, then describes the business of insurance, its requirements and returns, factors in success, methods of blind agents, training opportunities, and so on. "It seems reasonable to conclude from our survey," Miss Brown declares in summary, "that insurance selling is an occupation well adapted to blind people who are properly qualified for the work. In summing up the requirements that seem essential to success, we would stress the following: personal characteristics and appearance favorable in making selling contacts; a sound physique, and confidence and skill in physical movement; adjustment to the world of seeing people, both psychologically and socially; adequate guide and clerical assistance; and finally, systematic training and the means of keeping informed as to developments in the insurance business."

FOR FIVE YEARS the Negro women of North Carolina have kept going the only institution in the state for the reformation of Negro girls, the North Carolina Industrial Home for Girls at Elfland. There are state training schools for white boys and girls and for Negro boys, but this one small building, overcrowded with twenty girls, offers the only place in the state where a Negro girl can be given a second chance. The Negro women of the state raised $3,000 this year, which has gone toward board, maintenance, and clothes for the girls, and the interest and upkeep on the buildings; the state, for the second year, granted $2,000 to pay the superintendent, the teacher and the helper. But the school is struggling on without an adequate water-supply, without textbooks, and with only the barest necessities of life, and those who have sponsored it feel that it is time that the state took it over as a public charge. A drive is now in progress to clear off the last of the mortgage on its 169 acres of land and the building, which are valued at $25,000, so that it can be turned over, free and clear, as a gift.

IN A REFERENCE to year-round programs of state conferences of social work, in The Survey of January 15 (page 468), New Jersey was inadvertently omitted. For the past two years the New Jersey Conference, of which Maud Bryan Foote is executive secretary, has been showing that a conference can be far more than an annual meeting. Four regional conferences have been held, covering seven counties and bringing to the attention of their citizens the need for more and better cooperation between agencies, public and private, and the need for agencies where none have existed. Active and continued follow-up work is being done where requested, and further regional meetings are on the slate. An interracial committee, with Bruno Lasker and E. C. Lindeman as advisers, has been formed in response to a wide demand to study conditions in New Jersey affecting the Negro, and a state-wide survey is under consideration. A committee on standards in child adoption and placement, composed of members of interested state and local organizations, will bring in a report at the next annual meeting, while a committee on statistics has just been appointed. For the second year a legislative bulletin is being issued at intervals during the legislative session, listing bills which have to do with social welfare and giving their status. The conference does not endorse or oppose legislation but gives the names of other organizations that do so. The year-round program has demonstrated its usefulness as a source of information on jobs, speakers, source material for surveys, providing information for national organizations and the like; during 1928 memberships increased from 500 to 700; and possibly most convincing of all, the members have witnessed their approval by their support, for its budget of $9,000 is met entirely by memberships, without subsidy from state or community chest.

WHEN MEMBERS of the staff of the Georgia Department of Public Welfare first began visiting the county jails in 1922, they often found men, women and children, white and colored, crowded indiscriminately into incredibly filthy and limited quarters awaiting trial while the law still supposed them innocent of crime. The result of seven years' work, recently reported by Thomas B. Mimms, director of the division of delinquency, and Rhoda Kaufman, in the monthly bulletin of the department, is outstanding progress in almost every respect. Buildings have been improved in many instances, though some still lack the elementary requirements of proper sleeping and bathing facilities; the number of jails rated "generally clean and sanitary" has jumped from 31 to 99 out of 157; and 137 jails now provide for elementary segregation of prisoners. More important than material progress, Mr. Mimms believes, is the progressive change in attitude. During six months of 1928, there were 84 requests to the state department for special service in connection with the county jails alone, from sheriffs, judges, county commissioners and the like. Sixteen counties which have no facilities for grouping prisoners in their own jails make a regular practice of transferring those for whom they cannot care properly to other jails where separation is possible, and many others transfer prisoners at times. In contrast to the many well-planned, well-kept jails, however, there are still some where the most unfortunate practices still prevail. Miss Kaufman points out that even last year the 40,000 population in these Georgia county jails included about 1,000 children, who were associating with adult criminals. "Three times out of four," she continues, "when we asked why the children were there we were told that the community considered them so delinquent that they had to be put in jail for safekeeping to wait for the term of the superior court—that in spite of the fact that we have a juvenile-court law which provides for the possibility of private hearing of children's cases before special juvenile judges."

COMMUNITIES

Backstairs Legislation

By FLORINA LASKER

A SURPRISING step was taken last June by the Department of Labor when it promulgated General Order No. 106, providing for the issuance of cards to all newly arrived immigrants. What is the significance of this order? Are its purposes as innocent as they appear upon superficial examination or are there issues involved which can only be revealed by an expert examination of the order itself?

Hardly had the new system been announced, when numerous objections were heard. One of the most serious is suggested by those who declare that the order issued by the Department of Labor is merely "a gentle way of introducing registration of all aliens in the future," "the introduction of a mild registration-of-aliens system," and so on. Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, in a symposium of comments on the new order which appeared in a recent issue of The Immigrant, asserts, "it would certainly offer an excuse for pushing the registration of all aliens, on the ground that you would have to keep track of them all when you once start tagging any of them."

These charges are practically admitted by many who regard with favor the new order. Says Roy L. Garis, in an article recently published in the Saturday Evening Post under the title We Must Be On Our Guard: "Whether it does so ultimately or not, the successful working out of this well-designed order should prepare the way for congressional action requiring the periodic registration and identification of all aliens in the United States." Or, to quote Henry Pratt Fairchild: "If these cards prove to be the entering wedge to a general system of alien registration, so much the better—for I believe in registration."

While not questioning the right of those who believe in registration to sponsor legislation providing for it, legitimate question may be raised as to the propriety of a plan which seeks to enact, by executive order, legislation which Congress has refused to adopt. Among those who subscribe to this view is Bruno Lasker of The Inquiry who, in the symposium previously referred to, writes "that by issuing this administrative order after an influential section of public opinion has expressed itself as adverse to the embodiment of the same idea in a congressional bill, the secretary of labor has invited suspicion as to his motives and apprehension as to the probable working of the measure."

Others have voiced in even stronger terms their suspicions regarding the motives behind the order, some going so far as to declare that it is "clear usurpation of power by executive officials," "pure bureaucraticism, discriminating against a special group," and further that "it is illegal and need not be obeyed." Max J. Kohler, recognized authority on immigration and former special United States assistant attorney, is among those who have expressed severe criticism of the new system. In a memorandum recently printed in the Congressional Record, Mr. Kohler declares:

This scheme amounts in effect to putting a very vicious registration-of-aliens scheme into effect by mere executive order. Nay more, it involves doing so by almost unparalleled usurpation of legislative authority by these administrative authorities, after the House Committee on Immigration had decided to postpone action on all registration-of-aliens bills, even so-called voluntary ones, indefinitely, certainly till after the presidential election was over. . . .

The clause in the order as to confiscation of the card in case of arrest is, moreover, extraordinary in its oppressiveness and illegality, even if measured by the standards of our barbarous Chinese-registration procedure.

At this point we should perhaps call attention to the fact that after the department's action in issuing the order was assailed, Secretary Davis sought to justify the department's course by reference to a provision in the naturalization law of 1906 providing for the issuance of certificates of arrival. When it is remembered, however, that the new order provides for an entirely different kind of a certificate, and that the act of 1906 contemplated use for naturalization purposes only, the secretary's defense in this connection completely falls down. It is significant that a revised order has recently been issued by the Department of Labor, omitting the ominous clause which provides for confiscation of the identification card in case of arrest. Does not this fact in itself give support to Mr. Kohler's statement—made before the revised order was issued—that "a careful, expert examination

BY order of the commissioner-general of immigration, with the written approval of the acting secretary of labor, immigrant identification cards have been issued since July 1, 1928. The order in question, promulgated last June, provides for the issuance of these cards to all newly arrived aliens, admitted to this country for permanent residence. Such cards contain the name, description, and photograph of the alien, together with other data regarding his admission to this country, and are issued by the United States consul when granting a permanent visa to the alien. They are signed by our consul, by the immigrant applying for a visa, to become valid only when signed by the immigration inspectors in this country at the time the alien is lawfully admitted. The cards are then issued in duplicate, the original presented to the alien, the duplicate retained by the government officials.

of the 'order' in question shows that Secretary Davis was himself unaware of very objectionable clauses in the 'order' in question?" It is to be feared that the average immigration inspector may fail even to notice that in the revised order the objectionable clause has been deleted, since no public or formal announcement of such a change has been made.

In his memorandum Mr. Kohler further points out "that the Immigration Bureau plans to issue such identification cards on application, to any resident alien establishing his lawful residence here, and not merely to issue them to aliens coming to the United States after July 1, 1928. When such cards are to be furnished on request, to all aliens residing here, an entirely different situation arises, and what is, in effect, a voluntary sweeping registration-of-aliens system would be in force by mere executive fiat."

So much for objections which have been voiced against the legality or political propriety of the order. Equally significant objections of another nature are urged by many who declare that the order of July 1 "clearly opens the way to espionage and harrassment," that it "will be the means of opening the door to a great deal of graft and chicanery on the part of venal government inspectors and agents," and will "lead to far-reaching abuse."

"If every man who wears a beard and reads a foreign-language newspaper is to be suspected unless he can produce either an identification card or naturalization papers," writes one of those already quoted, "we shall have more confusion and bungling than ever."

Predictions such as these have been made in spite of statements given out by the secretary of labor for the purpose of emphasizing the motive of "protection" behind the newly adopted system. Other advocates of the system have likewise emphasized its benefits to the immigrant, declaring that the issuance of identification cards is "of great benefit to the alien," "fair and advantageous to the immigrant," "a protection for the foreign-born." While unfortunately we cannot here discuss at length the advantages referred to, we should perhaps suggest that many of these advantages are theoretical, while many of the dangers suggested are only too real. Certainly the main purpose of the measure is to apprehend aliens illegally here—*not* to protect those immigrants legally admitted to this country.

In this connection some significance may be attached to the fact that nearly all those who view the new order with suspicion and apprehension and who oppose Congressional action providing for registration of all aliens, are so-called liberals, while practically all who eagerly call attention to the benefits to be derived by the alien are ardent restrictionists. In addition to dangers already pointed out, these liberals declare that "these cards add to the complicated, documentary processes of immigration with which the United States has encumbered itself," and that "by the adoption of this system the United States is copying Europe in a method of regimentation—a method that aroused criticism in free America"—charges which are most serious in their implications.

It is to be hoped that the criticism that the new executive order has already aroused may help marshal public opinion against bills pending in Congress for the purpose of extending the scope of this order and of giving congressional authority to it. Holding in mind, however, the strong pressure which is being brought to bear at Washington by the Department of Labor, as well as by other influential interests and individuals, it is possible that before this article appears, proposals providing for the voluntary or compulsory registration of all aliens will already have been enacted into law, since the Senate recently passed a bill to authorize the issuance of certificates of admission to all aliens. Should a similar bill be defeated in the House, strong attempts will undoubtedly be made during the next regular session of Congress to enact a measure providing for the registration of aliens. Only by concerted effort on the part of those who recognize the vital issues involved will it be possible to defeat such proposals.

In the meantime, let us watch with closest attention the administration of the new order issued by the Department of Labor. Surely, effort will be made to have this order rescinded if, as is feared, it should lead to abuse of power on the part of those responsible for its administration. The issue involved is far-reaching—one which must be of direct concern to the native as well as to the foreign-born, of particular interest not only to liberals but to all who take an interest in questions of law and government, regardless of their political or social philosophy.

The Pessimism of an Optimist

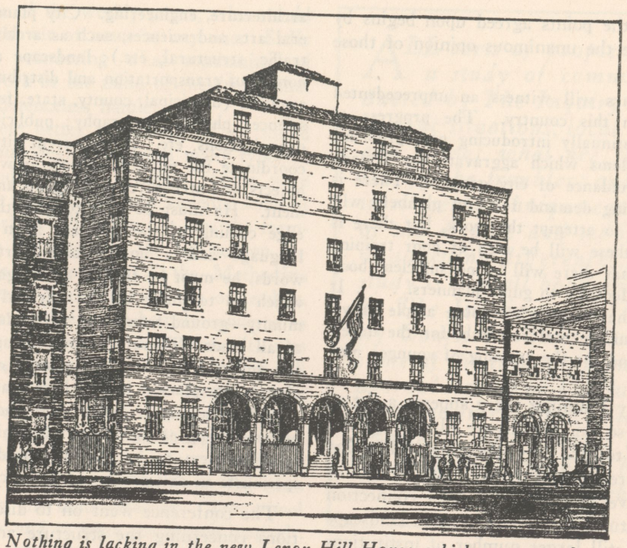
By ROSALIE MANNING

LENOX HILL Neighborhood Association has opened its new home at 331 East Seventieth Street, New York City. Looking back to 1916, when what is now known as the Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association was housed in a three-story, sixteen-foot house on East Seventy-second Street, it seems incredible that the work has grown till the new building—perhaps the largest settlement house in the world—is already too small.

We are often asked the reason for this tremendous growth and how it has been possible, without a penny of endowment, to raise the immense budget necessary to carry on the activities successfully and to build without a mortgage. Though it is always difficult to be sure of the cause of complex results, the staff and neighborhood groups attribute any social or financial success, in the first place, to a careful study of the district and, secondly—and of prime importance—to a continual consultation on the part of the staff with the neighbors in order to discover directly from them their needs and desires, accompanied by a readiness to cooperate with them in carrying out their plans.

Though the neighbors themselves know better than the staff the difficult problems which confront them, very often we understand better than they how to solve these problems. In turn, we explain to them our problems, financial and otherwise, and as a result of this frank consultation on both sides mutual understanding is promoted. And so, due to this spirit of cooperation, they flock to the settlement, and help to the best of their ability to make it self-supporting. Thus it is that a good team-work between Fifth Avenue and Avenue A is fostered.

The neighborhood is cosmopolitan. Thirty-seven nationalities enjoyed the facilities in our house and on the playground last summer. Since Czechoslovaks, Hungarians and Italians come in largest numbers, these groups have been given special rooms and have themselves raised funds to furnish their quarters as nationality centers. A visit to Lenox Hill Settlement will be rewarded by seeing these rooms decorated in colors, using the attractive peasant designs familiar to the natives of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Then, too, the building is made picturesque and unusual by having a lodge room with all the thrones, altars, etc., necessary to conduct the meetings of the mutual-benefit organizations of various nationalities. Once or twice a month some forty organizations take their turn in using this beautiful place. The groups are not asked to combine meetings, hence there is perfect harmony between organizations even though the room is used by the Pontremolese Society, the Sons of County Cork, the Foresters, the Komensky Society, and the American-Hungarian Civic Club. And of course the children and young people have not been neglected. There are nursery schools, kindergartens, club- and classrooms, gymnasiums, an auditorium and a swimming pool.



Nothing is lacking in the new Lenox Hill House, which cost over three-quarters of a million dollars—land, building and equipment

The new Lenox Hill House is indeed a place of happiness filled with joy and laughter, but behind this there is always the shadow of change, and a resulting sadness that is not peculiar to this settlement alone. The sadness of the settlements is this. They establish themselves in districts; they win the hearts of their neighbors; but what should be their first and perhaps primary work is never attempted, that is, an effort to bring about the building of permanent and livable homes for the neighborhood people. And so there is a constant shifting and migration from the neighborhood, caused either through tenement deterioration or the destruction of buildings to make room for a different type of occupant. Not until neighborhood houses are surrounded by homes which really house the working class will the settlements succeed in the broadest sense of the term, no matter how beautiful and well equipped their buildings may be, nor how interested and capable may be the staffs.

To Train City Planners

By HENRY JAMES

ANY suggestions that a new variety of professional specialist should be trained is likely to elicit groans in this day of bewildering specialization. But specialists spring up in response to needs that declare themselves—seldom otherwise; and when there is work enough for them (and it is unlike other work), it becomes necessary to train them. Witness now the case of the city planner.

In recent years there has been much talk of city planning, town planning and regional planning. City planning was practiced in classical times, and is not a wholly new art, although it faces new problems and must use a new technique. It required no special name so long as architects and engineers were indistinguishable and men like Major L'Enfant could work in all three fields of design. But subsequently architects and engineers became specialists, and for three-quarters of a century after 1815 American towns were laid out by real-estate speculators rather than by men who had been trained to design. To what an extent we forgot for a while that communities should be thoughtfully designed is illustrated in a curious way by the entire omission from Theodore Roosevelt's Life of Gouverneur Morris of any reference to Morris' connection with the making of the New York Plan of 1811. Yet Roosevelt was an intelligent student of history and there was probably nothing that Morris ever had a hand in that has affected in intimate ways the mode of life of so many people as has the New York Plan of 1811.

During the last thirty years, an inevitable revival of interest in city planning has been rapid. The World's Fair in Chicago and the work of men like Burnham and the elder Olmsted—to name only two among the many who are gone or are still living—accelerated the change. The purely practical problems incident to the planning of sanitation and rapid-transit facilities in our modern urban centers have also focused attention on city planning. There have been legal and other questions, too. The need of skill and knowledge has become more and more apparent. Today there are official or unofficial planning commissions in about sixty-six towns and cities of the New York Region and the number in other parts of the country would be difficult to count.

Last summer a conference was called at Columbia University, upon the joint invitation of the chairman of the New York Regional Plan Committee and the president of Columbia, to consider how to promote instruction and research in city and community planning. The brief report

of the conference stating the points agreed upon begins by saying that it proved to be the unanimous opinion of those present that—

The next twenty-five years will witness an unprecedented amount of city building in this country. The progress of science and invention is continually introducing new problems into city development, problems which aggravate the already existing need for trained guidance of city growth. There is no danger that the increasing demand for city planners will fail to call forth "experts" to attempt the work, but there is real danger that many of these will be men of poor training and narrow outlook, and that there will be no sufficient body of digested experience and doctrine to guide planners. . . . It is conceived that the time has come when more ample provision should be made for fundamental research, for the development of the profession, and for the training of younger men entering it.

In a recent issue of City Planning there appears a list of institutions, colleges and so on, which are already giving some instruction looking toward city planning. The list shows that there are already twenty-five institutions of higher learning which give such instruction in connection with courses in architecture, engineering, and landscape architecture. It shows a still larger number of institutions that provide some lectures or other instruction dealing with city planning in their departments of economics or sociology, or government and political science, or fine arts and civics. At one or two places, excellent work is being done; in most places the subject is merely nibbled from one or other of a variety of angles of approach. Indeed, one point that must impress any one who examines this instructive list is that it offers abundant evidence of the complexity of the subject. As Paul U. Kellogg said at the conference at Columbia, city planning is one of the newer integrations. The chief reason why an effort to arrange larger and better facilities for research and instruction should be made is that the collaboration of several kinds of specialists is needed. Such cooperative efforts have to be specially organized. To quote the report of the Columbia conference:

City planning is not merely a field for the application of the skill of any single profession; e. g., architecture, landscape architecture, engineering. City planning must draw upon several arts and sciences, such as architecture; engineering (civil, traffic, structural, etc.); landscape architecture; political economics of transportation and distribution, etc.); science of government (municipal, county, state, federal); sociology; sanitary science; physical geography; publicity, public movements and organizations, etc. A competent city planner must be able to coordinate the physical aspects as well as the functions of the objects and structures making up any scheme of civic development. He must be able to give the contributions of knowledge coming to the problem from many sources a common language and a unified and worthy expression. In other words, he must be trained to design the materials and objects which go to make up the physical environment of the community—ground forms and vegetation, buildings and structures of all kinds. Therefore, even though it may be impracticable for any one man to be a master of all aspects of city planning, a city planner should be a master of one, at least, which provides training in design. He should also possess a suffcient understanding of the manner in which others impinge upon his total problem to be able to coordinate the efforts of other specialists in any project of research, teaching, or practice.

The conference went on to discuss certain practical questions concerning the structure and methods that it would like to see adopted in an ideal institute, school or university department, and also considered very tentatively certain budgetary estimates. It is too soon to expect results from this conference, but it is certainly to be hoped that it may help to enlarge and strengthen some one or more of the excellent efforts that are already being made in certain universities. It is not too much to say that it will be a hideous misfortune if the new towns and suburbs that are coming into being all over the country have their future patterns determined by subdividers of the Babbitt order. It will also be a calamity if—to paraphrase the conference report—the self-styled city planners who will offer their services are men of one-sided training and narrow outlook, working without an adequate body of doctrine and well-studied experience to guide them. Yet that is a danger, undeniably. Hence the conference and hence the importance of its conclusions.

Trailing the Town Row

By HELEN MAYERS

SOMETIMES you could and sometimes you couldn't, and sometimes there wasn't any to trail. People are amazingly protective about the towns they live in. Its virtues become their virtues, and its failings—well, one just doesn't talk about them. "It's like asking a man to discuss his mother!"

The mild-mannered gentleman who had called to ask the minister's version of the recent school-board election that had split the town in two, was met with a torrent of righteous indignation. He had been referred to the minister as one who had remained non-partisan throughout and as capable of taking a detached view of the situation. But though the town papers had been playing up the election, and a libel suit growing out of the campaign was occupying the front pages, the first citizens were singularly non-committal. No eloquence could fire them with sufficient zeal for social advancement to make them unlock the town skeleton.

For that was what was being sought. The Inquiry had been delving into most of the conflicts to which the social body is heir. They had been dubbed "specialists in rumpuses." Wherever colored and white, Oriental and westerner, Catholic and Protestant and Jew fell out, there was The Inquiry's special concern. They had ventured, too, into the mazes of industrial dispute and international misunderstanding. Seemingly they had sprinkled salt on the tail of every species of difference alive. Then suddenly their attention was called to a new specimen, a kind of freak, cutting across all classifications—the community conflict, better known by its common name of town row. . . . Armed with field glasses, butterfly net and a pocketful of salt, they set forth.

"Have you a little rumpus in your town?" they asked hopefully of every friend they crossed. Sometimes they heard tell of a perfect specimen, not many miles away. But when the train pulled in at the local station, an alarming peace pervaded the scene. No one had heard of a town row here, not even the editor of the weekly paper, who would have been as eager for the bit of news as any one. Sadly they turned homeward, wondering what mechanism of projection had been at work in the mind of the friend that had urged them on the defenceless hamlet.

But elsewhere they were better rewarded. They found conflicts of many kinds and degree, between many types of groups, aroused by a wide variety of issues. Some were unexpressed but imminent; some acute and violent; some of a "low-grade chronic" variety. Sometimes it was the farmers embattled against the townspeople; the hill section opposed by "the other side of the tracks;" the Methodists against the Baptists; or two rival organizations or leaders. Sometimes the difficulty arose over such homely concerns as hitching-posts and watering-troughs; sometimes it was fraught with the wider implications of academic freedom and liberalism. The school system formed the center of the greatest number of controversies.

Yet it didn't seem to matter just who the people were that were differing, nor what it was they were differing about. No neat formula could be derived from the cases that would fit all those in the same category. The school quarrels were all different, and so were the church quarrels. It was not what people called themselves, but how they acted, that made the distinction.

Sometimes they acted very unwisely, as later events would prove. They laid plans and changed policies without consulting the others concerned in the changes. They aroused deep resentment by patronizing less-powerful groups, and often found their plans wrecked because they had lost the confidence of the others whose cooperation was necessary to the success of their project. Often the dispute arose because of a suspicion that one group was using underhand methods or was favoring its own interests at the expense of the rest of the community. When social pressure was resorted to, to overwhelm the opposition, the conflict was intensified and obvious ways of accommodating interests overlooked. It often happened, too, that the pot was calling the kettle black when a little investigation would have clarified the situation and have done away with most of the smoke.

But it wasn't all discouraging. In many instances, wisdom and imagination were being displayed. People had learned to anticipate difficult situations and to plan their programs with an understanding of the mind and mood of all involved. They had learned the importance of "saving face" for the opposition, and of including them in all deliberations. They had found, too, that the best way to "save face" for themselves was to accept with grace the inevitable changes that time had wrought. They had discovered ways of handling obstreperous individuals by relating them to the group purpose. And they had recognized the "inevitability of gradualness" in planning for community development and change.

In some instances they had gone farther in their thinking and doing. They had conceived of their community problems in the broadest terms and had evolved ways of achieving a true integration of community interests. In one community, the traditional mistrust between two groups was dissipated by a recognition of the interdependence of their economic interests. In another, the school was utilized to promote contacts between two groups, transforming antagonisms bred of strangeness and misconception into friendliness and a recognition of oneness. In one instance, long-standing factionalism gave way before the discovery of a vivid common interest. In another, an unofficial and disinterested group found it possible to accomplish what could not be accomplished through the restricted channels of official action. When nominal groupings in one community were replaced by new and more vital unities, rivalry disappeared. By aiding a minority group to self-realization, their integration within the community was affected without friction or the loss of their distinctive contribution.

In short, there were found no infallible rules for dealing with conflict, no foolproof tools upon which one can rely with easy certainty. "Vigilance and sympathy," sensitivity to changing conditions and alertness to the needs and desires of the various groups concerned, were required for the discovery of a genuine solution, emotional as well as intellectual. Only so was the energy behind the threatened conflict harnessed and turned to constructive uses. So was growth furthered and the possibilities inherent in the life of the community realized.

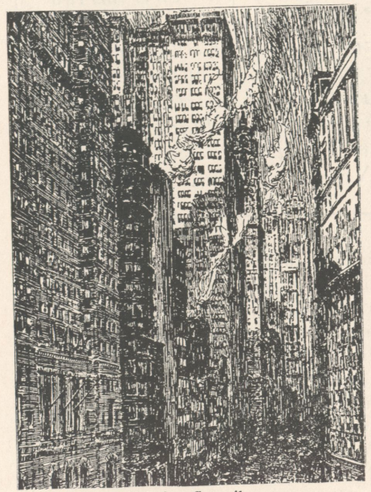
Such, at least, are the tentative conclusions drawn from the cases encountered. Other aspects of local-conflict situations may be revealed as the study proceeds. It is hoped that the present material may be amplified through the cooperation of those men and women, whether or not professionally concerned, who will contribute their experiences to this continuing inquiry into the nature of community conflict.

ALL sorts of people have cooperated in a study of community conflict conducted by The Inquiry to find out how, in specific situations, local disagreements arise and grow; what are the factors that intensify the troubles; and at what points an intelligent technique can prevent the spread of the dispute and set in action the means of adjusting differences. One result of this study is a small book about to be published by The Inquiry under the title, Community Conflict. The present article tells of some of the things which the study revealed as troublesome or helpful in efforts to bring about an integration of the various interests affected. The booklet is obtainable from The Inquiry, 129 East Fifty-second Street, New York City.



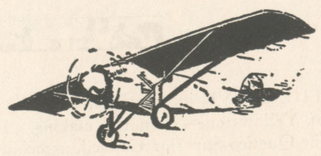
THE FIRST international forest park—four times the size of Yellowstone—is in the making. If a project sponsored by the Quetico-Superior Council, associated with the Isaak Walton League of America, to obtain a treaty between Canada and America to protect and expand the rare public values in the Rainy Lake watershed, is successful, such a park will be a reality. On one side of the boundary, the Quetico National Park in Ontario, on the other the Superior National Forest in Minnesota, will form the neuclei for the enlarged park. This proposed international domain, 14,500 square miles, is a wilderness sanctuary of forested lakeland, a veritable paradise for angler and huntsman and, under a new balanced plan of conservation will, it is hoped, be both an international playground and inter-

national forest reserve. The proposed treaty for international cooperation—which contemplates an advisory commission to be made up of the best forest, park and biological authorities from both countries—is endorsed by the United States Forest and Park Services as well as by conservationists on both sides of the international boundary-line interested in protecting border lakes. All lovers of natural beauty, and devotees of outdoor life—to say nothing of friends of international good-will—cannot but welcome this effort on the part of the United States and Canada to create an international domain. Headquarters of Quetico-Superior Council are at 1130 Baker Building, Minneapolis, where any further information desired may be obtained.



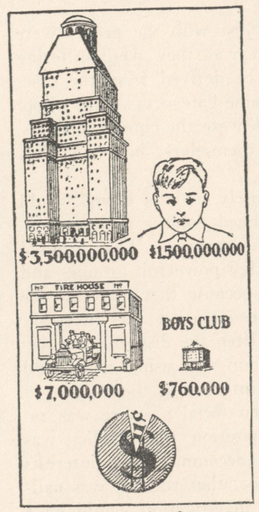
Courtesy National Safety Council

CITIES all over the country might well emulate Philadelphia's fight against unnecessary fire loss, sponsored by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. The accomplishment claimed as a result of a three-years program, in which the cooperation of the schools, industries, organizations and other civic associations was enlisted, is astounding. The first year the cut in fire loss was reported as $2,200,000, while during the second and third years of the program (1926 and 1927) the cut was increased annually to two and a half millions. The per capita loss of $2.08 for 1927 was but half the average loss for the whole country, and seventy-six cents under the average loss per capita for cities throughout the country. The only other city whose per capita loss was lower than Philadelphia's was Milwaukee, which boasts a per capita loss of but $1.98. Though the year 1927 has shown the first downward trend in fire loss for the country as a whole—and that an appreciable reduction of $82,000,000 less than the previous year—the total loss of $478,000,000 is still high. Four and nine-tenths per cent less than 1926, it represents a per capita loss of $4.01—compared to forty cents in London and sixty-eight cents in Glasgow. What's the matter with the U.S.A.?



WE ARE TOLD that every cloud has its silver lining. But sometimes, in this day and age of commercialism, we wonder whether the subject and predicate of this maxim should not be reversed—for instance when recently an airplane flew over New York City advertising a product through a radio loud speaker; and thus adding one more (unnecessary) noise to the general nerve-wracking din of the city. Some one has suggested such a nuisance amounts to a breach of the peace, and as such should be prohibited. Inquiry from the Division of Aeronautics, Department of Commerce, has brought forth the information that "there is no regulation promulgated by that office prohibiting broadcasting from planes—nor has the department knowledge of any city or municipal ordinance relating to this subject." It is the opinion of Harry F. Guggenheim, president of the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics, that broadcasting from airplanes raises a very interesting point regarding the development of aviation from the standpoint of public convenience. In answer to our inquiry, Mr. Guggenheim states that he feels the control of air traffic—and particularly the control of noise resulting from the airplane or from its use as a means of advertising—is a very important aspect of aviation. It is probably "desirable," he says, "that the public should be protected in some way through air-craft legislation."

Doctors agree that city noise has a deleterious effect on nerves and general health. An anti-noise society recently organized in New York City suggested that any article advertised by noise be boycotted. At least the danger is recognized—and that is a most hopeful sign.



For every dollar for fire protection in New York City, only eleven cents for boy protection

THE 1929 Year Book of the Boys' Club Federation carries statistics that leave no doubt as to the constantly increasing effectiveness of that organization. Besides, for the first time, figures of the Boys' Clubs of the United States of America are compiled separately. A total of 20,122 new boy members joined the federation in the past year—the largest annual increase ever recorded—bringing the total enrollment in the United States up to 218,393. There are now 110 Boys' Clubs buildings owned by clubs in the United States—the value of land and buildings being over thirteen and a half million dollars, an increase of more than one and a quarter million during the year. As might be expected the greatest growth is in well-established clubs that have already secured new and large buildings. The Boys' Club of Boston heads the list with a membership of 11,186 boys and two buildings, while New York comes second with two buildings and 10,749 boys enrolled. Average membership in all clubs is 941. Ninety-two clubs report savings banks with 13,223 boy depositors.

Possibly no single club is more active than the Chicago Boys' Club which has taken as its slogan *pro tem* "Five New Clubs a Year for Five Years." Twenty-five new clubs at a total cost of five millions of dollars is the self-imposed goal of that organization. This program was decided upon after a study of conditions attending Chicago boy life made by the Boys' Club Federation. Of the approximately 282,690 boys between eight and eighteen years of age in Chicago, only 40,711 are being served by specialized boys' work agencies, hence the federation believes more clubs are needed. Further evidence is the fact that one year's record of juvenile-court complaints in Chicago totalled 19,566 boys, of which 1,644 were brought before the judge.

This proposed investment of five million dollars should, therefore, the Boys' Club believes, bring ample returns in tax reduction, to say nothing of dividends in future manhood. Catering especially to boys eighteen years of age and under, taking them as young as six and providing them with play and guidance, the Boys' Club aims to safeguard youth of the country during the dangerous period of early adolescence, when so many criminal careers are begun.

INDUSTRY

Child Labor in Wisconsin Beet Fields

By ISABELLE STRONG ALLEN

PUBLIC interest was aroused several years ago when it was realized that many families traverse the continent following the vegetable and fruit crops eastward and northward from California and the South, the whole family working as truck-farm laborers. Tracing these migrant families, it was found that the children were being deprived of consecutive schooling and wholesome home life throughout their youth, and, as a result, were growing up with stunted minds and muscles. Publicity followed field studies; welfare workers and women's organizations protested, always to be met with a shrug and the passing of responsibility to "somebody else."

Hired workers between ten and seventeen years of age number more than one-tenth of Wisconsin's half-million population under seventeen. Trade and agriculture are the heaviest employers of these 56,382 children. Michigan and Illinois figures are 19 per cent and 13 per cent, as against Wisconsin's 31.5 per cent employed in agriculture.

The beet families—"beeters"—are newly arrived or older immigrants from Austria, Germany, Hungary, Russia and "Little Russia." They come to Wisconsin beet fields from cities like Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Lincoln, Nebraska, to begin work as soon as the snow is off the ground, sometimes by the middle of April. All ages are put on the land to carry on hand cultivation during the growing season, pulling and hoeing the weeds and "blocking out" the rows. "Blocking" means cutting out chunks of earth and plants as soon as four leaves have appeared, in order to thin the beets to one plant in every twenty-two inches. When the factory sends word that it is time to harvest, the "beeters" dig out and stack the beets after knocking off adhering soil and cutting off the crown and leaves with one swift stroke of the sharp topping-knife.

The farmers who plant beets put in from five to twenty acres. The yield averages ten tons to an acre, running occasionally to twenty tons. One beet family works twenty to thirty acres for twenty to twenty-five dollars an acre.

Two members of a local League of Women Voters visited a beet-growing region early last July. One of the families visited had driven the nine hundred miles from Lincoln in their open car the last week in May when their frail-looking baby was one month old. The young father said he "didn't think the ol' car would stand many more trips," but they were going to try to go back in it in November. A hammock was hung under the back cover for the baby. The parents displayed this arrangement with pride, explaining that the baby could sleep in it when they took the car out to the fields. There were three other children, the oldest having attended school in that district the year before, though she was small for six years.

The one door was locked and the windows closed on the sultry afternoon when the visitors arrived at the next family's shack home about four o'clock. Evidently the visitors were observed from afar, for the whole family soon drove in. All inquiries were cheerfully answered. The mother apologized for being in her field overalls, muddy and damp. She stood nursing her baby throughout the talk. They get out in the field by six in the morning, she explained. She hated to bring the little girl in from the field at nine to "clean her up for school—when I need her to mind the baby." It is a very long walk to the school for a little child, but the father had no intention of taking her in the car. He gave a clear comparison of the total school attendance required by Nebraska and Wisconsin laws respectively and consoled himself by saying, "Anyhow, they only make them go part of the time." He chuckled when telling that the family left Lincoln at four o'clock of the afternoon of the first day on which they were allowed to take the children out of school—"Quick get-away we made."



Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee

When spring comes up from Southland
And all the birds are gay,
It is time to think of children,
Who never get to play.

In another family visited, the mother, a woman of fifty-three, sat sewing. In broken English she told the visitors that she does not "*arbeiten* in the beets any more—too much to do *im Hause*—the floor *zum Reinmachen* from the muddy boots, *und viel Brot* to bake." The oven of the big wood-and-coal range was full of bread pans and the heat in the clean little shack was stifling. Like all the homes visited, the building was of drop-siding faced with tar paper. It had three rooms, and was about thirty by twelve feet, set on the ground with no foundation. This family owns two houses in Lincoln where a married son lives. The visitors complimented the *Hausfrau* on the clean floors, general orderliness and the fresh sash curtains at the little windows. Ten people were housed in the three tiny rooms from June to November.

The next place visited was locked and no family appeared during a prolonged wait. There was a pile of empty milk cans and bean cans and the yard was littered with refuse. There was no attempt at a vegetable or flower garden as at many of the other places.

Social workers and public officials are met with problems developing among beet families. Last summer a twenty-two-year-old husband was released from a month's imprisonment in the county jail on desertion charges made by his thirteen-year-old wife—both "beeters." They were married before coming to Wisconsin, and the girl-wife was sent back to her father and stepmother, who threatened to commit her to a reform school in Nebraska. Later, it was learned that she disappeared between Chicago and Kansas City.

School superintendents in beet-growing districts find their attendance averages brought down by the irregular attendance of the beet children. The families move from district to district. The children are too tired to study, and they reflect their parents' resentment against school requirements.

The parents compel children even under five years of age to work. A year ago one father was labored with by the school superintendent for forcing his children to work while he sat in the shade and watched them. During their noon rest hour he set them at household tasks. Resenting criticism and compulsory school laws, he did not return to the same neighborhood the next season.

County superintendents have met in Milwaukee to discuss this problem but see no remedy for an acute situation which was even more serious before the State Industrial Commission was given oversight. After several years of defeat, a bill was passed empowering the commission as follows:

It shall be the duty of the Industrial Commission to fix reasonable regulations relative to the employment of children under sixteen years of age in cherry orchards, market gardening, gardening conducted or controlled by canning companies, and the culture of sugar beets and cranberries, for the purpose of protecting the life, health, safety and welfare of such children.

This section became effective May 25, 1925, and in its supervisory capacity the commission has worked out regulations, including:

Regulation of Employment of Migratory Children in Sugar-Beet Fields. To Parents:—Children under 14 years of age must not be permitted to work in sugar-beet fields more than 8 hours in any day, nor more than 48 hours in any week, nor before 7 a.m., nor after 7 p.m.

Children under 14 years of age who have not finished the eighth grade in school must not be permitted to work in sugar-beet fields during school hours when the school in the district in which they are living is in session.

Wisconsin's child-labor law dates from 1867, and has never been construed to affect children in agriculture. In 1925 this understanding was enacted into law:

Nothing in section 103.05 to 103.15 inclusive [the child-labor law] shall be construed to forbid any child from being employed in agricultural pursuits.

At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, held last May in Memphis, Dr. Richard A. Bolt of the University of California, stated,

Normal development cannot be carried on under the cramping and confining conditions of modern industry and hard farm labor. The big muscles of the child are growing relatively more rapidly than the heart and lungs. Any severe strain at this period may do irreparable harm, causing stunted growth, poor posture, and dislike for out-of-door pursuits. Migratory child work is open to many hazards of fatigue and infection. The health menace of child labor will be eliminated only when the child itself is emancipated from child labor.

"Old Trails for New Explorers"

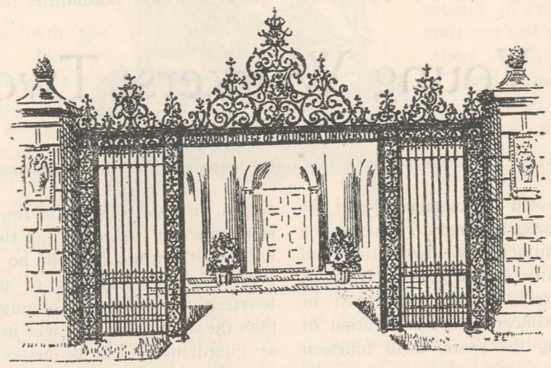
An Experiment in Workers' Education

By HILDA WORTHINGTON SMITH

THE Bryn Mawr Summer School students on the last night of the term were gathered in Pembroke Arch at Bryn Mawr College, making plans for winter work. The New York girls were discussing the possibility of combining a study program with the slack seasons in their trades—trades such as millinery and the garment industry where, according to these students' own reports, work had never been so scarce. Various extension classes in New York were considered, but to all of them the students had objections—they were too far advanced, or came at the wrong time, or were too expensive. One girl recalled her experience in a large evening class under an extension department in a city college. "I sat through that class for eight months," she said. "I didn't have the nerve to get out, but I didn't understand one word all winter."

Suddenly one student said, "Why can't we have our own part-time school? Then we could go on with what we want to study, with the sort of teaching we are used to."

Acting on this suggestion and as the result of further discussion with students and teachers at the Summer School, a committee was organized representative of the various groups who might be interested in such a plan. The Summer School organization and the Women's Trade Union League, where many of the Summer School students were attending evening classes, were of course concerned. Two other educational institutions in the city, Columbia University Extension Department and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, had recently discussed the question of a program of classes adapted especially to the needs of adult industrial workers. These two groups when consulted showed the greatest desire for cooperation in this field. The Metropolitan Museum of Art was planning a class on Saturday afternoons and offered to work with the new committee in adapting material to the needs of industrial workers. Columbia University Extension Department, through interest in the Summer School for Women Workers at Barnard, had made an appropriation for a workers' class, but plans for such a class had not yet been put into effect. This appropriation was readily offered to the newly organized committee for the salary of a teacher, and a meeting was called with representatives from the Women's Trade Union League, and the Summer Schools for Women Workers, representing both the Bryn Mawr and the Barnard Summer Schools, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Columbia Extension Department, together with women workers, students of the Summer Schools, who were eager to have such a class.



American economic history was the subject chosen by this committee, with Mary Griffiths as the teacher. Miss Griffiths had had long experience in workers' classes in New York City and in the Bryn Mawr Summer School. It was decided that the new course should be given in units of five weeks, the first unit to study American history till the Revolution, the second unit the period from the Revolution to the Civil War, and the third unit the time from the Civil War to the present. Instruction in English was to be part of the course. At the Metropolitan Museum it was arranged that the supplementary course in art should illustrate the life of these periods, and should also introduce the students to the history of industry in the early colonial days.

Saturday morning and Wednesday evening were finally decided upon as the time for the class sessions, with an additional hour on Saturday afternoons at the Metropolitan Museum for the art course. The morning and evening periods included instruction, and also a period for reading and study. The Museum course is open to others beside the morning class students, but the industrial workers who attend the morning class regularly are expected to register for all three periods of instruction. The Women's Trade Union League offered its classrooms free of charge for the new group of students.

The Saturday-morning hour, of course, is the innovation in this plan. Discussion in the committee showed that those interested in the class included three groups of workers; those working on the five-day week; others who could arrange to be away from work on Saturday morning; and the unemployed. The latter group was in the majority. At once serious problems were apparent. Could industrial workers who, after a long period of unemployment, had at last found work, afford to give up the Saturday-morning wage, sometimes as much as five or six dollars? Even if they could afford this financial loss, would their bosses let them off? Could the unemployed risk the chance of new jobs? And, looming over the other questions in a black cloud of anxiety, could unemployed workers put their minds on a study program?

A folder was issued describing the class, under the name, Old Trails for New Explorers, a name suggested by an old map reproduced on the folder marking the trails of the pioneers throughout the United States. The committee decided that each student should pay a fee of $2.50 for the five-weeks course, twenty-five cents for an instruction period.

Helen Heermann, a former tutor in the Bryn Mawr Summer School, was asked to take charge of the organization and administration of the new class. The publicity folder with a letter explaining the plan was sent out to all former students of the two summer schools, to a selected list of labor unions, organizations and schools. An article was published in the daily papers and in the labor press of New York City. Local unions were visited, and officials asked to help interest their members. When the first session of the class was called, early in December, fifteen women workers, almost all from the garment and the millinery trades, were ready to try the experiment. An attempt to enroll men from industry for the class has so far been rather unsuccessful, probably because of longer hours in their trades, although one postman who is free on Saturday morning has registered for the class.

AFTER the first two weeks of the class, the attendance had decreased from the fifteen originally enrolled, to eight. The others had been forced to drop out because of pressure of home responsibilities, a short busy season in their own trades, illness, or the realization that the work was too advanced or too intensive. The eight students remaining came with the greatest regularity, and were able to maintain a high standard of work.

According to the report of the instructor:

The class is conducted on the assumption that this group of students really wants to know something of the economic development of the United States. Each student, therefore, outside the classroom, reads from at least one book, about twenty pages a week, and comes prepared to discuss the subject under consideration; books, notes, atlases, and outline maps are freely used during the discussion. There are no formal lectures. A written review each week gives the students opportunity to test their grasp of the points covered, and gives practice in English.

The students attending regularly did all the assigned work, in spite of home responsibilities, lack of facilities for study and little leisure time. This systematic program of study in connection with the class contrasts with the usual evening class program where little outside work can be expected or required.

When the committee met again at the end of the first period of five weeks, it was evident that the students who had attended so faithfully in spite of serious difficulties were

carrying a heavy financial burden. A few girls who might have worked on Saturday mornings had lost wages; the unemployed, still in the majority, were spending extra carfare and money for meals before or after the class. A feeling of anxiety was apparent in the group. While they themselves intended to continue the class even at financial loss, they said they found it hard to interest any other workers in such a plan. In the light of discussion and the evident economic pressure the class entailed, the committee decided on two new features: remitting the fee of twenty-five cents a lesson, and also offering a small scholarship of three dollars a week in order that the class might not create a heavy financial burden for the eager students. The second unit is just beginning work under this new plan, with twelve students enrolled, all qualified for fairly advanced work.

It is still too early to say how such a morning class for workers will succeed. The economic question looms large, and may present insuperable difficulties. There is no doubt of the attitude of these workers toward this new opportunity. The "chance to study in the daytime," as one worker put it, means everything to them. They are getting what they hoped from the class, and are determined that even this short period of daytime study may be extended to other workers. A small beginning now, with the inevitable coming of the five-day week, may sometime lead other workers to new possibilities for the use of leisure time.

Conserving Young Workers: Two Programs

By CLARE L. LEWIS

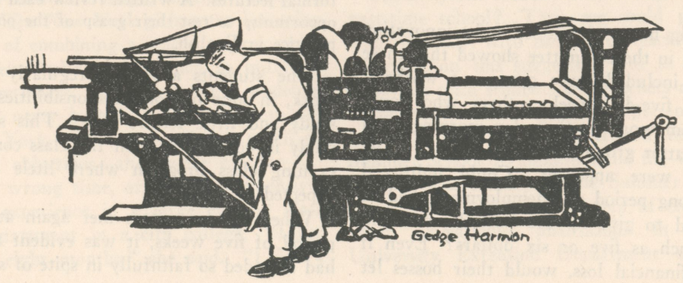
Drawings by Gedge Harmon for The Consumers' League of Cincinnati

THE old, old clash between the materialist and the idealist is seen in two programs recently issued, one by the National Manufacturers' Association and one by a group of instructors at the Harvard Summer School of 1928, recently published in the New York World. Both concern the conservation of America's young workers during the years, from fourteen to eighteen or so, when they are fitting their necks to the yoke of life.

Many persons have racked their brains over this matter. At what age should a child be allowed to leave school and go to work? How much education should he be required to absorb first? In training, where does the school's responsibility stop and the employer's begin? What is to be done with a child who hates school, who is a drag on his class and a worry to his teacher because he does not fit in? Would he be better off trying his luck in the labor market?

According to the two latest groups to wrestle with these questions, the public schools are badly at fault. The schools, they agree, have failed to supply an adequate preparation for life. This is one point on which they do agree. As to the reasons for the failure, and as to desirable remedies, they are as wide as the poles asunder.

The Manufacturers' Association wants schools, the very best schools and plenty of them, but it holds that some of the existing compulsory education laws are too stringent. These laws, it says, often defeat their purpose by keeping in school many defectives, laggards and general misfits, who are an unjust and disrupting influence to the good students, and who are themselves confirmed in habits of idleness and failure of which they can only be cured by allowing them to go to work. The highschools, too, say the manufacturers, are too frequently used as mere "pleasure resorts" by pupils who are not at all interested in getting a real education.

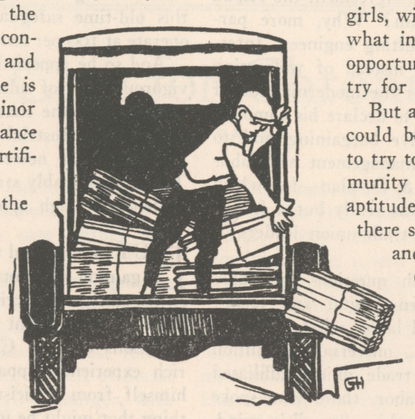


The remedy this group proposes, then, is to grease the slides from school to work. They advocate letting a child go to work at fourteen if he has completed the sixth grade at that age. Let the state establish higher standards if it wishes, but "in no wise should these standards prevent the employment of physically able children over fourteen who are unable or unwilling to go further in school than the sixth grade, and who in the judgment of their parents or guardians would be better employed at work." And after fourteen there should be no age standards "arbitrarily set," but physical and mental fitness for the particular job sought should be the test. Highschools should rigidly exclude pupils who cannot or will not use the courses worthily for education. As to compulsory part-time schooling after the child has left full-time school, the manufacturers suggest four hours a week as a required minimum.

IT is hardly necessary to point out what some groups interested in child welfare think of the theory that the crumbs a child can pick up in the first six grades constitute an adequate educational equipment for a fourteen-year-old. America rather plumes itself on educating its children, and suggestions to lower the standard are not likely to be popular.

Most people, though, will agree with the manufacturers' recommendations for improving the schools. These are, briefly: better-trained teachers; less politics in the schools; more competent school management; adequate provision for subnormal and defective children; and, finally, special vocational schools to be used, not as a mere refuge for those who fail themselves, but by boys and girls who really want and will profit by the training these schools give. The program includes state issuance of employment certificates, rather than local; physical examination of the young worker before each new job; the maximum of a forty-eight-hour week for workers under sixteen and no night work between 9 P. M. and 7 A. M.; and laws forbidding the employment of children in hazardous occupations, "with those hazards carefully defined."

Quite a different conception of the problem has the Harvard group. They are, perhaps, idealists, but practical idealists; they suggest nothing that cannot be done if enough people agree on it and on the way to do it. They do not go into hours of work, employment certificates, physical examinations, the working age, or compulsory-education requirements. They go upon the basis that the schools do not, as now constituted, give the child a fair chance, and that until the schools do this there is not much use in discussing such minor points as compulsory school attendance and how and when employment certificates should be granted.



And what is the trouble with the school system? Too rigid. Not adapted to modern needs. Where the manufacturer says, "Release the maladjusted school child and let him get his training in a job," the educator says, "Modernize the schools, make the curriculum flexible, and maladjustment will largely disappear."

The Harvard group believes strongly, too, in vocational guidance. Its plan includes not only the enlightened adaptation of the schools to the ever-growing, ever-changing needs of boys and girls, but an extensive scheme of occupational guidance and supervision of all children under eighteen years of age. It holds that young job-hunters and job-holders are "the joint responsibility of the community, the state, and the employer," a trust they should cooperate to meet.

The employers' part would be to furnish—to schools and to duly-appointed guidance and placement agencies—full and definite information concerning occupations, their requirements and rewards. Such data would enable our educational authorities to adjust their curriculum to actual present-day needs. Schools would then be in a position to tell boys and girls, with due regard to their individual needs, what industrial and professional and cultural opportunities modern life offers, and how to try for them.

But as it is a rare child who knows what he could best do, or even what he really wants to try to do, it would be the duty of the community to provide tests for ascertaining the aptitudes and needs of all youngsters. Further, there should be many kinds of special schools and classes for those who need them (here, indeed, is a second point on which the educators and the manufacturers agree). Other provisions of the Harvard plan are a complete placement service for boys and girls who have left school; the use of continuation schools, where they exist, as an aid in the adjustment of youths to industrial life; and the establishment of extension and part-time classes wherever the demand is found for them.

Whether these two programs could be combined "retaining the best features of each" is a question, but at least it is encouraging that employers and educators are both hard at it discussing American youth. Out of such vigorous stirring of the educational-industrial pot, a worthwhile broth ought to result.

New Relationship Between Labor and Capital?

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

THE title of this note was the title of the conference held on February 2-3 under the auspices of the Labor College of Philadelphia, with the endorsement of the local Central Labor Union. All except the question mark, which is my own.

Ever since the American Federation of Labor at the Atlantic City convention adopted those famous resolutions (see The Survey, December 15, 1926, page 374) which have been widely interpreted as a declaration of a "new" policy, the Labor College of Philadelphia has been conspicuous among the agencies supported by the trade unions in attempting to develop the practical implications of those resolutions. On earlier occasions the college has conducted conferences on Old Age Pensions and Workmen's Compensation, on Employment, and on Waste Elimination in Industry. The last of these was designed to evoke "new" and more effective relationships between organized labor and management engineers, as the conference this year was designed to sound out the present situation with respect to the development of closer cooperation between capital and labor.

The result of this latest effort was rather startling. One of the leading management engineers of the country, Morris L. Cooke, came before the conference with a glamorous sheaf of suggestions—glamorous because of his manifest delight at the intimation that the trade unions might really welcome the cooperation of his profession in the development of "new" technical relations to management; Josephine Roche, vice-president of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, spoke with the accent of an evangelist of collective bargaining with the standard orthodox trade unions as a solvent of the problem of industrial conflict, and staked her fame and fortune upon her faith in the willingness and capacity of the organized-labor movement to enter into dynamic cooperative relationships with her and other coal operators.

Whether representative of their groups or not, here were radical members of the "capitalist class," extending open arms to organized labor in response to the suggestion of the Labor College (and the Atlantic City resolutions) that labor was waiting for them with lamps trimmed and filled with oil. And what was the response of labor, or of those at the conference who spoke for labor? In effect it was this: Welcome, prodigals; at last *you* have seen the light! Have we not told you all the while that collective bargaining with us was the way to salvation? Recognize the unions, sign up with us—and *that* will be the new day!

Why should they have been so complacently self-sufficient? Why did so keen and able a labor leader as Gustave Geiges, president of the Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, and president, too, of the Labor College, make his dominant theme Universal Organization Essential in

Newer Relations? Why did the representative of the United Mine Workers use Miss Roche almost exclusively to point a moral to those coal operators in the central competitive and outlying fields who had broken with them, when the union made the Jacksonville Agreement the Alpha and Omega of its industrial program? Why, more particularly, did Otto S. Beyer, "consulting engineer, International Association of Machinists," instead of welcoming certain of Mr. Cooke's suggestions for the modernization of collective bargaining, feel it necessary to declare his complete orthodoxy in the matter of collective bargaining and to explain that the entire program of management and labor cooperation as exemplified by the B. & O. plan—for which he has been so largely responsible—was really but a fulfillment of collective bargaining as the trade-union leaders of the last century conceived it?

As the conference developed, such questions inevitably emerged. New relationships between capital and labor? From the point of view of organized labor, what are they? "Beyond universal organization," i.e., universal recognition and collective bargaining with the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, those who spoke for organized labor seemed to have nothing "new" in mind.

The attitude of the labor representatives in the conference, including Mr. Beyer, toward Mr. Cooke's paper on An Engineer's Approach to Labor Problems, was particularly interesting. Mr. Cooke has come to be recognized among his engineering colleagues almost as a champion of collective bargaining. In his recent presidential address before the Taylor Society he had declared his conviction that the organization of the workers on an effective basis and more particularly in trade unions, was in the public interest. He had not only declared his belief in the necessity of collective bargaining, but he had also expressed the opinion "that collective bargaining cannot be effective if the workers' group participating is restricted to a single plant or to plants owned by a single company; anything short of a national basis with regional and local subdivisions would probably be unwise from a social standpoint."

Further than this he had raised the question as to whether in view of the fact that such organizations of the workers must be considered a deep social need, it did not devolve upon members of his profession to cooperate with labor in their development. "If we should come to look upon some organization of the workers, such as labor unions, as a deep social need, might it not develop that practices which withdraw any group of employes from the support of such organizations, may become anti-social? If such proves to be the case, any employer setting up working standards, even above those demanded by labor organizations, and resisting the effective organization of his employes, may in fact be acting without a due regard for this deep social need."

BY this and similar declarations, Mr. Cooke had unequivocally committed himself to the fundamental philosophy of the trade-union movement. No representative of the management group has won a clearer right than Mr. Cooke to discuss the programs of organized labor from the engineer's point of view.

But Mr. Cooke ventured to suggest that "from our present outlook, even collective bargaining with its hard and fast two-sided line-up, seems terribly inadequate as a means of promoting those relationships which best present-day thought suggest should obtain as between employer and employe, or to use a more modern term, as between men and management. Collective bargaining certainly has an important place and perhaps always will in the matter of determining what is best as far as related to hours, wages and working conditions, but unless I am much mistaken, this old-time safeguard of the workers can in the future operate at 100 per cent efficiency and yet all may not be well."

And so he appealed to organized labor to promote a more vigorous type of adult education; to promote independent research into the characteristic social phenomena of the contemporary industrial situation; and especially "to acquaint itself with the newer ideas of the function of the group." This was probably strong meat, but in urging it, Mr. Cooke evidenced a high opinion of labor's capacity for leadership.

BUT he ventured to suggest that traditional collective bargaining was not entirely adequate, and consequently his entire statement received a cold welcome. Even Mr. Beyer, as I say, who might have been expected to develop the implications of Mr. Cooke's statement in terms of his own rich experience, apparently felt it necessary to disassociate himself from criticism of collective bargaining—from anything that might be interpreted as straying into unorthodoxy.

The final afternoon of the conference was given over to a consideration of the Mitten-Mahon brief of the Rapid Transit System of Philadelphia, under which the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, reputed to be one of the militant unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., placed its stamp of approval upon the company union built up by Mitten Management on the street railways of Philadelphia and Buffalo. One of the most remarkable clauses in that agreement is that in which the orthodox union accepts the company union as a standard by which its own performance is to be measured:

> So far as Philadelphia and Buffalo are concerned, conditions there are to remain as at present insofar as organized activities are concerned, it being desirable that the situation on these properties shall remain as at present in order that the standard of economic excellence of these companies now being operated by Mitten Management be the standard by which union performance in cooperating with Mitten Management on other properties shall be measured.

The agreement was subjected to drastic criticism by J. M. Budish, editor of Headgear Worker. But Mr. Budish, associated as he is with the "progressive" groups in the needle trades, received little support from the floor, except from a sprinkling of "comrades." When one of these called attention to the published endorsement of the Mitten-Mahon agreement by Brother Geiges of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, and asked for an explanation, this question was ruled out of order. Israel Mufson, secretary of the Labor College—in the absence of W. Jett Lauck, who had been invited to speak for the agreement—read published statements by Mr. Lauck and Mr. Mahon, interspersing them with restrained *obiter dicta,* which made it clear that he shared Mr. Budish's critical attitude. But for the most part—and notably in the case of the president of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, who presided at the meeting—such labor representatives as spoke from the floor gave the main issue raised by Mr. Budish a wide berth.

The discussion, or lack of discussion, served only to raise in the mind of the detached observer the further question as to whether the Mitten-Mahon agreement is to be taken as indicative of the direction in which the "new relations between capital and labor" are moving.

HEALTH

Almshouse Care for Chronic Patients

By LUCILE EAVES

FOR ten years, Boston public authorities and social agencies have been trying to discover how citizens of modest incomes can obtain care during prolonged illness without going to the almshouse hospital; or, conceding this to be the only possible refuge, how it can be made acceptable to persons accustomed to self-support and decent associates. A number of studies of chronic illness have been made in Boston, most recent among them that conducted by the Boston Council of Social Agencies under the direction of Amy F. Hamburger, with Dr. Haven Emerson as consultant and Dr. Elliott P. Joslin as chairman of the medical advisory committee. Information gathered by hospital social-service departments and by the case workers of family-relief agencies, together with special studies of varying aspects of chronic illness by groups of graduate students, makes it possible to approach a nation-wide problem by analyses of experience in Boston. Yet although the data thus gained are more complete and accurate than for any other city, the magnitude of the subject is so great that the facts so far obtained give only a rough approximation of the numbers of chronic patients, their family and financial resources, and the amount and cost of the care which they are able to obtain.

The Boston city hospital for acutely ill patients is located on the mainland in a densely populated district. Its wards are always crowded, and when care is necessary beyond the two-week limitation ordinarily observed in hospitals for acute complaints, relatives and social workers may be confronted with the distracting problem of finding a place elsewhere. The Boston City Infirmary, with its attached hospital, is on Long Island, in Boston Harbor, about a half-hour's trip by boat, and this overcrowded Long Island Hospital is the place of last resort which is always accessible. But many patients would prefer an early death to the possibility of ending their lives in what they regard as a pauper institution, and relatives often make desperate efforts to spare them such a humiliating fate. Those who have sought this care in the past have been made unhappy by their isolation, as the inadequate boat service and restrictions in visiting hours discouraged friendly intercourse. Doctors, willing to serve as consultants, complained that a half day was required to make the trip to and from the island.

THE almshouse over the hill or out on the island is especially dreary when those who must be its guests, willy-nilly, are not only penniless but sick. Yet in many communities, as in Boston, people without large means may find little choice but almshouse care when chronic illness strikes them. Out of the important group of studies of chronic illness made in Boston in recent years, Lucile Eaves tells of that city's need for public hospitals for the care of chronic patients, and of the recommendations made in the course of the survey of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, and in other studies, of supplementary means for solving the problems of chronic care. The legislative program announced by Governor Frank G. Allen in his inaugural address (see The Survey, February 15, page 653) includes the construction of a new state hospital unit for the aged chronic sick. Yet the chronically ill are by no means always the aged; and in two succeeding articles Lucile Eaves will tell what the Boston studies have revealed concerning this problem in the care of children and adults of both sexes.

This unhappy situation aroused the sympathies of Mayor J. M. Curley, and in his inaugural address in 1922 he set forth a plan to move both the infirmary and hospital to the mainland. A site for the latter was acquired near the Harvard Medical School and other large, privately endowed medical and educational institutions. During the closing days of his term, plans were accepted which provided for a hospital with ten pavilions and various supplementary buildings, the whole to cost about $4,000,000. The contract was let for the construction of a portion of this plant. Mayor Curley's successor, M. E. Nichols, referred the matter of establishing this new and expensive group of municipal buildings to the Boston Finance Commission.

After thorough investigation and much consultation with experts, the Finance Commission reached the conclusion that the hospital plans and the site selected were unsuitable. The mayor was advised to abandon the site and to take steps to terminate the contract. It was urged that the Long Island plant, which was in good condition and valued at nearly $2,000,000, should be retained and improved, but should be supplied with better boat services. The commission recognized, however, that separate provision for—and better classification of—chronic cases was necessary. It was recommended that a chronic hospital be developed on another mainland site, and that this hospital take in primarily the more self-reliant patients, who should not be sent to Long Island, and that gradually selected cases be transferred from Long Island to the new hospital. A total of about $1,125,000 has been spent recently in improving the Long Island plant, but nothing has been done about the mainland chronic hospital and there are at present few prospects of care other than at Long Island for citizens who have small in-

come and are unable to enlist the self-sacrificing services of friends or relatives.

The great need for hospitals for chronic patients was shown when, at the request of the Boston Finance Commission, medical social workers of six hospitals and of the Boston Dispensary investigated home conditions of 705 chronic patients referred to them during a period of about six months. Only 61 had homes adequate for their care; 57 could receive fairly good care at the earlier stages of their diseases; 97 had no homes and 490 were from unsatisfactory homes.

During the recent survey by the Council of Social Agencies, a census was taken of chronic and potentially chronic patients found in general and special hospitals on a given day. Information was gathered about 626 of the 707 chronic and incurable patients found occupying beds in eighteen hospitals on that day. The physicians considered that more than a third (222) of these patients were in need of continued care in hospitals for chronic cases, and that less than one in six (101) could be cared for properly in their homes with assistance from visiting nurses. During the sixteen months when medical and social agencies were endeavoring to record chronic cases for the survey, information was obtained about 4,316 persons who—to use the definition accepted in the survey—had suffered from a pathological condition which lasted more than three months, which definitely interfered with normal activity, and in which the problem of medical and nursing care was dominant. Since the largest two hospitals kept records for only three months, and the list did not include patients cared for in private homes without aid from social agencies, it seems probable that the group studied represents only a small sample of the total number of persons subject to the prolonged suffering of chronic diseases.

RECENT articles in The Survey have discussed the high cost of medical care during childbirth, surgical operations and other acute conditions for which hospital and expert nursing care are needed for a comparatively short time. The duration of the chronic diseases up to the time when the patient was reported was given for 3,830 cases located in the course of this survey. As only 570 of the 4,316 listed died while under observation by the social workers, the periods of illness for 3,746 were still incomplete. Yet 7 in every 10 of these chronic patients had been sick for one year or more, nearly 3 in 10 for five years or more, and more than 1 in 10 for ten years or more. Medical and nursing care during such prolonged illnesses as these often exhaust the savings of the unfortunate victims and strain to the utmost the endurance and resources of their families and friends.

Boston is exceptionally well equipped with generously endowed hospitals, yet the city's resources fall far short of what is needed by chronic patients who cannot obtain suitable care from relatives or friends, and are able to contribute little or nothing toward the cost of hospital services. The Finance Commission estimated that the minimum need for additional public resources was between two and three hundred beds, but that the full extent of the demand could be determined only when suitable means of care were offered. Privately supported Boston hospitals which receive chronic cases were asked to keep a record of applicants for admission during a three-months period. Six hospitals tried to keep the record, but several claimed that their reports were incomplete because of pressure of work and lack of clerical assistance. However, 270 applicants were recorded of whom 84 could not be admitted. This suggests that in the course of a year there might be a large number of patients who could not find care and accommodation in the privately endowed hospitals.

The reluctance of the city authorities to respond to the repeated urgent demands that a separate hospital for chronic cases be established on the mainland is explained partially by statistics presented in the Boston Council report. Only 23 of the 890 patients treated in the Long Island hospital during the year studied were discharged to care outside of public institutions. Since three in five of the Long Island patients were of the ambulatory type, it is evident that some sort of custodial institution is indispensable when care is given to such a large, homeless group of patients suffering from chronic illness.

THE cost of care may be lessened by cooperation between the hospital and such a custodial institution. The "A" rating given the Long Island hospital by the American Medical Association and American College of Physicians and Surgeons is evidence that its equipment and medical and nursing staff are satisfactory, yet the patient-day cost at Long Island is only $2.05, compared with $5.70 at two large privately endowed hospitals treating chronic cases. The reduction in cost is due partly to the utilization of the unpaid services of seventy-five inmates of the infirmary, and of outside labor given by prisoners from a neighboring island.

The difficulty of discovering a principle of selection by which the "more self-reliant" patients can be assigned to a new hospital might cause some embarrassment. Public officials cannot review the lives of patients in order to discover who are entitled to superior associates. The Boston Council report suggests that those willing to contribute something towards the cost of their care might be assigned to the proposed mainland hospital, but there were only six paying patients at the Long Island hospital during the year studied.

The Boston studies show a variety of community resources which should be developed to supplement suitable, publicly supported hospitals. The accommodations offered in private hospitals should be extended in accordance with well coordinated plans made by a central representative hospital group. Nursing homes should be registered and supervised by the state department of public welfare. It was urged that the overseers of public welfare should grant allowances adequate to provide care outside of hospitals for those of their clients for whom such treatment is socially and medically desirable. Various forms of out-patient care under supervision of specially trained social workers would mitigate the sufferings of chronic patients living in their own or foster homes.

THESE recent fragmentary studies of the care of chronic sickness made in Boston and other cities are giving the American public glimpses of the increasing difficulties experienced by those called on to meet one of the most overwhelming of life's hazards. Fully 80 per cent of our citizens have incomes which would make it difficult, or even impossible, to pay for medical and nursing care required during chronic illnesses. Sickness insurance provides for such needs in older European countries. Has the time come when the United States must consider this substitute for almshouse care?



Wisconsin Girls Hit the Trail



WHETHER it is the craze for slimness and silk stockings, or the overstrain of jazz and work, that lies behind the statistics, the fact is becoming disturbingly evident that American girls have not shared in the benefit of the declining tuberculosis rates in this country as have their brothers of the same age, or their elders and youngers. Two years ago Cleveland, discovering that—from the age of fifteen on—the rates for girls soared far above those for boys, reaching a peak at twenty-four, put on a Girls' Health Year sponsored by the Anti-Tuberculosis League and the Girls' Council, ingeniously linking health and beauty (see The Survey, November 15, 1927. The Beauty Motif, by Virginia Wing). Last year the energetic Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association organized an experimental Girls' Health Trail in Milwaukee, which reached about eighteen thousand girls in a wide variety of organizations in that city. This year an even more ambitious program has been started, to carry the idea far and wide through the state, to country as well as city.



The purpose of this Girls' Health Trail is twofold: to focus attention on the high death-rate of girls of high-school and college age from tuberculosis; and to stimulate health habits among themselves by showing them that health is not an end in itself, but a means to things that every girl wants—good looks, charm and the like. Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan statistics for the past three years show that in these states at the highschool age two girls die of tuberculosis each year for each boy who dies of the same disease, though at most other periods of life the male death-rate exceeds the female.

While medical opinions differ as to the cause of this anomaly (see The Survey, February 15, 1928, What Lies Ahead in T. B.?, by Kendall Emerson, M.D.), there seems to be a general agreement that the germ of tuberculosis is abetted in its disastrous work by lack of sleep, the wrong kind of food, too little exercise and unsuitable clothing. Hence the present four-months program takes up proper eating in February, rest and exercise in March, healthful clothes in April, and the value of sunshine in May. The Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association is selling, at a very low cost, folders and posters for each of the four months, a combination health chart and health-and-beauty score card, Girls' Health Trail buttons, and a manual of instruction for leaders, with suggestions, stunts and methods which were found successful in the Milwaukee experiment.

So far as is known, this is the first attempt to make available for small groups of twenty-five or fifty girls a program which they could never hope to put on alone, since the art work, printing and so forth can be done economically only in large quantities. This health trail can be used in the country as well as in the city, where health programs are more easily promoted because greater numbers of people are involved. The association suggests a number of possible methods of financing. Luncheon clubs, fraternal groups, women's clubs and like organizations should be interested in sponsoring the idea. Newspaper subscription lists and straight contributions can also be used. Another method—all important because it enlists the interest and responsibility of the girls themselves—would be to charge each girl a small sum to cover the cost. For five hundred girls, for example, the total cost of the material furnished by the association would be about $13, or less than three cents per girl enrolled for the program.

The interest of the association does not stop with furnishing material, moreover. Its field workers and clinic teams are constantly following up local leaders to aid them with suggestions and sustain their interest. A monthly bulletin also is sent to participating groups to let them know of new stunts, publicity opportunities and the like.

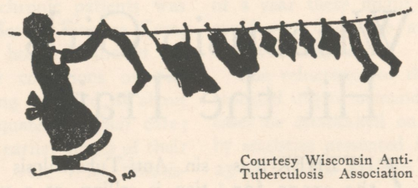
Before the program started, twenty-four Wisconsin towns had signified their intention of joining in, and new recruits were being added day by day. In addition to local tuberculosis associations, the participants included county nurses, vocational schools, highschools, Y. W. C. A. groups, and city nurses. From a nurse on a Wisconsin reservation came a note saying, "I can think of no one so much in need of this health program as these Indian girls. Because of this need and my interest in the health work, I would like to assist them in taking advantage of it." This is the burden of many letters





that have come in, expressing the enthusiasm of rural health workers who see a way to do through this what they could not have accomplished alone.

It is hoped that this Girls' Health Trail is only the beginning of a continuous, state-wide effort. "The results to be expected will be quite intangible," writes Herbert A. Jacobs, the director, "and we are not sure that we can measure them accurately. What we hope to do is to make a beginning—to stimulate leaders in girls' work into an effort to bring the health level of girls up to that of boys. Some indication of how effective our experimental health trail was last year can be gained from the number of unsolicited appreciations that have been coming in ever since last June. At least four welfare workers in factories have written to ask when the next health trail would start."



Courtesy Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association

Clothe your body on healthful lines!

The Supervisor Who Wouldn't

By MARJORIE MEYER

MR. LARSON lived six miles from town. His house was small and untidy, his farm buildings paintless and tipsy for want of repair. Yet his two hundred acres were the richest in the county and his bank account one of the biggest. He was the township supervisor. But he was not the usual kind—that public-health nurses find their greatest aid in helping hapless folk get well. My car frequently drove out the winding road to his farm, for it was often necessary to ask his help in needy cases.

One morning I drove out to ask help for Goldie, a forlorn child of twelve, undernourished, anemic, with chorea and bad tonsils—those prehistoric leftovers, the root of so much evil. Her family were renters on a run-down farm. Shabby and poor. There would need to be county help for Goldie before she could go to school again.

Mr. Larson's wife, a drooping, spiritless woman, told me her husband was down the lane fixing the fence. It was a long lane without a turning. At the far end I found him nailing a half-rotten board onto other more rotten boards that posed as a gate. He was a short man and little of soul, with a big voice but a wavering eye. He listened while I told him of Goldie's serious condition.

His eyes narrowed. "Do they own a car?"

"Yes. Dilapidated but necessary to get them to town ten miles away."

"But I don't give help to any one who owns a car."

I talked. His eyes wavered but his decision held.

I drove over to Goldie's home and made inquiries about the offending vehicle. It belonged in its disreputable entirety to Goldie's older brother who lived at home.

The Angel who manages my affairs—or tries to—looked at me and smiled. We hurried back to Mr. Larson with the news. He was in the barn hitching up ready to go to the field.

"Are you sure?" he shouted at me. He scratched his head and thought of other possible objections. But none proved adequate.

"Well, I guess you can go ahead and take her tonsils out if you are set on it," he said at last.

So Goldie was brought in town for an examination. The doctor gave her a hospital appointment for the next day. He said she should remain there at least two weeks after her tonsils were out. I thought of Mr. Larson and gasped. I would wait awhile before I told him.

The office phone rang. It was Mr. Larson.

"You can't take out Goldie's tonsils. I've been inquiring and her folks haven't been in the county a year. Doesn't make any difference what they say, they haven't been here a year yet."

Once more I went back to Goldie's home, upsetting completely the important program my Angel and I had planned for the day.

They said again they had been here a year. They gave references. More miles of driving, and calls on former neighbors in a distant township. They signed statements with pen and ink.

Then back the long way to Mr. Larson's home. He was plowing in the far corner of the field: I tramped across the furrowed loam. My shoes were uncomfortably filled with it. My temper was uncomfortably on edge. At last I reached him and gave him the evidence.

"Well, I guess likely I was misinformed," he admitted as he wiped his face on his sleeve.

SO Goldie went to the hospital the next morning and her tonsils went in the discard.

But it was not till next day that I phoned Mr. Larson.

"The doctor says Goldie ought to stay in the hospital at least two weeks. She is a sick girl."

I felt the wire grow tense between us, tense enough to snap.

"To hell with the doctor!" he shouted. "Who does he think is paying her bills?"

"Four dollars a day is very little, Mr. Larson. And the doctor, you know, gives his services free in county cases. It will mean health for Goldie."

"Excuse me for swearing, nurse. But it can't be done. We got a lot of expenses in this township, roads to fix up and such things."

"Then let's give her one week, Mr. Larson," I begged him. "What if she were your daughter?" I dared. His daughter had died last year.

"My daughter?" His big voice weakened. "Yes—well—if it was *my* daughter—it would be different." Then his voice bellowed out again over the tingling wire. "Don't give Goldie another day, nurse. The township can't afford it."

A cold rain was falling. Stinging gusts blew it into my face as I went to the hospital. Goldie looked comfortable in her bed. She turned her head weakly and smiled at me. We carefully bundled the sick child into her insufficient clothes, wrapped a blanket around her and helped her out to my waiting car. Under the gloomy sky and through the splashing puddles we drove to her home.

Thankful we were that her tonsils were out.

Even Angels cannot help much when men refuse to see.

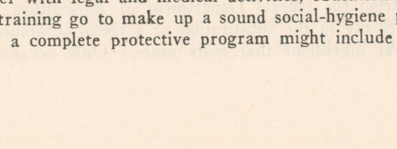
A FAR-FLUNG CAMPAIGN to acquaint women with the helpful information now available about cancer has been launched by the American Society for the Control of Cancer which has arranged for the distribution of some 668,000 copies of a pamphlet made possible by gifts in memory of Benita Guggenheim Mayer and Harry M. Lasker. Copies are being distributed through the Young Women's Christian Association, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, The General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, and like organizations, through all of which it is hoped ultimately to reach some 8,000,000 women.

A THIRD and revised edition of the Appraisal Form for City Health Work has just been published by the American Public Health Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. During three years of trial since this method of measuring health work was first inaugurated (see The Survey, November 1, 1925) it has proved useful in extensive service in this and other countries. Fears of its misuse for ulterior purposes have not been substantiated, and its direct value to health officer and community alike—in helping to develop a balanced program, and providing standard indices to measure the various services, and in serving to interpret health work to others—have been well proven.

REHEARSING its records for the past year, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company points out the expectation of life of the wage-earning population of the United States has rapidly increased during the past fifteen years until it has almost caught up with that of Americans in general. In 1927 the expectation of life among the industrial group insured by the company was 56.4 years, or higher than ever before; in 1911-1912 it had been but 46.6 years. The fifteen-year interval thus registered a gain of nine and three-quarter years among these wage-earners, while for the general population during that period, the gain was but 6.06 years. Since 1911 the rate of decline in the mortality of Metropolitan policy-holders, attributed by the company to its work in health education and health conservation, has been more than twice as rapid as that which has obtained in the general population.

THAT WINTER COLDS, so annoying and expensive to parents, teachers, office executives and the like, may be importantly affected by types of indoor ventilation is shown in a study in New Haven schools from January to April, 1927, just reported by Leonard Greenburg, associate sanitary engineer in the U. S. Public Health Service. Two groups of approximately 1500 children were considered, comparable in age, nationality and sex, the one group in schools with a system of mechanical ventilation, the other in schools which relied on window ventilation alone. The temperature of the classrooms were almost the same, yet the number of colds and the amount of time lost by reason of colds was very considerably greater in the children in mechanically ventilated schoolrooms than in those which used windows only for this purpose. The "mechanically ventilated" group lost 3.0 per cent of pupil sessions because of colds: the "naturally ventilated" group, 1.8. When illnesses of more than three days were considered separately, the corresponding figures were 3.3 per cent and 1.2 per cent. Mr. Greenburg points out that these findings are not to be taken as a condemnation of all systems of mechanical ventilation, nor of mechanical ventilation under other circumstances, as in theaters or other crowded places. Nor is it possible to tell what elements in the atmosphere conditions were responsible for the very clear superiority of window ventilation in this study. The similarity of the average temperature in the two sets of rooms seems to exclude temperature as a reason for the difference, though more detailed studies might disclose a relation there. Problems of humidity and air motion need further study which unfortunately this investigation could not provide.

THREE NEW VOLUMES have been added to the twenty already published in the National Health Series, edited by the National Health Council, giving briefly the facts that a layman should know about various aspects of health and disease in an authoritative statement by an expert in the special field involved. The new volumes are Care of the Mouth and Teeth, by Harvey J. Burkhart, director of the Rochester Dental Dispensary of Rochester, N. Y.; What Every One Should Know About Eyes, by F. Parke Lewis, M. D., vice-president of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness; and Diabetes and Its Treatment, by Frederick M. Allen, M. D., director of the Psychiatric Institute at Morristown, N. J. For a list of the earlier volumes address the publishers, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York City; the price of the volumes, which are well-printed and bound in fabrikoid, is 35 cents per copy, postpaid for single copies; 30 cents each postpaid in orders of five or more.



THAT PRIZE specimen of its kind, the Los Angeles County Health Department, celebrated the new year by adding a monthly health bulletin, Health News, to its many other excellent activities. This particular county-health department seems to follow the general California formula of biggest and best, since it serves a population of 700,000 people, scattered over an area of 3500 miles, and including 31 incorporated cities; and the American Public Health Association gives it one of the highest efficiency ratings in the country. Its motto and insignia appear above, while—as evidence of the fact that it is prepared to be entertaining as well as instructive—we reproduce below the illustration which accompanies the pithy common-sense advice on preventing colds offered in the first number by Dr. J. L. Pomeroy, the county health officer.

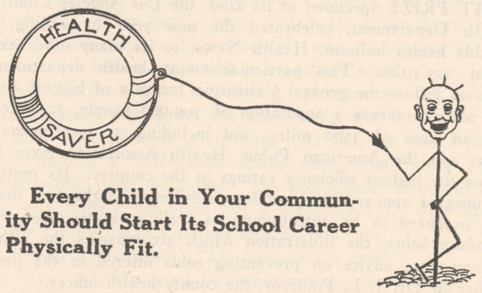


UNDER the title A Protective Measures Program, a new leaflet by Henrietta Additon published by the American Social Hygiene Association outlines the essential items in a protective program for the prevention of sex delinquency. Stressing the close relation of protective measures to social hygiene, Miss Additon believes that a protective program is not one primarily of repression, "for it includes constructive measures which together with legal and medical activities, education and character training go to make up a sound social-hygiene program." While a complete protective program might include reference

to all movements for the improvement of social conditions, for practical reasons its major objectives must be limited. The measures she lists as needed in every community are: desirable and adequate public and private recreational opportunities and the supervision of commercial amusement places; trained policewomen qualified by personality and education for protective work; services such as are being developed by child-guidance clinics, vocational-adjustment bureaus, visiting-teacher associations and social agencies concerned with adolescents, and these services perfected and extended; child-labor legislation and the enforcement of minimum standards for children entering employment similar to those worked out by the federal Children's Bureau conference in 1919; juvenile courts in every community, and socialization of the courts dealing with older boys and girls and adult sex delinquents, with honest efficient judges and probation officers appointed through the merit system when necessary; modern detention places for children, not in the jails or police stations, and for adults, and reformatory institutions providing segregation, care and training and parole supervision for sex delinquents in a truly correctional fashion.

Copies of the leaflet, Publication No. 633, may be obtained from the American Social Hygiene Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City, as may other recent publications including No. 604, A Classified List of Social Hygiene Publications; No. 622, Civic Housecleaning, by Bascom Johnson; and No. 626, From Boy to Man, giving a straightforward account of sex for boys in their teens.

PREPAREDNESS would seem to be the motto of the Connecticut State Department of Health, which celebrated the start of 1929 by an article in its monthly bulletin discussing the importance of the summer "round-ups" of the children who will enter school next fall. Last year 110 local parent-teacher



Every Child in Your Community Should Start Its School Career Physically Fit.

associations asked the department to help them with round-ups, but because of the inadequacy of the bureau budgets, only enough workers to staff 64 round-ups could be put in the field. Physical examinations, including dental examinations, were given to 1708 children, and 1355 of these were found to have some defect. Parents of the children are urged to consult their family physician to remedy defects before the autumn so that the child may enter school in the fall in as nearly perfect physical condition as possible. This year the work has been started as early so as to make possible as many round-ups as the staff can manage, and twenty-one had already been held when the January bulletin went to press. The longer interval between the examination and the opening of school will also give more opportunity, it is hoped, for the parents to get their children to their doctor when dental or other corrective work is found necessary.

PRESENT-DAY adulteration of food is likely to be more injurious to the pocketbook than to the health, declares a recent statement from the federal Department of Agriculture, since it consists chiefly in the substitution of a cheap substance for some normal ingredient that costs more. Only occasionally is public health jeopardized by positively injurious substitutions, but these adulterations and misbranding require prompt action and constant vigilance. How marked a change has come since public education and enforcement followed the pure food and drugs law in 1906 is apparent from an old press description of adulterations current in 1879: chicory and clay were molded, colored and flavored to represent coffee berries; white stone, ground into a fine powder, was added to soda, sugar and flour; confectionery was colored with substances containing lead, mercury, arsenic and copper; cayenne pepper and curry powder were adulterated with red lead, and mustard with chromate of lead; milk was adulterated with water, and artificial milk made synthetically without one drop from the cow. Official analyses made prior to and since the enactment of the food and drugs act in 1906 confirm some, if not all, of the forms of adulteration reported as prevalent in 1879.

FRIENDS of nursing education all over the world will rejoice in the recent announcement of a grant of $1,000,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation to the Yale School of Nursing at the end of its first five years. "It means," said President Angell of Yale in announcing the gift, "that a novel experiment has proved a success, and an educational program for nurses comparable to that offered in medicine, law and engineering is placed on a stable and permanent basis. It means, further, that nursing is now recognized to be of sufficient importance to warrant the existence of a school organized from the point of view of educating the nurses rather than primarily for the purpose of providing a hospital with nursing service." The Yale School of Nursing, opened in 1923, requires at least two years of college work for admission, and more than half of the 116 students enrolled hold college degrees. It was organized—and has been directed since its start—by Annie W. Goodrich, formerly professor of nursing at Columbia University and director of the Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service, who seves as its dean.

BRAINS seem to be more important than brawn in ensuring a long life according to the study recently reported by Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, before the annual meeting of the National College Athletic Association, the American Student Health Association, and a group of other associations of college athletic authorities and medical directors. The report is the fruit of three years' work by these associations in cooperation with the statistical bureau of the Metropolitan, and represents a study of nearly 40,000 graduates of eight colleges of the classes 1870 to 1905; nearly 5,000 athletes of ten colleges; and of 6,500 honor students of six colleges during the same period from graduation to the anniversary in 1925.

The results of the study are clear-cut. If you want to enjoy a ripe old age, be (if you can) an honor man; your next best chance is to be just a college graduate; your worst, to be an athlete. In the years soon after graduation, athletes have a better mortality rate than their fellows in general, though not so good as the honor men; but from 45 on the death-rates of athletes are significantly higher than either class, and relatively far fewer athletes live to reach old age than do their college mates. Among all three groups, alumni in general, honor men and athletes, graduates of the smaller colleges made a better showing in longevity than did those of the large universities.

Yale offered an exception to most of the general findings of the study in the data on alumni and athletes, so far the only data available from that university. The mortality of Yale graduates was extremely high, especially for recent classes. And so far as the continuing controversy of the crimson and the blue is concerned, the honors are tied: Yale athletes live longer than Harvard athletes, but the rank and file of Harvard men live longer than their Yale contemporaries.

Books in Our Alcove

Up the Medical Ladder

CONSECRATIO MEDICI AND OTHER STUDIES, *by Harvey Cushing, M.D. Little, Brown. 276 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

AND in the beginning there was death. And in the flux of life and death, the short span between, the tragedy of fate. Who dared to wrestle with the pantheon? The medicine man with his incantations, the half priest, half magic worker with his amulets, and then the follower of Aesculapius struggling with the humours, and finally the doctor who was born in those far-off ages when Hippocrates was the grandfather of medicine. These have been the successive aspirants to battle with the evil of death.

Up the ladder from contagious and homeopathic magic, in our mind's eye, we see them climbing, each successive rung a battle with the inertia of the past through the centuries to new victories wrested from the conquest of the agony of pain in the known and in the dispersal of the fear of dissolution into the unknown.

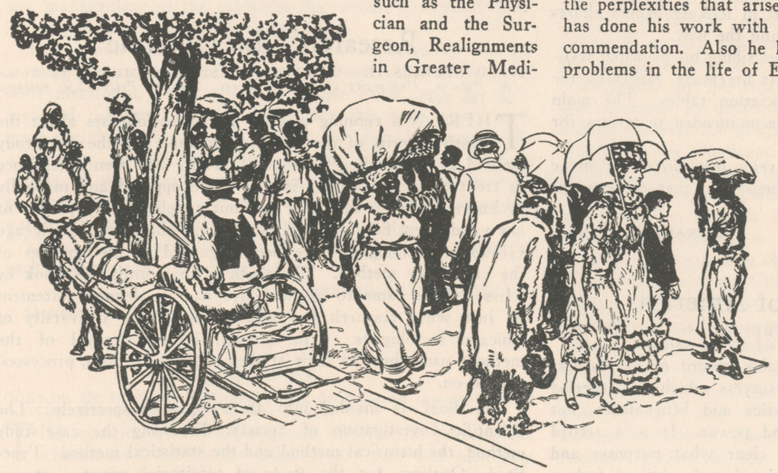
Dr. Cushing, in this charming series of essays, offers the reader a glimpse into the lives of some moderns and near-moderns who have chosen to devote their lives to that aspect of the cultural advance of mankind which has had such a heroic past.

In his introductory discussion he welcomes a class of graduates in the degree of medicine in a modern school of the healing art, in and out of which introduction there may be seen the weaving of that which has made the physician of today what he is and an intimation of what he may become. Then he most intriguingly goes back to the seventeenth century and we learn of Dr. Garth, the Kit-Kat Poet. Dr. Cushing's rare inspiration is nowhere shown more strikingly than in his short sketch of William Osler, the Man. There are other delightful vistas, of the Personality of a Hospital, The Doctor and His Books, Western Reserve, and the Boston Tins.

And there are the intimate entrees into the medical arcanum, such as the Physician and the Surgeon, Realignments in Greater Medicine, The British Medical Corps in France, The Clinical Teacher, and finally a short note on Lister as one of the emancipators. Truly this is a collection inspiring and informative of one who is to be grouped with the greatest of his peers and predecessors. A rare treat from the golden bowl of a rich and warm nature.

SMITH ELY JELLIFFE, M.D.

New York City



End-paper design by Harold Von Schmidt, for Mamba's Daughters by DuBose Heyward. Published by Doubleday Doran

Keep Your Mental Figure

KEEPING MENTALLY FIT; A GUIDE TO EVERYDAY PSYCHOLOGY, *by Joseph Jastrow. Greenberg. 297 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

PROFESSOR JASTROW quite frankly acknowledges that this is a different way of writing psychology. "This book is based on the belief that there are many ways of meeting the demand for knowledge of the mind's behavior, and one of them is to follow the popular habit of mind. This browses more readily than it studies, wants to be stimulated as well as informed, absorbs willingly what ties up with established interests, and that means practical ones. There are all sorts and conditions of readers; and the psychology of the average reader is considered in the present undertaking."

The papers gathered together in book form were originally written, day by day, for the Public Ledger Syndicate of Philadelphia. This means that they have not the continuity that one would expect in a textbook of science. But it also means that they have a quality which one does not often find in textbooks of science. Each brief series of paragraphs has to hit a very special bull's eye. If the bull's eyes are many, so that the result is a little bewildering to the reader who insists upon reading on, that is because life has many bull's eye problems.

Dr. Jastrow has addressed himself to one after another of the perplexities that arise in the course of everyday life. He has done his work with a clarity and a directness that merit commendation. Also he has touched problems that really are problems in the life of Everyman. These range from Curing the Blues and Getting a Strangle Hold on Worry, to Beauty, Behavior or Brains, and The Secret Nobody Knows. If those titles sound a little like what appears in the lavishly advertised pages of the fake psychologists, it must not be supposed that Dr. Jastrow is in any sense descending to pseudo-psychology. He may speak the language of the street, but he keeps the brains of the laboratory and study.

There will always be a conflict of views as to whether this kind of thing is really worth while. But if knowledge is really to set us free, one finds it difficult to understand why the accredited scholar should not be permitted to pass out his knowledge in such form as is under-

standable by the average mind. Dr. Jastrow's book is in no sense a falsification. If the reading is a little too easy for the highbrow reader, that may be because the latter sometimes prefers esoteric mystification to everyday clarification. The book ought to be of very real help to the many who are seeking psychologic light.

H. A. OVERSTREET

College of the City of New York

The Whither and the Why

BORN THAT WAY, *by Johnson O'Connor. Introduction by Supt. F. P. Cox of General Electric Co. Williams & Wilkins. 323 pp. Price $6.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

ARE we born that way, or do we get that way? And what way? And what of it? Well, a great deal of it, since it strikes at the basic assumptions back of most social thinking and welfare work. Mr. O'Connor's discussion of his findings in one of the General Electric plants may, in consequence, be somewhat disturbing to the socially-minded unless they understand what he includes in the category of "that way."

What he is dealing with in his book are condensed reams of data from vocational tests—worksamples he prefers to have them called. But he presents his materials in a form that no other "worksampler" could do: He takes the long view of each bit of data and makes as much of the philosophical implications as of the critical scores for industrial placement. This constitutes an important contribution to the so-called test movement itself, but may lead to speculations a bit invalid since of necessity the tests (worksamples) most useful for vocational work are, of course, those showing least benefits from practice or training.

So adult education to O'Connor, who approaches it from the aspect of vocational immutables, appears very different from adult education as approached by Thorndike from the aspect of learning language and numbers. This does not mean logically that neither is right; rather does it mean that a program of adult education must select its crucial elements wisely, else it will be mere entertainment and not education.

The chapters on The Future of Man, Genius, and Early Training will be as disturbing as the one on limitations in adult education, unless the reader keeps reminding himself that the author is proceding in his deductions from results on four worksamples which have perforce been developed to be rather independent from external variables. With this mental reservation, one can go most of the way with O'Connor; without it, one will miss the stimulating and practical values of his really unusual accomplishment in looking behind charts and correlations to see the whither and the why.

Half of the book is an appendix describing his principal tests. This is a valuable contribution to test literature, especially the revision of the Kent-Rosanoff association tables. The main text of the book, however, can be recommended to testers for its broad interpretations.

Now if some tester would only develop *lifesamples* and make the broad interpretations of the findings—but then there might be nothing left to argue about!

DONALD A. LAIRD

Colgate Psychological Laboratory

The Adventure of America

AN AMERICAN BUSINESS ADVENTURE: THE STORY OF HENRY A. DIX. *Harper. 181 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS book sets forth a remarkable record of earnestness and of kindness, of a business success which was carried forward by strong feelings of justice and benevolence, not merely by the wish for wealth and power. It is a record written by a son seeking to make clear what purposes and general principles led on an exceptional and admired father, rather than a systematic and detailed presentation of the ways and means by which that father built a solid manufacturing enterprise. For all that, it is neither fulsome nor obscurely sentimental, as such narrative may be; the actual achievement exceeds and does honor to the sentiments expressed. In the story recounted there is instruction, stimulating in its novelty, as to how much can be achieved in business by bending energies to create intimate trust between employer and working force, by insisting upon good workmanship and honest quality, by refusing to expand beyond limits within which every one in the plant was assured of permanent employment.

At forty-two, Henry A. Dix, his spirit oppressed and life interfered with by the growing restrictions imposed upon the Jews of Russia, entered this country. At Millville, New Jersey, he discovered the easy good-nature, democracy, equality of spirit, of the small American town. In that town he developed a business known favorably for its product throughout the country, valued at a million, and turned over its ownership to the men who had worked with him in its creation. The start was made in the conviction that the types of dress worn about the house by women, in the nineties, were ugly and poorly made. "The house dresses of the women," the son still writes with reminiscent conviction, "were as drab and ugly as the houses. . . . We dropped the cheap, vulgar trimmings, and exhibited simple but tasteful 'tailor-made' house wrappers." It was, you see, the Henry A. Dix Company which ushered in the change in the American mood.

The house dresses, and later the uniforms for nurses and servants, were practically sweatshop industries. But the Dix Company created standards of its own. It refused to hire outside contractors. Once firmly established, it introduced the five-day week, paid vacations, began to distribute bonuses in addition to wages, common stock to department heads. The plant had no shut-down in twenty-seven years; by refusing to expand rapidly, by producing for stock in such crises as that of 1920-21, the force was kept at work. All these measures, it is recorded, paid.

By 1922 the ideas of justice nourished in 1892 were achieved. To the seven foremen and assistant executives the common stock of the business was sold at "book value," to be paid for out of the profits of future years; for the other workers there was put aside $100 of 7 per cent preferred stock for each year they had been in the company's employment, up to $1,000, to be paid for out of the extra compensation.

In this book the emigrant from Russia leaves an inspiring example to the country of his adoption.

HERBERT FEIS

New York City

Research, Chicago Style

FIELD STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY: A STUDENT'S MANUAL, *by Vivien M. Palmer. University of Chicago Press. 281 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THERE is a running quarrel among sociologists about the relative merits of the statistical method and the case-study method as fact-finding techniques. There has been a tendency to treat these methods as if they were opposed and mutually exclusive, when in fact they are but supplementary phases of any valid scientific procedure. Ordinarily the so-called Chicago Group of sociologists have been regarded as the apostles of the case-study method. The truth is that, until this book by Miss Palmer came to us, we have had no definite statement of just what research has meant among the University of Chicago sociologists. The manual is a portrayal of the methods used there in their studies of areas, groups, processes, and so on.

The book is divided into three parts, respectively: The Scientific Investigation of Society, discussing the case-study method, the historical method and the statistical method; Type-Study Outlines for the study of territorial groups, interest groups and accommodation groups; and the third part, dealing with the techniques of reseach. By techniques of research is meant Observation, The Social Research Interview, The Diary, The Social Research Map, Documentation, and a final chapter on the sociological interpretation of case materials.

As a handbook for students making field studies in sociology, this volume fills a real need and it ought to find a welcome among schools of social work as well as departments of sociology. Let us hasten to add—provided those schools and departments have been staffed and equipped to guide such students in such studies. Otherwise it is a waste of time to turn uninitiated students loose in the field.

NELS ANDERSON

Seth Low Junior College

Especially for Nurses

A TEXTBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY, *by Arthur P. Noyes, M.D. Macmillan. 333 pp. Price $2.60 postpaid of The Survey.*

TO any one who has had to watch the blind and futile attempts of pupil nurses in our psychiatric hospitals to understand and appreciate the significances of their patients' behavior, or who has attempted to explain some of these phenomena to them in simple language, this book will prove itself a godsend. It is much more than simply a textbook of psychiatry for nurses—it is an intelligent, discursive, liberal-minded exposition of the modern trends in psychiatry and of their influences on our conception of the care and treatment of the mentally sick.

The first chapters are devoted to an excellent discussion of the development and structure of the mind, and are followed by equally valuable chapters on the nature and causes of mental processes. These pages are all written in a clear, terse, easily understandable style, and are not distorted by overwhelming partisanship of any one school of psychology, nor by lengthy digressions into purely speculative material. They succeed in presenting to the careful reader a valid conception of the processes of the mind and of their relation to mental disease which can not but help to make the care of the mentally sick more intelligent and more understanding.

Especially praiseworthy in these chapters is the author's happy facility for being at once elementary and simple, and at the same time not stooping to the banalities of popularized knowledge.

The following chapters are devoted to a careful and inclusive discussion of the common disorders of the mind. We find especially fine the chapters on dementia praecox, and on the psycho-neuroses and neuroses. The chapter on the care and management of the psychotic has within it most of what is really essential for the nurse to know.

This review has had its full share of superlatives, and yet in many ways the outstanding chapters of the book have not been mentioned. The chapter on the nurse and her professional relations in itself would set this book apart as a most useful and instructive adjunct, not only in teaching the nurse how to care for others, but to give her at least an inkling of what her nursing means in reference to her own personality; and in the chapter on mental hygiene, what her nursing means in relation to society.

There is a splendid bibliography with references attached to each chapter, and a complete index.

BERNARD GLUECK, M.D.

Ossining-on-Hudson, New York

Glands

GLANDS IN HEALTH AND DISEASE, *by Benjamin Harrow. Dutton. 275 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE question of endocrine glands interests, at present, the scientist and the layman alike. Every year and each new work make clearer to us the colossal importance of those glands for the life of the human body. We convince ourselves that the functions of a number of organs—such as the heart, the kidneys, the brain—depend on the condition and efficiency of the so-called endocrine glands. Regretfully, Mr. Harrow has forgotten even to mention in his book one very important circumstance, namely, that the endocrine glands are extremely sensitive to every infection and auto-intoxication.

The present book—a new edition, revised and enlarged—consists of a series of popular sketches devoted to separate glands: thyroid, parathyroid, pituitary, and so on. Several chapters deal with the relationship of the endocrine glands to the nervous system and organotherapy. It is well written, and certain chapters, especially on thyroid, offer new data. Other chapters, however, dwell on subjects well known to us. There is a chapter on the organs of reproduction which will greatly interest the reader, but the author devotes himself entirely to the analysis of the works of Steinach and Voronoff, without even once referring to the remarkable works of Leo Loeb, who had explained the significance of the individuality during process of gland transplantation, as well as to the works on correlation between the cortex of supra-renal and the function of the sexual glands (Fraenkel).

In theory and in practice, the role of the cortex is of paramount importance. It is, namely, that gland that is the first one to react to any infection in the body. For instance, influenza and diphtheria very easily affect the cortex. And it is not in vain that the prominent French scientist, Parisot, has said: "Many a child could have been saved from death resulting from infectious diseases, had the physicians understood the significance of the cortex of the supra-renal." And it is this very important gland that Mr. Harrow hardly mentions.

The merit of the book consists in the desire of the author to connect the basic processes of the living organism with the functions of the separate glands. The book is recommended to every one who wishes to get a general idea about the endocrine glands.

BORIS SOKOLOFF, M.D.

New York City

A Standard Reference

THE CHILD IN AMERICA, *by William I. Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas. Knopf. 583 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE CHILD IN AMERICA is a study in the causation and treatment of the behavior maladjustments of youth. The first one hundred pages discuss the varieties of maladjustment. Typical behavior difficulties are illustrated by concrete, descriptive case materials. The writers find that the factors causative of these maladjustments are divided between two general fields—the organic peculiarities of the individual (physical, mental, and emotional endowments and deficiencies) and the social situation to which that individual must adjust.

Programs for the treatment and prevention of delinquency are discussed in detail and carefully evaluated as to their success. Among the programs discussed are the juvenile court (especially the Cincinnati, Boston and Chicago courts); correctional institutions (the Berkshire Industrial Farm, the Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, the George Junior Republic and Dr. Van Water's El Retiro are presented as notable examples); placement in foster homes (Healy's work in particular); child-guidance clinics (as illustrated by the Commonwealth clinics and the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research); visiting teaching and school counselling (the White Williams Foundation of Philadelphia, the Rochester experiment, the Commonwealth program, and the set-up at Erasmus Hall in Brooklyn are discussed in detail); character education in the schools; parent education and various community organizations (the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Boy and Girl Scouts and Columbian Squires, the Big Brother and Big Sister organizations, settlements, the Boys' Club Federation, service-club programs, and the like).

The findings of recent researches into the causation of behavior maladjustments are dealt with in comprehensive but

critical fashion. Under The Psychometric Approach, the authors discuss the relationship of test intelligence to original nature and experience (Terman's point of view, the studies by Freeman and Burks on foster children, Burt's study of the relation of intelligence to schooling, and Gordon's study of Gypsy children and "canal boat" children are presented in detail), to school success and social adequacy, and to anti-social behavior (where studies by Slawson, Burt, Fernald, Murchison, and Haggerty are presented). Under The Personality Testing Approach are taken up attempts to "test" or measure temperamental traits, emotional responses, attitudes (the work of Hartshorne and May on character traits, of Moore and Gilliand on aggressiveness, of Landis on the physical expression of emotional experiences, of Downey on will-temperament, of Marston on introversion-extroversion, of Allport on ascendance-submission, of Travis on suggestibility and negativism, and of Woodworth on the psychoneurotic inventory) and the relationship of the performance on personality tests to delinquent behavior (Mathews, Slawson, and others). Other chapters are on The Psychiatric Approach, The Physiological-Morphological Approach, The Sociological Approach and The Methodology of Behavior Study.

The authors have brought a unique preparation to the problem of methodology and The Child in America is a notable addition to the literature on behavior maladjustment. The authors have organized, and presented without bias, a vast amount of material that has hitherto been inaccessible. Social workers, schoolmen, physicians, psychiatrists, judges will find the book not only useful but indispensable. It will be a standard reference work for years to come.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

New York University

"Teacher Says—"

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES, *by E. K. Wickman. The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publication. 247 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE basic purpose of education—irrespective of the degree of culture attained by the specific group—is to transmit the experiences of preceding civilizations to the individual in the shortest possible time, in order to enable the individual to function in his community. Education is as old as the instinct of self-preservation itself and is really a function of this instinct. Each generation, however, defines its educational aims in terms of its own experience. The school, the guardian of the instinct of self-preservation, tends to maintain its own values by inculcating the attitudes of the controlling generation. The family—which is paradoxically the more progressive, adaptable element of society—is the child's first teacher, so that the child comes equipped, well or badly, with attitudes to challenge the stabilizing element in society, which is the school. The eternal conflict is on! The conspicuous deviation from the traditional—in this case, the misbehaving child—becomes the problem.

True to form, Mr. Wickman's project began as a study of the deviation: the behavior-problems of children. But his scientific outlook, like a barometer, registered a disturbing element, namely, the teachers' attitudes. And straightway his investigation was turned to the effect of teachers' attitudes on children's behavior. As he says, "In a sense, the measurement of the teachers' responses to child behavior constitutes a measurement of the attitudes of the public school."

How absorbing and significant charts, tables and lists of behavior problems can be, is demonstrated by the effective simplicity with which Mr. Wickman clarifies his thorough research. The evaluation of these lists by teachers and mental hygienists reflects their respective attitudes accurately, and surprises one by bringing out so sharply the differences between them. "Mental hygienists, on the other hand, consider these unsocial forms of behavior most serious, and discount the stress which teachers lay on anti-social conduct. Such differences in attitudes imply essential differences in methods of treatment and discipline."

This comprehensive study of public-school attitudes is distinguished by a sense of proportion and relative values. The program for the reeducation of attitudes, suggested in the last chapter, is valuable since it meets the needs of changing educational aims. Certainly one may hope to see the conserving factor of teachers' attitudes united with the social and emotional viewpoint of mental hygienists. "Educational research," so Mr. Wickman concludes, "is destined to investigate the learning processes and teaching techniques involved in social behavior as well as in intellectual and manual accomplishments." Toward this end, wide distribution among our educational institutions of this dynamic book would be a fitting beginning.

ROSETTA HURWITZ

New York City

How New Schools Go

THE CHILD-CENTERED SCHOOL; AN APPRAISAL OF THE NEW EDUCATION, *by Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker. World Book Company. 359 pp. Price $2.40 postpaid of The Survey.*

"AS if all schools that children attend were not child-centered!" one would like to exclaim. But they have not been; in their classification of children by grades, their rigid standardization of accomplishment from one year to the next, even in their furniture and equipment, they have been adult-centered. The goal of the new schools, such as Mr. Rugg and Miss Shumaker appraise in this volume, is a revolution—a change from the adult to the child as the center of interest, and a recognition of "tolerant understanding and creative self-expression as the two foci of education."

There has been, as Mr. Rugg admits, an abundance of books and articles that are casually retrospective in their treatment of the child-centered school. This book aims at a critique of the new education; it accomplishes its aim by showing its readers the actual operation of several outstanding new schools, from the Lincoln School of Teachers' College to the Ojai Valley School in California. It shows, by specific instances of the work of these schools, exactly how "drawing-out environments" replace the old "pouring-in environments," and how such skills as writing and grammar are arrived at when the child himself arrives at a recognized need for them. It does not ignore the old mountain of curriculum, but treats it as provisional and adaptable to the needs of the children themselves, always with the goal of "interesting and purposeful activity that has an intimate connection with the child's life." Its chapters on the creative arts are a sane and practical explanation of how, in such schools as Lincoln, "the artist in Everyman's child is being discovered." Vision and working knowledge combine in The Child-Centered School.

An abundance of illustrations, helpful footnotes, a classified bibliography, and an index add their practical values to this thorough appraisal of the new education.

ALTHA LEAH BASS

Norman, Oklahoma

Resolved—

FEDERAL AND STATE CONTROL OF WATER POWER, *by Julia E. Johnsen. H. W. Wilson Co. Vol 5, No. 9 of The Reference Shelf. 186 pp. Price 90 cents postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS is a useful book for debating teams, highschool students and others interested in the high points of the water-power question. Here, in fact, debating is made easy, almost uniform. Even the college student need not fear of failing to make a favorable impression on a debate judge by rigorous adherence to the brief presented in the first part of the book. There is evidence—or failing that, authority—to back up every claim. Anybody can find confirmation for his convictions if that is what he is looking for.

As in most of these handbooks—and all of us have used them at one stage or another—so much is affirmed and so much refuted that one can, unless convinced beforehand, be left somewhat uncertain, even dizzy, about what the real clash is. At no point does the compiler step out of her voluntarily modest role and point out that the great gentlemen speaking are making this or that assumption about a certain condition for which no proof is furnished. The whole book is a striking illustration of the condition which resulted in the flood of power-company propaganda through the country. The essential facts of the industry were not public. The power people could claim they were thus and so. No one was in a position to deny that claim with authority. This condition still obtains.

The introductory quotations are from O. C. Merrill, secretary of the Federal Power Commission, Dr. John Bauer, Dr. John H. Gray, noted experts on utility regulation, and Congressman Davenport of New York. They are liberal in the sense that they state that the industry now presents serious problems.

The argument for federal or state ownership of waterpower resources is made up of quotations from Senator Norris, Gifford Pinchot, Norman Hapgood, Governor Smith, James P. Noonan, C. A. Dykstra, Judson King and D. L. Beard. These fail to bring out the main argument on Muscle Shoals—that the present plant jumps in value about four times when connected up with other developments on the Tennessee. The discussion of the St. Lawrence project does not get down to cases with any discussion of the proposed leases for that development. The influence of power companies in the general life of the community is covered only by a four-year-old speech by D. L. Beard on the influence of certain power men in California. A few pages from the recent Federal Trade reports on holding companies or on propaganda would have given more of a balance of fact and significant detail. While Governor Smith's speech for the Power Authority is given, there is no acknowledgment in the brief that the argument about bureaucracy has been met to a large part by this plan for a state-owned corporation, as it is also met in Senator Norris' Muscle Shoals bill.

The argument against federal or state ownership is made by then-Secretary Hoover, Representative Eaton of New Jersey, the majority of the National Association of Utility Commissioners, Guy E. Tripp and Arthur Twining Hadley. Considerable quotation from President Coolidge runs through this section. It could have been strengthened by more defense of the present holding company arrangement and by the arguments of the utility people in favor of their right to educate the public by all ways and means.

H. S. RAUSCHENBUSH

Schools and Psychoanalysis

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND EDUCATION, *by Barbara Low. Harcourt, Brace. 224 pp. Price $2.25 postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS volume is devoted to an exposition of the unconscious forces at work in educational processes. It is clear, convincing, stimulating and refreshing. Miss Low is well equipped for her task, both from the psychoanalytical and pedagogical standpoints. Her volume is intended primarily for teachers, and for them the book will be found practically indispensable in furnishing a lucid explanation of the bearing of psychoanalysis on education.

The author's main purpose is to show the unconscious at work in the schoolroom, that is, in the reciprocal transference and resistance reactions between teacher and pupil. There are discussed in turn the problems of authority and discipline, the fundamental behavior tendencies as motivated by unconscious wishes and fantasies, the effect of unconscious emotions upon intellectual processes, the significance of sublimation for education and some modern educational developments from the psychoanalytical standpoint. The educator must understand the influence of the unconscious mind upon consciousness, the mechanism of repression, as the unconscious is largely the creation of the repression process, and finally the bearing of sublimation upon educational methods, before he can hope to achieve any changes in the systems of education. Without such knowledge he will continue to use such loose terms as freedom, self-development, interest or self-control. Miss Low shows that intellectual activity is a safety valve for repressed emotions and consequently she is very critical of the so-called intelligence tests.

In the book, psychoanalytical theories are expounded only so far as they serve to explain educational processes. It elucidates the pedagogical applications of psychoanalytical principles which had already proven valuable in the clinical field, and as such, it illuminates both the theory and practice of education. A pedagogy which utilizes psychoanalytical discoveries not only helps the character of the individual pupil and provides a deeper insight for the teacher, but at the same time makes the instincts socially more useful through the process of sublimation. In fact, the teacher of the future will not leave this pedagogical development to chance or to artificial schemes for character study or intelligence tests, as is done in so many educational theories, but will be guided by a knowledge of the instincts and the unconscious mental processes as they have been illuminated through psychoanalysis. For such a teacher the book can be heartily recommended as the best of its kind which has yet appeared.

ISADOR H. CORIAT, M.D.

Boston, Massachusetts

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1929

THE SOCIAL WORK SHOP

A Campaign Director Looks at His Profession

By ARNAUD C. MARTS

DURING the past twenty-five years, a new profession has been growing up in our midst—that of the campaign director—who holds himself available for the direction of financial campaigns for various philanthropic institutions. He has developed along with the rise of the modern short-term campaign method for financing philanthropy. The numerous war and post-war campaigns acted as a great stimulus to the growth of this new profession, too great a stimulus in fact, for the unprecedented number of campaigns produced a demand for campaign directors far greater than the number of men who were qualified by ability or training to render effective service in that capacity. A great many who were caught up in this situation and who were called campaign directors were so in name only; others brought to the cause of philanthropy a mastery of technique and a quality of leadership which have been useful and constructive.

Now, after these ten years since the Armistice, the profession is old enough to begin to understand itself, and to set for itself standards of practice and achievement which should help guide its further development.

There are men in this new field who are anxious to keep their work on the plane of professional service, rather than on the plane of a commercial enterprise. There are men who direct their campaigns with far more zeal for the philanthropies they serve than for the fees they receive, and such men are taking thought of the morrow, anxious that their new profession shall come to merit public recognition and approval as a permanent and worth-while part of American life.

As a step in this direction, let us examine certain practices and suggest some ethical standards.

1. *Philanthropic campaigns should be directed on a salary or fee basis; never on a percentage basis.* Scarcely a week goes by that a campaign organization is not importuned to direct a campaign on a percentage basis. To do this would be harmful to the philanthropy itself, and to the man who does it. No campaign director with deep respect for his profession will permit himself to get into the position where his zeal and consecration and energy may be misinterpreted as "pumped up" for the sake of a commission.

2. *The high-pressure type of director should be kept out of this profession.* The proper sphere for him is in the sale of wild-cat stock. Yet there have been plenty of them in this field, temporarily at least. The financial campaign for a philanthropic institution is emphatically not a piece of high-pressure or whirlwind salesmanship. It is a constructive educational process concentrated within a short term in order to enlist the volunteer efforts of the best and busiest men and women in the community. A campaign director should be a man of cultural background who can enter sympathetically into the work of each philanthropy he serves, and who can interpret its work to the giving public. He should be in the profession primarily because of his desire to serve his fellow-men by helping to build up the agencies of education, health, culture and religion—*amicus humani generis.*

3. *A campaign corporation should not assign a man to direct a campaign unless he is fully experienced and seasoned.* This seems rather elementary, yet no ethical standard is more often abused than this one. Men have been sent out to direct campaigns who previously had had no experience whatsoever. That is neither fair nor honest. A campaign corporation should be composed of a permanent staff of men whose individual experiences becomes cumulative.

4. *A campaign should not be directed for an organization which is not thoroughly worthy of the money it seeks.* The success resulting from many legitimate campaigns has encouraged other types of organizations to launch public appeals. The campaign director who helps "put over" an unworthy appeal injures the cause of every legitimate philanthropy and of the campaign profession as well.

5. *Charges and costs should be kept low.* Fees have often been far too high. Some campaign directors have charged too much for their services, and others have not been efficient in keeping incidental expenses down. There has been enough experience now to establish economical standards of costs.

6. *A thoroughly experienced campaign director can generally tell, after a brief study, what the probable results of a campaign will be. He should give his professional opinion candidly to his prospective client,* even though such counsel would mean abandoning the proposed campaign or postponing it until more favorable conditions might be obtained. This has not always been done.

7. *The "outside" campaign director should be brought in only—as a general rule—to direct capital-fund campaigns.* An institution which needs capital funds (either for building or endowment) only once in five or ten years, or perhaps only once in a generation, cannot train and maintain its own campaign director for that infrequent service, and in such situations, the "outside" campaign director is essential. But the institution which must raise current funds every year should have its own permanent financial program and director, and should make use of the special campaign director only when the special appeal for *capital funds* is made.

THE COLLEGES IN THE NEWSPAPERS*

By A. C. MARTS

This paper is based upon a study of 35,341 items of college news clipped from one month's issues of 100 daily newspapers.

A FEW years ago a distinguished newspaper editor was a speaker at a Commencement alumni dinner. A previous speaker had deplored the lack of newspaper publicity concerning their Alma Mater. The editor, in his address, however, congratulated the college on keeping out of the papers. "For," he said, "the newspapers of today are not interested in the constructive side of college life. Therefore, the less newspaper publicity you have, the healthier your condition is and the better off you are."

Is this true? During the past several months we have made a careful study of the attitude of the newspapers of the United States toward college news. In the process of this study we subscribed for one month to 100 of the leading metropolitan dailies chosen from all sections of the nation. Our readers have gone through each of these 3,000 issues and have clipped every news item or editorial in which a college is mentioned. These clippings have been studied and classified. The month selected was that of May, 1931, which is not thrown out of focus either by football or Commencement news. The college news of this month may, therefore, be regarded as a fairly accurate index of the degree and nature of the interest which our newspapers have in our colleges.

The results of this study are presented herewith to those who may be interested.

Two Clippings were the Fewest Found

The total number of items of college news taken from the total of 3,000 dailies in the month of May was 35,341. These added up to 6,709 yards of news. This amounted to 3 per cent of all the reading material.

Of the 3,000 newspapers thus studied, there was not a single issue that did not contain at least two college items!

124 Clippings Established the Record!

The greatest number of college clippings in any one issue was 124 taken from a Sunday edition of the New York *Herald-Tribune!* These totaled thirty yards of college news! That much space in one issue

*Reprinted from the May 1932, Bulletin of The Association of American Colleges.

of one daily paper certainly established the college as of authentic news value. Second honors go to the *New York Times,* one issue of which had seventy-six clippings for a total of 25.7 yards of space. Honors go to the *Boston Transcript* for the highest percentage of college clippings to the total reading matter for the month—seven and one-half per cent.

Good or Bad News?

However, a person of discrimination is not satisfied merely with the *volume* of publicity received by the institution in which he is interested. What of its value and its effect upon the reading public? There is a "good press" and a "bad press," and no publicity at all is to be preferred to the sort to which our Commencement speaker alluded. So it became necessary to study these 35,000 clippings and classify them in accordance with their subject matter.

We discovered fourteen general subjects or topics under which they could be grouped. We threw the clippings into these fourteen divisions and measured the total yardage of each to determine their relative volumes. This was, of course, revealing. The results, in percentages, follow:

		Per cent
1.	Sport	39.00
2.	Pictures	24.20
3.	General news, including student self-help stories	11.75
4.	Scholastic honors and awards, honorary degrees, etc	5.40
5.	News of Alumni	4.75
6.	Scientific and educational research papers and addresses by faculty members	2.75
7.	Social activities on campus	2.60
8.	Scandal, auto accidents, bootlegging, etc	2.40
9.	Obituary news	2.20
10.	Fraternity life	2.00
11.	Editorial comment	1.00
12.	Campus romance, engagements, weddings, etc	.80
13.	Musical events	.75
14.	Financial campaigns and gifts	.40

These figures need little comment to bring out their significance. They indicate primarily that the vast preponderance of the college news in the public daily newspapers is constructive and helpful. The 2.4 per cent of news devoted to the escapades of flaming youth is of decidedly minor importance in comparison with the whole; less, indeed, than item No. 6, which, because of its lack of popular appeal might be expected to make very rare appearances in the public press. Most of the clippings under No. 8 appeared in local papers only. They were not picked up by the out of town papers. There seemed to be a policy to play these escapades down rather than up.

Many Illustrations

Perhaps the most surprising item in this phase of the study was No. 2. Who would have supposed that college news in the daily papers is as liberally illustrated? It may be of interest to note, in this connection, that the great majority of these pictures were of the more attractive sex.

Hard Work Rather than Smartness

A study of these clippings would indicate that most of the publicity which our colleges are getting in the newspapers results from just plain hard and intelligent work in digging up news which is of value, rather than from "smart" publicity tricks which have been press-agented into the papers. Occasionally, there is evidence of a clever piece of press-agentry, but, for the most part, it is just "news" of the 1,000,000 youth who are on our campuses, and of the institutions and people associated with them.

Days of the Week

It was President Roosevelt who first announced the discovery that he had a better chance for publicity in the Monday papers than on any other day. Since that time, every press-agent in the nation has been filing his stories with editors marked "For release Monday." Actual measurements of the volume of all college clippings for the month of May, 1931, show the following distribution of clippings by days:

Sunday, 55,681 inches; Monday, 12,204 inches; Tuesday, 14,432 inches; Wednesday, 14,735 inches; Thursday, 15,016 inches; Friday, 16,531 inches; Saturday, 14,832 inches.

Monday papers, you will note, carried the least college news of any day in the week. This would indicate that the news was not "placed," but was chiefly spot reporting of events as they occurred, plus the special educational articles carried by many Sunday papers.

Geographical Differences

Let us take a cross-section of these 35,000 clippings arranged geographically. The attention given to college news is by no means uniform in different sections of the nation. This may be due to the attitude of the editors, or it may be due to the efforts of the colleges to supply news to the papers. The percentage of college news to general reading matter for the month varied geographically, as follows:

	Per cent		*Per Cent*
New England	4	Mid-west	2½
Mid Atlantic	3	Southwest	2½
Southeastern	3½	Pacific Coast	2½

The College News Story of the Month

What story had the best press and the widest distribution?

Sixty-eight of the 100 papers reported the ousting of Professor Miller by Ohio State University.

Sixty-three of them reported the efforts of President Brooks of Baylor University to sign all the diplomas of the graduating class before his death.

Forty-five of them reported the dedication of Cornell's War Memorial by President Hoover, and the controversy over inscribing the names of the boys who fought on the side of Germany.

Twenty-nine reported the serious illness of President Emeritus David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford.

Twenty-seven reported Yale's announcement of discontinuing Latin and Greek as required courses for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

Eighteen reported the story of the young lady and her father who sued Miami University for expelling her because of low grades.

Other stories appeared several times:

President Hutchins of Chicago confers degree on his father, President Hutchins, of Berea.

Will Rogers declines honorary degree from Oklahoma University.

E. S. Harkness gives millions to Columbia for a library, and so on.

We shall, for our part, award the prize for *the story of the month* to Baylor University. Dr. Brook's gallant death epitomized to the nation in dramatic fashion the moving spirit of the American college, the spirit of devotion to duty, of unselfish service to youth, of courage, of all the high idealism which our colleges have been founded to inculcate in the minds and hearts of rising generations. The newspapers treated this story with the sympathy and reverence and admiration which it deserved, both in their news and editorial columns. It was the "best" story of the month.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

A Five or Ten Year Financing Program For A College*

By A. C. MARTS

A HUNDRED persons may be found able to point out the mistakes of the "campaign" method for raising capital funds for a college, where but one may be found with a better plan. Such better plans are, however, in the making. Vigor of mind and sincerity of purpose have ventured to penetrate the fog surrounding this important question and are emerging with a new technique suited to the needs of the colleges of the 1930 decade. We have, for illustration, devised our plan which we call "The Five or Ten Year Financing Program."

Up to about 1926 the "whirlwind campaign" served the colleges with amazing effectiveness. Thousands of endowments and buildings—colleges, hospitals, churches, Y. M. C. A.'s—bear living witness to the ability of the "campaign" method to produce enormous sums for the service of humanity.

But nature has an inexorable law which might be phrased "Not too much of anything," and in the middle of the 1920 decade it became very apparent that the giving public had had entirely too much of "whirlwind campaigns."

About this time certain undesirable by-products of some previous college "campaigns" began to come into clear view and thus added to the growing distaste for this technique. Some of these by-products were:

A considerable shrinkage took place in several instances.

Some colleges were not able to maintain a later steady level of performance anywhere near the temporary high level of the "campaign" period and a bad sag in prestige and morale ensued.

Some colleges attempted second and even third campaigns in the decade and foolishly used the same appeal to the same alumni to "pay their debt to Alma Mater," which the alumni felt they had paid a few years previously.

Certain church colleges went to the well of denominational generosity with "campaign" technique too often in the 1920's and found that their pitchers had cracked.

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*Reprinted from the BULLETIN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES, November, 1932.

Some colleges attempted to raise sums far beyond their ability to obtain and their moans of disappointment swelled the chorus of discontent with the "campaign" method.

Many sensitive men came to feel that while indeed the method did produce gratifying financial returns, yet it was a highly mechanical and somewhat hollow method, not in full harmony with the best traditions of the American college.

Long before the end of prosperity the "whirlwind campaign" was under sentence, as far as its continued service to colleges was concerned. Its head was on the block awaiting the *coup de grace* which the economic crash obligingly dealt it.

The Five or Ten Year Program

Now, what is this new method which is emerging for service in the decade ahead? New life often grows out of the decay of old life. So it is that this new method of financing a college roots in the decline of the old "campaign" method, eliminating features of the "campaign" which have proved harmful, retaining many elements of strength (which it cannot be gainsaid the "campaign" had), and giving the whole process a slower tempo, more pleasing to a decade which seems destined to place less value on ballyhoo, size for its own sake, and hollow slogans than did the decade recently ended.

A Complete Study and a Detailed Plan

This new method for financing a college is called a Five Year (or Ten Year) Financing Program. Its first phase is a two months' study of the college's financial requirements and financial constituency. Out of this thorough study a Financing Program is created which is the blueprint for the whole undertaking, definite, detailed and budgeted. This Program then becomes the financial policy and purpose of the administration and trustees.

Let no one think that this Program is just a long-drawn-out passing of the hat or siege, for it is impossible to drag out a financial appeal on an even level over a five year period. It is a progressive, cumulative process over a five or ten year period which has its climaxes and its suspense; its quiet cultivation and its intensive appeals; its period of passivity as well as of publicity. It is a well constructed financing program which can sustain interest, drama and effectiveness over a five or ten year period with different emphases at different times.

Enlarging the Constituency

One of the important things which the Financing Program undertakes to do is to enlarge greatly the college's potential constituency. The average college's financial constituency is built on too narrow a base and when the time of need comes, the college has all too few interested friends to whom it can appeal. One college which is seeking a $2,000,000 fund had in its files to start with the names of only 1100 living persons who had ever given the college a dollar. The very first move in their Financing Program was to expand their files to 12,000 prospective subscribers—not just to dump 10,900 more names into their files, but to discover by careful research that number of men and women able to give, to whom some vital reason for giving could be presented. This step in the college's program is now nearly completed after eight months of the painstaking work of an experienced man who traveled 14,000 miles in a car and interviewed 610 persons in the compilation of the new list. Many a college lies within "acres of diamonds" which only a diamond engineer can point out to it.

The Cultivation of New Friends

The Five Year Financing Program insists that new friendships must be made *long before* the new friends are solicited. A man on the street whose only approach to you is with a tin cup in his extended hand does not draw you into any intimate friendship with him. Nor does a college make permanent friends by making its first approach to prospective friends a request for their money. Yet that is the traditional method colleges have used. A well-known college president recently said that his college had never undertaken any cultivation program of new lists of prospective friends except as a part of a plan of almost immediate solicitation. On the other hand, a certain president made his first visit four years ago to a wealthy man and during a fifteen minute call steered definitely and purposely away from the discussion of money. His charm and far-sightedness attracted the admiration of the man and a real friendship began. This man's will was probated during the past six months and in it was a bequest for $500,000 to this president's college. It pays to make friends for your college in the same wholesome, frank manner that one uses in making friends for oneself.

A Public Event as a Means of Cultivation

A step of importance in the cultivation program is a public

event of general interest which will draw the attention of the public to the college and its distinctive purpose. This event should be genuinely disassociated from any financial appeal. By proper management, thousands of persons will attend such an event, the newspapers will seek news of it and all who attend or read of it will receive a pleasing impression of the past significance and the present importance of this college. Thus a college widens its circle of friends and deepens their interest in its program. In the past year or two you have observed some of these events without realizing they were part of Five Year Financing Programs, so skillfully and subtly were they planned.

Solicitation Periods

In the Five Year Financing Program certain intensive and aggressive periods of solicitation are scheduled, each planned to reach one definite section of the financial constituency. Although the whole program extends over a long period, the solicitation of each separate group is not a long-drawn-out wearisome affair; quite the contrary.

A Long Look Ahead

The limits set upon the length of this paper are fast approaching and this brief description must suffice to suggest the general nature and method of our Five Year Financing Program. It is frankly based upon a long look ahead and an attractive system for making new friends for the college.

It is built on the observation that the harvesting of funds for a college is a process like unto the harvesting of wheat. First, the enriching of the land, the tilling of the soil, the planting of the seed. Then the winter of anxiety; followed by the spring of promise; the rain, the sunshine and the gradual ripening of the grain. And all of the process planned and executed by a husbandman who knows how to select his ground, how to cultivate it properly, how to sow his seed, how and when to harvest the grain and, at last, how to store it away in the granary.

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on the attitude of its graduates toward the important matter of making voluntary contributions to America's cultural enterprises. To be sure, among the present generation of generous givers are many college-trained men and women, but there are just as many proportionately who are not college trained. And, unfortunately, some of the cleverest open-field side-steppers of philanthropic appeals in this generation are university and college graduates.

Thrift has long been advocated by the college as a virtue, as indeed it is. But giving is a virtue, also, of as long standing and of equal service to society. The church has consistently advocated both virtues, but has the college, which is next to the church, the second largest beneficiary of voluntary giving in America, yet thrown the weight of its influence in support of the latter virtue? I think not.

The suggestion is, therefore, that the college which is interested in the "Campaign of Perseverance" adopt giving as one of the recognized arts and commend it to its students while they are still on its campus as one of the important modes of cultural expression.

If the million youths who are in college each year could be given but a passing glimpse of America's voluntarily-supported enterprises in their imposing scope and significance, there might soon develop a deeper respect for these institutions which are serving the mind, and culture, and health, and character, and happiness of America. And there might come a time when the college graduate, the "free man," would not feel that he had achieved complete freedom of personality until he had learned to give money voluntarily and gladly to the on-going of the cultural forces of his day.

COLLEGES AND TRUST INSTITUTIONS COOPERATE

The number of colleges participating in "The Campaign of Perseverance," recommended by the Association of American Colleges, has materially increased during the past year. Thirty-eight are now known to be publishing in their catalogues or other college publications the "Forms of Bequest" as approved by the Association. They all include the usual forms for absolute gift to the college for general or special purpose and one or more

It is in recognition of all of these facts that the American Institute for Endowments has been organized. The conception is a bold one, the possibilities are simply immeasurable. This Institute opens up in a sense, however, in addition to the considerations which have already been mentioned, a new consideration of very great significance and importance. The American Institute for Endowments appeals not only and entirely to the sense of social responsibility on the part of our people. In addition to that, it is an implement for the accumulation of funds

found and maintain them, would be enormously impressive. There are, for instance, 210,000 churches in America thus supported. There are 526 colleges and universities, 2738 hospitals, 535 libraries, 1100 Y. M. C. A.'s, 1000 Y. W. C. A.'s, thousands of national philanthropic and cultural societies and, throughout the land, scores of thousands of other humanitarian, character-building, welfare and cultural institutions and organizations, all supported by the voluntary gifts of men and women who want to support them.

A lecture on the techniques of inducing people to want to give would provide opportunity for one of the most interesting portrayals of the human personality that I could imagine. The Old Testament sabbatical year, during which nothing could be planted in the field and the spontaneous growth belonged to the poor; the later Jewish Chamber of Whispers; the financial agent of the medieval monastery; the jousting tournaments in old Merrie England; the subscription rolls with which Ben Franklin's pockets were always bulging; the oyster supper of yesteryear; the "begging" letters; the modern campaign—these are the ingredients of a lecture which even college youth might reasonably be expected to enjoy.

So much for lecture material. Now, a word about the need and value of such lectures as a part of the cultural and educational process. The moment a college senior steps off the Commencement platform he becomes an alumnus and, therefore, a prospective contributor to the college. From that point on he is, usually, deluged with suggestive or appealing literature, or other media of persuasion, which seek to induce him to give money to Alma Mater. But had Alma Mater ever as much as intimated to him during the four years of his student days that the giving of money to a college or a philanthropic cause is one of the essential expressions of genuine culture? No, not a hint as to that, though the college had advocated strenuously every other possible cultural expression except this one, in which Alma Mater, herself, is so vitally interested.

Apparently, it has not occurred to the college that it could or should endeavor to include giving among the arts. Consequently, I venture to express the opinion that college education has not yet had the slightest effect, either one way or another,

found and maintain them, would be enormously impressive. There are, for instance, 210,000 churches in America thus supported. There are 526 colleges and universities, 2738 hospitals, 535 libraries, 1100 Y. M. C. A.'s, 1000 Y. W. C. A.'s, thousands of national philanthropic and cultural societies and, throughout the land, scores of thousands of other humanitarian, character-building, welfare and cultural institutions and organizations, all supported by the voluntary gifts of men and women who want to support them.

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So much for lecture material. Now, a word about the need and value of such lectures as a part of the cultural and educational process. The moment a college senior steps off the Commencement platform he becomes an alumnus and, therefore, a prospective contributor to the college. From that point on he is, usually, deluged with suggestive or appealing literature, or other media of persuasion, which seek to induce him to give money to Alma Mater. But had Alma Mater ever as much as intimated to him during the four years of his student days that the giving of money to a college or a philanthropic cause is one of the essential expressions of genuine culture? No, not a hint as to that,

It is in recognition of all of these facts that the American Institute for Endowments has been organized. The conception is a bold one, the possibilities are simply immeasurable. This Institute opens up in a sense, however, in addition to the considerations which have already been mentioned, a new consideration of very great significance and importance. The American Institute for Endowments appeals not only and entirely to the sense of social responsibility on the part of our people. In addition to that, it is an implement for the accumulation of funds for colleges at the same time destined, we hope, to help great agencies in American economic and professional life carry on their regular lines of activity. Through the plans which have developed during the last dozen years or more, under the legal guidance of Mr. Remsen, and inspired by the business and social impulse of Dr. Anthony and his Committee on Financial and Fiduciary Matters, we now have a method by which those who give, those who receive, and those who serve in the processes of giving and receiving, all derive a certain amount of life sustenance.

To make contributions to philanthropy in general and to the colleges in particular through the means which have been outlined in this conference,* and in several other conferences in different sections of the country held during the year under the auspices of the Association of American Colleges, is to appeal without prejudice and in a thoroughly ethical manner both to the philanthropic impulse and to the profit-making impulse. As the trust companies, the insurance companies, and the members of the bar carry on their legitimate lines of endeavor, they are serving themselves and they are serving the colleges. In turn the colleges in no small measure may serve the trust companies, the insurance companies, and the bar. Existing institutions in the business and educational world are learning to cooperate among themselves and as they build up their own several types of work they render a larger and larger service to the community at large.

* Conference on More and Better Wills, Davidson, N. C., November 21, 1934.

1934

A SUGGESTION TO COLLEGES WHICH ARE INTERESTED IN THE "CAMPAIGN OF PERSEVERANCE"

A. C. MARTS
PRESIDENT OF MARTS AND LUNDY

THE "Campaign of Perseverance," which Dr. Anthony and Dr. Kelly have advocated to colleges which wish to strengthen their endowments and increase their equipment steadily from year to year, is a wise and essential undertaking. It has room within it for every sound plan of constituency building and I venture to suggest, as one measure to that end, a plan for stimulating alumni support. This particular plan does not undertake to increase the giving of your alumni this year, nor next year, nor the year after. The very nature of the "Campaign of Perseverance" imposes no such test on its techniques. But it does offer a much needed, long-term method for developing a keener sense of alumni responsibility.

Briefly, the suggestion is that the college include definitely in its cultural program at least one lecture a year on the general subject of giving. An absorbingly interesting lecture on this subject could be prepared from the historical standpoint, or from the standpoint of the present immense enterprise of voluntarily-supported institutions, or from the viewpoint of the techniques used to induce people to give, or from the viewpoint of the genuine cultural values which accrue to the giver's own personality as a consequence of his generosity.

There is a wealth of material available to the lecturer on each of these and many other related topics. The historical approach, for instance, could trace the course of civilization itself by the development of a sense of responsibility in succeeding generations toward the humanitarian, cultural and educational needs of society. The lecturer might discuss the effect which King Asoka's endowment of poor Buddha's religion had upon subsequent generations, or might assay the cultural values which have flowed from John Harvard's modest gift of 300 years ago.

An overhead view of the present institutions in America, which are here because men and women have made voluntary gifts to

(*Reprinted from the Alumni Magazine April,* 1934)

College Football and College Endowment*

BY ARNAUD C. MARTS '10

A great many colleges, during the 1920 decade, were induced to go in for football in a big way in the expectation that a winning team would be of great help in attracting both gifts and students to their campuses. The pretensions of football have been considerably deflated in the past few years (along with the deflation of many other hopes and plans; but there is still enough misapprehension amongst college presidents and trustees in regard to what football should or should not be expected to do for the general promotional program of a college, to warrant a brief discussion of it.

You have heard, and I have heard, many a college trustee say something like this, "What we need is a football team. I mean a team that can win games and make the newspaper headlines. If we could turn out a first-class football team, we'd have no trouble getting all the students we could admit and in getting the friendship of men with money. But as long as we dub along with a fourth-rate team nobody is going to pay any attention to us." I venture to say that this idea has been expressed in substantially these same words in the councils of every college represented here.

Well, let us examine the actual experiences of colleges with football as a promotional technique during the 1920 decade. Let us see just what football did or did not accomplish for them in dollars and cents in that ten-year period. I have taken the rather famous Bulletin No. 23 of the Carnegie Foundation, which is a very complete survey of college football, and have selected from it just as fairly as could be done 16 colleges which are mentioned as having spent much time and money in building up their football teams. I have selected 16 other colleges which are mentioned as having regarded football as an amateur sport and as not having spent money to get players. I prefer not to name the colleges in either group as I do not wish these comments to be interpreted as a criticism of any sort of any college. The colleges were selected impersonally, and I believe fairly, with the idea of having each group of 16 balance with the other in respect to geography, size, age and type. They were selected with a sincere desire to throw light upon a vital college problem and not for the purpose of proving any preconceived notion. If anyone questions the fairness of the selections, he is privileged to make his own selections and to try the same experiment with his own choices.

The 16 colleges selected to represent the "football" group are situated in 13 states, in all sections of the nation. Their asset value in 1921 ranged from $550,000 to $7,500,000. They are average sized colleges. The "non-football" group are situated in 14 states, also in all sections of the nation. Their asset value in 1921 ranged from $750,000 to $8,400,000, also average sized colleges.

The aggregate property value of the "football" group in 1921 was $28,237,130. In 1930, this aggregate property value had increased to $61,295,639, a gain of $33,058,509; in percentage a gain of 117 per cent.

The aggregate value of the "non-football" group in 1921 was $27,195,348. In 1930 this aggregate property value had increased to $61,403,921, a gain of $34,208,573; in percentage a gain of 125 per cent. Thus far the race is fairly even between "hares" and "tortoises." The latter are slightly in the lead, but not impressively so.

But the real test of the soundness of a college's financial promotional program lies in its ability to build up a stabilizing endowment. Building and equipment are essential and must be provided, of course, but the year-in-and-year-out problem of college financing is to strengthen endowment. The cornerstone of a sound college financing policy is to lay aside a dollar or more in endowment for every dollar added to equipment. The college which fails in that test soon joins in the lament of the college president who secretly bemoaned his good fortune of the gift of another building, "One more building given us and we'll be ruined." Let us, then, compare the endowment gains of the two groups.

In 1921 the aggregate endowment of the "football" group was $10,880,265. By 1930 they had increased this to $22,806,254, a gain of $11,925,989; in percentage a gain of 105 per cent.

The aggregate endowment of the "non-football" group in 1921 was $36,461,819. By 1930 they had increased this to $82,639,817, a gain of $46,177,998; in percentage a gain of 126 per cent. (All figures are taken from the biennial educational surveys made by the United States Department of the Interior.)

Here we see the race develop between hare and tortoise as fable suggests. The hare has given the spectators the better show, but the tortoise has won through. The friends of the "non-football" group of colleges made gifts to endowment during the decade four times as great as the friends of the "football" group made to their colleges.

The internal financial condition of some of these colleges which depended upon football for financing strength is pitiful, almost tragic. One whose name has been publicized across the nation by its team was barely able to open its doors last September, chiefly because of a heavy stadium debt. The president of another announced recently in the newspapers that the debt on his stadium is in danger of destroying the college itself.

It is not easy, mathematically, to measure the effect of college football on student enrollment, for the reasons which influence young people to go to this or that college are not so easily tabulated as are property values. I have questioned the student recruiting agents of several colleges about their experiences in this connection, and they tell me that the rating of their football teams is a factor only amongst the exceptional high school athletes who hope to make the team. These lads are usually found to have attractive offers from several colleges and their decision is quite often based upon the best terms offered to them.

The rank and file of prospective freshmen, however, seem to be only mildly interested in the standing of the football teams, and their decisions as to which college to enter is based upon factors quite apart from football. One field agent of a college (which, by the way, is amongst the 16 colleges in the "football" group) told an amusing story of his experiences when he started his recruiting work. He armed himself with pictures of the stadium, the football games, and of various social, fraternity and outside interests and felt he was ready to "sell" his college to all prospective freshmen. He was astonished to find how much high school seniors were interested, on the contrary, in entrance requirements, in college courses, in faculty, and in accreditment to later university work. At the end of his first week in the field, he slipped back to the campus, laid aside his sports pictures, and started to learn the college catalogue by heart in the hope of being able to know more about it than the high school lads whom he was about to meet.

The experiences of these field agents whom I have questioned could be summed up fairly in this sentence taken from the Carnegie Foundation Bulletin No. 23: "As a matter of fact, the athletic reputation of a college or university, and especially its success at football, has little of anything to do with college registraiton." In a later Bulletin, No. 26, the Foundation emphasizes this conclusion again, "The notion that winning athletic teams brings the college increased attendance, contributions for endowment and for academic purposes, or higher reputation among those whose good opinion is worth having, is erroneous."

What merit, then, does college football have? A very good deal. It is a superb college sport, an important factor in the educational program, a thrilling spectacle around which college loyalties and spirit amongst students and the younger alumni can be built. But, as a means of building student enrollment, its net rating would seem to be very low, and, as a means of building college endowment, its net rating would seem to be minus.

*Excerpt from a speech delivered recently before the Southern Methodist Educational Association.

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MARTS & LUNDY, INC.
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Financial and Promotional Counsellors to educational, religious and philanthropic institutions

Reprint from
THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY
February 21, 1934

ARE THE CHURCHES INSOLVENT?

By ARNAUD C. MARTS*

THE DEFLATION of nearly every phase of our organized life in recent years has provided our essayists with an unprecedented amount of critical material and has set up tempting targets for their critical barbs which they have not neglected in any discernible instance. Rich titles may be found in our periodicals which suggest the degree to which the critics have indulged themselves: Another Golden Age Gone Haywire; Eclipse of the Superman; Listening for Religion's Last Gasp; Confidence in Whom? Racketeering on Parnassus; Can Trusts be Trusted? Privateering as a School for American Statesmen; What's Wrong with our Colleges? Are Bankers Intelligent? Fifty Unstuffed Shirts, and so on and on.

It is smart to be critical, especially toward those institutions closest to us; it is rotarian, for the moment, to be appreciative or complimentary. But after four years of sordid revelation and scathing denunciation, the spirit of man yearns to be told occasionally that after all there is some little good in him and about him. Surely not all education is archaic, nor all government stupid, nor all business shamelessly selfish. There must be a point beyond which self-criticism becomes overdrawn, distorted, essentially untrue. Beyond that point criticism sears instead of cauterizes, deadens instead of quickens.

Attacks on the Churches

But the purpose of this article is not to spring to the defense, against gleeful critics, of the constructive aspects either of education, or of politics, or of business. These passing allusions have prefaced a brief defense of an institution which is far more precious and infinitely more important than either or all of these other three.

It is not surprising that the Christian church has not escaped the attacks of a rampant critical attitude. For its own good, the church

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*ARNAUD C. MARTS, who has contributed several articles to The Christian Century that have awakened wide interest, is senior partner in the nationally known firm of Marts & Lundy, Inc., financial advisers, with offices at 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Mr. Marts gives a very different picture of the present financial status of American churches from that widely believed to be true, even within church circles.

should not be immune. But criticism, to be socially useful, should be based upon facts rather than upon widely accepted untruths. The theme of most of the current criticism against the church, which recurs in nearly every critique and which is cited by those seeking to prove completely opposite contentions, is a perfectly false, though generally believed, premise. "America's Bankrupt Churches." We have heard this theme so frequently, with slight variations in phraseology, that the resultant mental image of the Christian church in America is that of a weak, helpless, useless, pauper institution.

The theme is used by essayists and preachers to bolster any argument which they may be making. Says a distinguished fundamentalist: "Contributions sink lower and lower. . . . The bankruptcy of modernism is everywhere apparent." And the modernist asserts: "The preaching of the 'old time' gospel has emptied the churches and depleted their treasuries. The churches are bankrupt and will remain so until the church brings a modern message to a modern age." An earnest advocate for a reorganized Protestantism uses the same theme: "The churches are bankrupt: their denominational programs are in chaos and their financial condition grows worse day by day."

It Is Slander!

A dozen other militant uses of this misstatement might be cited. Each gentleman is making what he considers to be a constructive suggestion to an institution which he loves and serves, but unwittingly he is doing that institution a slanderous harm, for his premise is not true. A student of mass attitudes and loyalties is justified in wondering if the low esteem in which the church is held in many minds is not to be ascribed fully as much to the general reiteration—the parroting, if you will—of this untruth by the friends of the church, as to the hostile raillery of our Menckens, Barneses and their lesser ilk.

The plain mathematics of the case reveals that our churches have come through the four depression years more nearly solvent than most of our secular enterprises. The churches have suffered severe losses of income, to be sure, and many of them are feeling the sharp pinch of new circumstances, but—are not we all? The church's losses should be considered relatively.

Our numerous social organizations, for instance, have suffered enormous losses in membership during the past four years. Golf clubs, patriotic societies, and certain fraternal groups have experienced a shrinkage in membership probably not less than 40 per cent. Yet, in this same period, our Protestant churches have added 1,250,000 members, *net*, to their roll. Is that evidence of bankruptcy?

Again, the national income for all the people of the United States shrank from 85 billions in 1929 to 40 billions in 1932, a deflation of 54 per cent. Expenditures for personal comforts and luxuries shrank from $9,972,000,000 in 1929 to $3,841,000,000 in 1932, a deflation of 61 per cent. Expenditures for recreation dropped from $4,987,000,000 in 1929 to $1,637,000,000 in 1932, a deflation of 72 per cent.* Yet in this period of general deflation of income and of selfish expenditure the total contributions to churches from living contributors shrank from $850,000,000 in 1929 to $510,000,000 in 1932, a deflation of only 40 per cent. The institution which maintained this relatively level degree of support from the masses of the people during the past difficult years cannot be utterly bankrupt. The pitiable consideration about these figures is not evidence to present bankruptcy, but is the contemplation of the paltry 1 per cent of national income which we gave our churches during our late prosperity.

Church Debts

We hear of many factors and prices which have shrunk back to pre-war levels and lower. But contributions to our churches have not done so by any means. The United States religious census of 1916 reported total contributions to all churches in that year of $329,000,000, an amount nearly 200 millions less than contributions in 1932. And yet, the national income was five billions greater in 1916 than it was in 1932! It is too early to give final figures for 1933, but a careful estimate places total contributions to churches in 1933 at $400,000,000, which is still $71,000,000 more than was contributed to churches in 1916, though our national income in 1933 was probably nine billions less than our national income in 1916.

An institution may have a heavy debt and still be far from bankrupt. Solvency is determined, at least in part, by the relation of debt to value. The latest United States religious census, made in 1926, found that the value of the 203,000 church edifices was $3,480,000,000, while the entire debt upon those edifices was $433,000,000, or only 11.3 per cent of their value. It is estimated that the aggregate debt upon all secular properties of the nation, including business, farms and homes was over 50 per cent at that time. That census found that 78 per cent of all church edifices were entirely free from debt. It found further that the total debt on all church edifices was equivalent to only $9.76 per adult member. Is it fair or truthful to charge this institution with being bankrupt?

To be sure, the indebtedness on church property probably increased between the time of the census and 1930. No one knows how much. Advance estimates would raise the percentage of indebtedness from 11.3 per cent in 1926 to about 16 per cent in 1930. No one can know definitely until the next complete religious census is made in 1936, but one can be quite sure that the rate of increase of church

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*Secular figures are taken from Robert R. Doane's book, "The Measurement of American Wealth," published by Harper & Brothers.

indebtedness in that interval was relatively a great deal lower than the rate of increase of indebtedness on the business and secular property of the nation.

A study made of the relative survival of churches and secular institutions during the depression up to January 1, 1933, shows that the churches were far sounder financially. Up to that time, one of six banks of the nation had gone into bankruptcy, one of 22 businesses had gone into bankruptcy, one of 50 taxing units had defaulted on its bonds, one dollar of each eighteen dollars worth of municipal bonds was in default, but only one in 2,344 churches had gone into bankruptcy. The church had made this superior survival record in spite of the fact that it was the only one of the five interests compared which had not been helped by a generous transfusion of money from the RFC. Had the survival comparison been made after instead of before the national banking moratorium, some of the secular interests mentioned would have fared even worse in the comparison.

The pity is that some churches overexpanded their plants during the 1920's beyond all reason or justification. Some of them have gone bankrupt and others will do so. But they are relatively few. Critics point at these "foolish virgins" here and there and mislead us into concluding that they are typical. They are not; they are the exceptions. And they are in trouble precisely because they are exceptions; they disregarded the experience of generations of conservative church financing. These glaring exceptions should not lead us to forget that on all sides of them, in city, village and country, stand scores of thousands of modest churches utterly secure from the dreaded grasp of "le mort gage."

Our bankrupt churches! A very convenient indictment for those who wish to criticize but—is it true? There is much searching criticism that may be fairly directed at the church, but is it more than simple fairness to ask that the criticism be based upon demonstrable truths?

The financial foundations of the churches are simple and plain, but evidently sound. A generation in the past called the church overrich and greedy; the present generation is pleased to call it bankrupt. But whether it be the one or the other or neither, it goes quietly on its way serving God and humanity according to its imperfect understanding, and contrives to survive most of its more prosperous and popular contemporaries.

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MARTS & LUNDY, INC.

Financial Counsellors for Philanthropic Institutions

521 Fifth Avenue

New York City

The Rising Tide of Philanthropy

By
ARNAUD C. MARTS

1954

The Rising Tide of Philanthropy

Excerpts from an address by

Arnaud C. Marts

President, Marts & Lundy, Inc.



ARNAUD C. MARTS, in this, his address in July, 1954, to the Annual Staff Conference of Marts & Lundy, Inc., reviews the current happenings and status of the vast philanthropic enterprise of America.

American philanthropy — the voluntary gifts of over $4,500,000,000 per year to our religious, educational, character-building, health, and cultural agencies, is one of the noblest expressions of American freedom and character.

From his vantage point of observation and experience, as president of Marts & Lundy, Inc., fund-raising counsellors to hundreds of philanthropic institutions, president of the American Association of Fund Raising Counsel, and the author of *"Philanthropy's Role in Civilization"* (Harpers, 1953), Mr. Marts presents in this address a summary of the state of American philanthropy in 1954.

The Rising Tide of Philanthropy

(Excerpts from Mr. Marts' address to the annual Staff Conference of Marts & Lundy, Inc., July 14, 1954, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.)

It is well for us to review the state of American philanthropy each year. Voluntary giving is one of the noblest manifestations of American freedom. The voluntary initiative of free men in America has created our churches, schools, colleges, hospitals, and hundreds of other types of cooperative endeavors, aimed at making a better world. Voluntary philanthropy is one of America's distinctive characteristics.

Let us look at the state of American Philanthropy in 1954.

1. Legislation in New York State

The most spectacular event in the field of philanthropy during the past year was the legislative investigation of so-called "charity rackets" in New York. This revealed abuses in fund-raising in New York City which were revolting, and which provided newspaper headlines across the nation, even around the world. Senator Bernard Tompkins, the Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee, tells me that even the Moscow radio and news dispatches gave attention to the revelations.

It fell to me, as president of the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel, to represent the ethical fund-raising counsel in these hearings. I assembled from the member firms of this Association data on costs and methods of the accredited fund-raising firms, and also their opinions in regard to the legislation under consideration. In this connection I had several conferences with the members of the Legislative Committee, and appeared as a witness at the public hearings.

The subsequent legislation enacted by the State of New York followed quite closely the recommendations we made.

On September 1, 1954 it will be necessary for each fund-raising firm, or independent individual fund-raiser, operating in New York to register with the State Department of Social Welfare. This registration will be for one year, renewable upon application each year.

As an aftermath of the public hearings, many special articles have appeared in national magazines, including Colliers, Saturday Evening Post, American, etc. They all played up the "scandal" angle. However, I believe the whole matter helped to place ourselves and other ethical fund-raising firms in a favorable light before the philanthropic public.

2. *U. S. Senate Hearings*

Shortly after the N. Y. State hearings, the U. S. Senate instructed a subcommittee of its Judiciary Committee to hold public hearings on fund-raising. The Chairman, Senator Langer of North Dakota, requested me to appear, which I did. Senator Tompkins of N. Y. was the other witness at this first hearing. I recommended that the Federal Government should center its endeavor on educating the public on ethical and non-ethical fund-raising and *not* to attempt to control it by Federal laws. Here again the Senators and the press, which was amply represented at the hearing, gave very respectful attention to me as representing the ethical fund-raisers, and I believe the giving public gained a new confidence in the ethical firms. Senator Langer has recently introduced a bill which, if enacted into law, will require each organization which enjoys tax exemption from the Bureau of Internal Revenue to furnish annually to the Secretary of the Treasury full information in regard to its receipts, expenditures, fund-raising contracts, etc.

3. *Pennsylvania Legislation*

Pennsylvania enacted a law in 1919 to regulate the solicitation of money for charitable purposes. This law requires the registration each year of any firm or other fund-raiser operating in Pennsylvania. The chief requirement for registration is that the fund-raiser shall not have received more than 15% of the amount raised. The Pennsylvania legislature recently appointed a joint committee to recommend any needed changes in this law. Public hearings were held by this Committee last month. The American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel was represented by our legal counsel and by our own Austin McClain and A. L. Aderton, President of Aderton-Trostle Associates of Harrisburg. The hearing took on none of the "charity rackets" aspects of the New York State hearings. We have filed a brief setting forth the recommendations of the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel. Here again, effective stress was put on the ethical practices of the firms accredited by the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel.

4. *New Activity of the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel*

An important feature of the year has been the increased activity of the American Association of Fund-raising Counsel. This came about in the first instance because of the responsibilities thrust upon us by the New York legislative investigations of charity rackets.

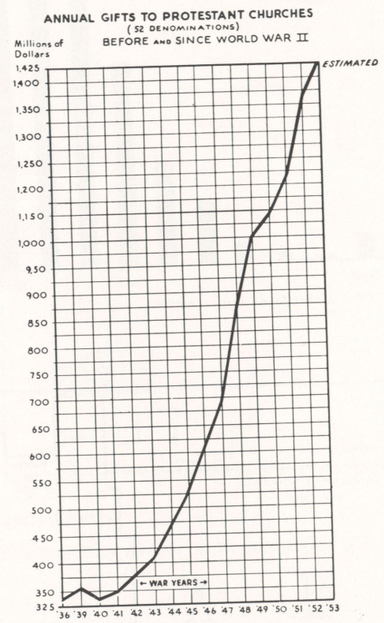
It became clear to us that the Association should take a more active role in educating the giving public in the ethics of fund-raising. Indeed, Senator Tompkins told us that we should take a more positive part in "policing" the fund-raising profession, as is done by the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association in their respective fields.

Consequently, the Association is opening permanent national headquarters at 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Rooms 1021 and 1022. The president of the Association will function as the spokesman for the profession, with the aid of an Administrative Committee of five appointed by him. Printed announcements of this new headquarters are currently being mailed to those who might have need for the Association's services. Here again we are underlining the ethical standards of the member firms.

5. *Giving to Protestant Churches*

The annual giving rose from $550,000,000 in 1946 to $1,345,935,000 in 1952, the latest year of which the figures are computed. My own estimate is that this figure increased by about 7% in 1953. If so, that would bring 1953 figures to $1,425,000,000. We shall see how near that guess hits the mark next December when the compilation for 1953 is made.* I have heard of no indication of any reduction in giving to churches in 1954. In fact, there are certain indications that religious giving in 1954 will establish another new high.

Herewith is a chart showing the annual giving to churches since 1936:



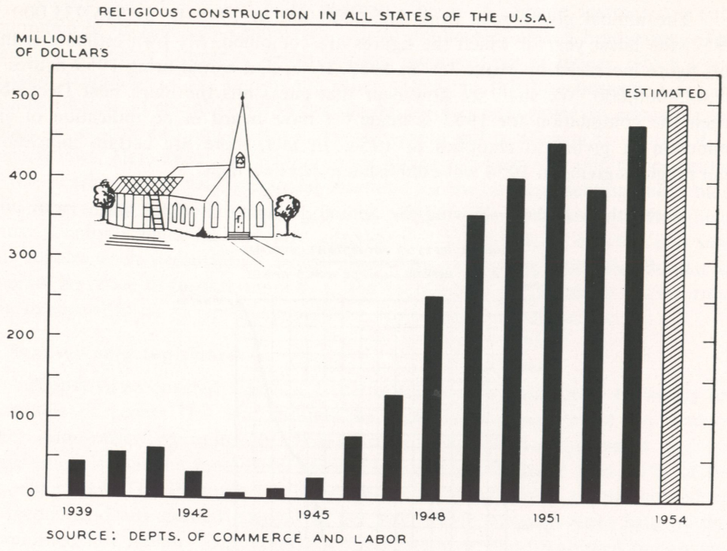
Religious Construction

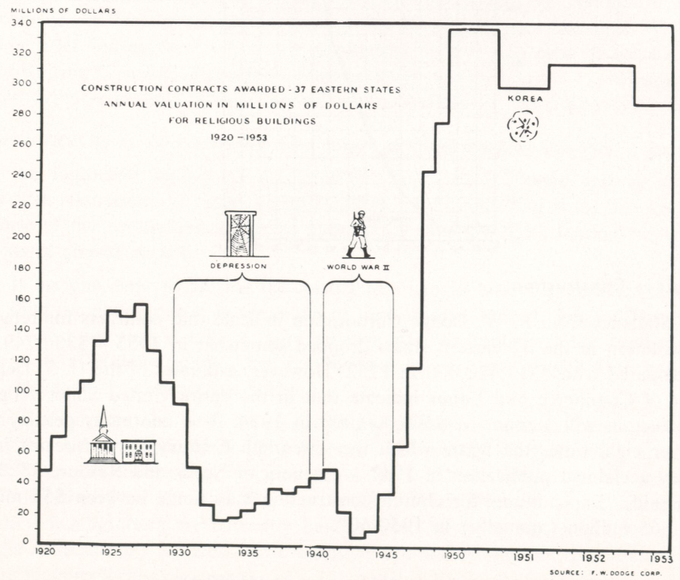
Statistics from F. W. Dodge Corporation indicate that contracts for religious construction in the 37 eastern states dropped somewhat in 1953 – $288,749,000 – compared with $317,480,000 in 1952. However, estimates of the U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor indicate that in the entire United States religious construction will amount to $500,000,000 in 1954. This enormous development is over eight times the figure which the Twentieth Century Fund forecast in its widely acclaimed publication in 1947 – "American Needs and Resources." They then said, "Expenditures for church construction may range between $55 million and $65 million (annually) in 1950-60".

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*Figures subsequently released give the 1953 total as $1,454,000,000.

Herewith are two charts showing the religious construction contracts:

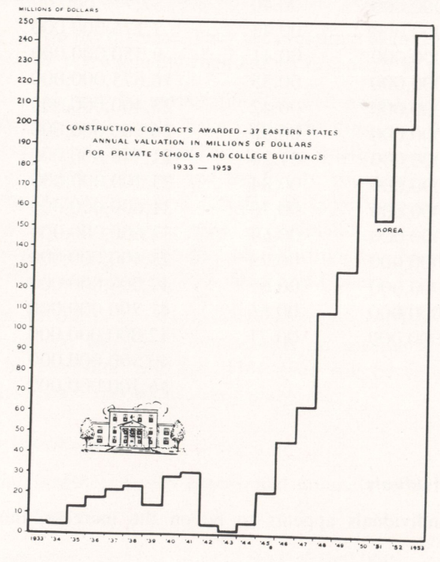




6. *Giving to Colleges*

The latest statistics we have are for 1950. George Lundy's analysis of those figures show gifts to higher education at about $300,000,000. There is no indication that they are any less currently. Indeed, F. W. Dodge Corporation reports that construction contracts for private schools and colleges in 37 Eastern States reached an all time high of $245,198,000 in 1953.

Herewith is a chart of these contracts for the past 20 years.



7. *Giving to Community Chests*

The figures on community chests show about a 10% increase in 1953, as follows:

COMMUNITY CHEST GIVING

Year	*Number of Chests*	*Giving*
1952	1500	**$240,000,000**
1953	1560	**266,000,000**

8. *Corporation Giving*

Here again we find a three-year lag in statistics of giving, but all indications are that giving by corporations is decidedly on the up-grade. The most important single event was the decision of the Courts of New Jersey, confirmed by the United States Supreme Court, that corporations may legally make contributions to educational institutions.

In 1935, the Congress passed a Revenue Act which exempted from tax corpora-

tions' contributions to charitable agencies up to 5% of net income. Following is a record of subsequent contributions:

CORPORATION CONTRIBUTIONS, NET INCOME AND GIVING POTENTIAL

Year	*Contributions*	*% Contributed of Net Income*	*Net Income*	*Full 5% Allowable For Contributions*
1936	$30,000,000	00.40	$7,775,000,000	$388,000,000
1939	31,000,000	00.43	7,175,000,000	358,000,000
1940	38,000,000	00.41	9,350,000,000	467,000,000
1941	58,000,000	00.35	16,675,000,000	833,000,000
1942	98,000,000	00.42	23,400,000,000	1,170,000,000
1944	234,000,000	00.88	26,500,000,000	1,325,000,000
1945	266,000,000	01.24	21,345,000,000	1,067,000,000
1946	214,000,000	00.84	25,400,000,000	1,270,000,000
1947	241,000,000	00.76	31,600,000,000	1,580,000,000
1948	239,000,000	00.69	34,600,000,000	1,730,000,000
1949	223,000,000	00.78	28,400,000,000	1,420,000,000
1950	252,000,000	00.6	42,000,000,000	2,100,000,000
1951*	275,000,000	00.66	41,700,000,000	2,080,000,000
1952*	300,000,000	00.71	42,000,000,000	2,100,000,000
1953*			40,500,000,000	2,025,000,000
1954*			36,500,000,000	1,825,000,000

*Estimated.

9. *Giving by Individuals*

Giving by individuals appears to be on the increase, though we have no late statistics.

Herewith is a table showing those figures which are available.

PHILANTHROPIC GIVING OF INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX PAYERS (APPROXIMATE)

(Does not include bequests, corporation or foundation giving)

Year	*Income of Income Taxpayers*	*Contributions*	*Full 20% Allowable Contributions*
1950	$158,000,000,000	$3,800,000,000 (02.4%)	$31,600,000,000
1951	185,000,000,000	4,000,000,000 (02.1%)	37,000,000,000
1952*	200,000,000,000	(Figures not yet available)	40,000,000,000
1953*	205,000,000,000	(Figures not yet available)	41,000,000,000
1954*	195,000,000,000	(Figures not yet available)	39,000,000,000

*Estimated.

The 1954 Tax Law raised the deductions allowed to individuals from 20% to 30%, provided the additional 10% goes exclusively to educational organizations, hospitals, churches, or conventions or associations of churches.

10. *Foundations in 1954*

Nationwide research conducted in 1952 and 1953 by AMERICAN FOUNDATION INFORMATION SERVICE, in the sponsorship of whose new volume to be published this Fall we are now collaborating, has produced financial and other records on approximately 4000 foundations. In addition, the files of AFIS contain the names of hundreds of other foundations. The opinion of this service is that the number of foundations in existence at the present time, which would meet any reasonable definition, is probably somewhere in the neighborhood of 5000.

Foundations are on the increase. They are organized each day. Recent research covering 1952 records reveals many foundations organized in 1950 and 1951.

The foundation is used by corporations as well as individuals. Hundreds of corporations, both large and small, have organized their own foundations in the past few years. The foundation organized by the small, closely held corporation serves, as a rule, both the company and the family, providing a channel for their charitable and educational giving. Examples of large corporations which have established foundations in recent years are: Inland Steel, Alcoa, Monsanto Chemical, Guaranty Trust, Continental Can, Worthington. Most recent additions include Union Carbide and Carbon, U. S. Steel and General Foods.

The last issue of the book *American Foundations and their Felds* appeared in 1948. A new edition containing information on several thousand additional foundations will be published this fall. This issue will be sponsored jointly by Raymond Rich Associates and Marts and Lundy, Inc.

11. *Potentials for Increased Giving*

Who gives the $4,500,000,000 contributed annually to America's voluntary constitutions?

		Approximate
Individuals give	$4,000,000,000	.90%
Corporations give	300,000,000	.06%
Foundations give	150,000,000	.03%
Bequests provide	50,000,000	.01%

Individuals

The aggregate incomes of 42,600,000 income taxpayers equals $185,171,000,000
The full 30% allowable for contributions equals $55,551,000,000
The amount of their contributions equals $4,000,000,000 (02.1%)
Therefore the remaining potential which we can help develop amounts to $51,551,000,000

Corporations

Corporation net income equals $42,000,000,000
The full 5% allowable for contributions equals $2,100,000,000
The amount of their contributions equals $300,000,000 (00.66%)
Therefore the remaining potential which we can help develop amounts to $1,800,000,000

From these tables we note that, while Foundations and Corporations are fulfilling important roles in providing support for our churches, colleges, hospitals and other philanthropic enterprises, it is the giving of *individuals* which provide, year after year, 90% of the total financial support of American philanthropy.

It is also significant to note that the greatest potential of increased giving is in the hearts and pocket-books of individuals. If all income tax payers should ever be induced to give the full 30% of net income which they are allowed to deduct on their annual income tax returns, our philanthropic institutions would enjoy an increased income of 55 billions of dollars! What a boon that would be to our nation and to our world.

Of course, all of them will never reach that high level of giving, but it is an assurance and a challenge to all persons interested in philanthropy to realize that this enormous potential of increased giving rests in the capabilities of the American people.

12. *Bequests and Taxes*

A few interesting bequests have been publicized in recent months which suggest how socially-minded persons of wealth may extend their service to mankind beyond their own mortal lives.

Here is one parallel situation: Mrs. Matthew Wilkes (the daughter of Hetty Green) left an estate of $95,000,000 and bequeathed $87,000,000 of it to 63 philanthropic institutions, which will serve God and man for generations.

About the same time, the papers reported that a member of one of America's leading industrial families left an estate of $75,000,000, with a relatively small provision for philanthropy. The taxes on his estate were reported to be $56,000,000.

Here is another parallel situation: Last month the newspapers reported that Mr. John A. Hartford of the A & P Stores had left an estate of $55,000,000, most of it to a charitable foundation. His New York State taxes were only $61,171.

In the same issue of the paper was news concerning the estate of a famed financier's widow – appraised at $14,000,000. Little was left to charity, so the New York State tax was $1,900,000 and the Federal estate tax could well be $11,000,000.

Should not more emphasis be put upon showing men and women how their money may continue to serve American philanthropy after their death?

13. *Federated Fund-Raising*

The United Negro College Fund continues to be the outstanding example of federated fund-raising in the college field. There is not the slightest doubt that this united fund-raising effort for its 31 member colleges has raised far more funds, both annual and capital, than the colleges could raise in separate efforts.

It is very likely, also, that next year's joint campaign in the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church will raise more funds for Valparaiso University and two other institutions than they could raise separately within the church, because of the unusual discipline of that church.

However, these situations in the college field are exceptional and do not indicate a general pattern. In normal situations it is our belief that the college which creates and cultivates its own constituency will develop the greater financial support.

14. *"Council for Financial Aid to Education, Inc."*

Next to the United Negro College Fund this has been the most noteworthy program in federated fund-raising for colleges. It was created by a half dozen leading industrialists with social vision in order to extend the original Indiana cooperative plan sparked by President Tom Jones of Earlham and President F. H. Sparks of Wabash. Tom Jones told us about the Indiana plan five years ago when he was guest speaker at our Staff Conference. The Indiana success lead the colleges in Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York and finally 25 other states to establish state or regional associations to raise operating funds cooperatively from corporations.

Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., and a few other business men of his calibre, then created the "Council for Financial Aid to Education" to spearhead the educational program to induce corporations to give funds to the private colleges.

National headquarters were set up at 6 East 45th Street, New York, with Dr. Wilson Compton as the full-time president and with a competent staff of writers, public relations specialists, etc.

The Council has published pamphlets, reports and other stimuli to corporation giving, and is now preparing a new series of publications designed to guide colleges in fund-raising efforts, organization of development programs, etc.

15. *The Growing Fund-Raising Profession*

We are in a growing business, or calling, or profession. New fund-raising firms are being formed each year. Also, more colleges, hospitals, and other philanthropic institutions are appointing administrative officers who give full time to fund-raising.

Mr. Lundy and I have seen this new profession grow in the past 35 years from a dozen or so men who were making it their life work to perhaps 5,000 in our generation. It is still in its early stages. You are meeting a need of your generation, and I hope each of you is enjoying the fun of creating a new and useful profession.

Decreasing Public Resistance

There was a time which some of us old-timers – George Lundy, Floyd Freeman, etc. – remember when we had a hard time persuading many people that we were in a respectable calling. "Professional fund-raiser" was a term not too complimentary.

During the past few years, and especially the most recent years, I find a decided change of attitude toward us. We are becoming accepted, not merely as respectable and honorable persons, but even as essential to our day and age. Many factors are contributing to that happy result. I will mention only two or three.

1st – a sustained record of several of the leading firms, our own included, in ethical, honorable and successful counselling of many of the nation's leading philanthropic institutions.

2nd – The work of the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel in recent months in teaching the public the difference between ethical fund-raisers and the other kind.

3rd – Another factor in the increase of public acceptance of our service is to be found in the growing volume of publications in the philanthropic field.

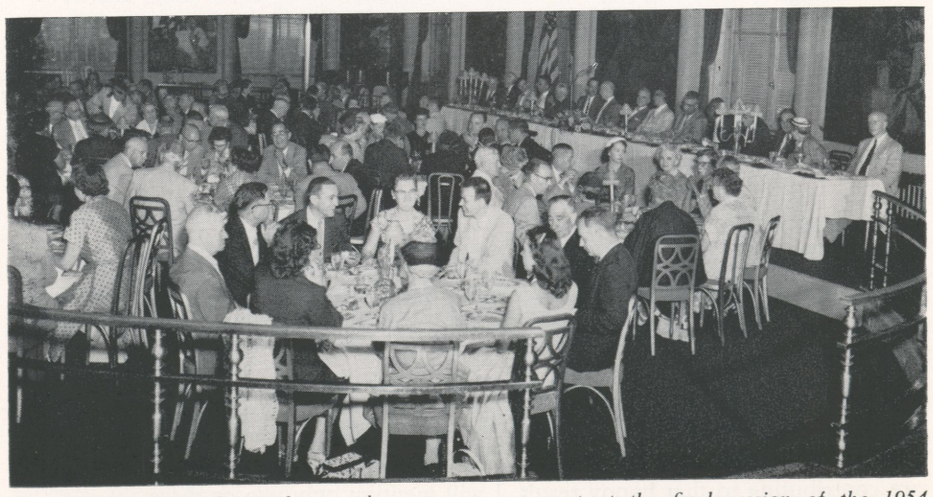
F. Emerson Andrews, of the Russell Sage Foundation, has made a valuable contribution to the literature of philanthropy by three recent books, *Philanthropic Giving, Corporation Giving,* and *Attitudes Toward Giving.*

George Lundy's and Louis Robey's several booklets have had wide reader circulation in the philanthropic field. George Lundy's *The Plight of our Colleges* and his *Raising Money for Church Purposes* in the recently published book *Successful Fund-Raising Sermons,* and Dr. Louis Robey's address *Public Relations and Fund-Raising for a Small Denominational College,* made on the occasion of his receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws last month, have added to the dignity of the fund-raising profession.

Also there is a book recently published by Harper's, *Philanthropy's Role in Civilization,* which I had the honor of writing.

Only last week the Library of Congress requested all the past and future issues of our *Financing Philanthropy* for their files. Many journals are carrying articles currently on the fund-raising business, including the current issues of *Barron's Weekly,* and *Kiplinger's Changing Times.*

After 35 years of pioneering a new business without much social approval, we find that we are being recognized as useful and essential members of 1954 society. Congratulations to you all on being in this business, calling or profession!



More than 100 staff members and guests were present at the final session of the 1954 Marts & Lundy Staff Conference which was held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. Principal speaker was Dr. Lindsley F. Kimball, vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Additional copies of this address may be had upon request from:

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FINANCING PHILANTHROPY OVER THE CENTURIES

Reprint from *Social Science* for January, 1933

By A. C. Marts

If you were a college president who needed a half million dollars for endowment; or a hospital superintendent who needed a hundred thousand dollar addition; or a pastor whose fifty thousand dollar mortgage demanded retirement; how would you go about raising the necessary funds?

History should shed much light on this problem, for philanthropy is a deeply rooted function of the human race, but unfortunately adequate records have not been kept of the race's experience in this field. There is practically no separate literature on the subject of financing philanthropy. Only by the most general and extensive reading may one obtain even a hint as to how preceding generations and different peoples have taken hold of this duty.

However, a science of financing philanthropy is evolving from the activity and thought of a new small profession of persons who are devoting their whole energies to devising and administering financial programs for all types of philanthropic institutions and it is to be hoped they will create standards of practice which will supercede the present methods based, as they are, chiefly on emotionalism and "trial and error."

The House to House Canvass

As one attempts to tabulate this experience over the centuries, one is struck by the reappearance of the same methods, taken up, used and dropped, intermittently and *de novo* time and time again. Each time the method emerges as the creation of its own generation, a "new plan" which that generation seems not to dream to have been used by generations agone. 1932 furnishes an interesting instance of this in the clever Block Aid plan devised by those directing the raising of the Unemployment Fund in New York City. This plan was heralded as a new approach to the problem of reaching everyone and a former Democratic nominee for President dramatized it by starting out on foot to solicit everyone within his block. But in the war funds of 1917-1918 this was called the "house to house canvass." In 1907 it was used, with variations, by the Laymen's Missionary Movement to stimulate the Protestant churches to greater missionary giving; they called it the "Every Member Canvass." Then, as the pages of history are thumbed back, one observes it in use in 1552 for relieving the distress of the hordes of the poor who had been thrown out on the country-side when Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries. Each vicar or warden was obliged by Parliament to make a list of all the people in his parish and "collectors" were appointed to go to every person "openly in the church and quietly after Divine Service," and "gently ask and demand" what he or she would give and enter it in the book. Those not seen at church must be visited later. This method soon had its day, however, and in a few years other methods were substituted.

"Begging" Letters

Letter-writing has been a favorite device for raising philanthropic funds ever since the development of modern postal communications. It is the line of least resistance to which organizations turn most readily. It would be interesting to know how many millions of "begging" letters are mailed in one year in New York City alone. The aggregate is enormous.

Nearly a hundred years ago letters were widely used in London, and the abuse of this method was a contributing factor in the creation of the Charity Organization Society of London, the birth of which marked the opening of the modern era of social work. Lists were for sale or rent with symbols after each name indicating the probable results to be obtained: — meant doubtful; X good; O will give again.

To the inexperienced it might seem highly profitable to acquire a $10 bill by using a 3c postage stamp to ask for it, but thousands of names must be ground through the mailing hopper to produce a few score of interested and contributing friends. It generally costs a philanthropic organization $1.05, or even more, for the first $1.00 raised by mail. Later, if the friend renews his first subscription from year to year, this method becomes more profitable.

The Benefit Performance

The bazaar, carnival, street fair, cake sale, oyster supper, lottery, bridge party, benefit performance and charity ball are all members of a generic family, which roots in a pleasant theory that philanthropy should be sugar-coated with some *quid pro quo,* apparent if not real. The net sums which such affairs earn for philanthropy are absurdly small in comparison with the prodigious efforts involved. A certain street fair took in $1,510 but only $200 was left after all the bills incurred had been paid. Twenty-eight women may spend a whole afternoon playing bridge for their School Luncheon Fund and produce a net of only $15. A recent exclusive charity ball produced for its pet charity an amount estimated to be just about equal to the cost of the gowns purchased to be worn at the ball.

These events are lineal descendants of the gala fairs and jousting tournaments of the 12th century, which lasted from two days to a fortnight. The net income from them was used for the support of those remarkable medieval institutions called hospitals, which dispensed alms rather than health.

The Financial Agent

Another more direct way of raising philanthropic funds is to employ a "financial agent" to go about soliciting gifts. He has an unpleasant task generally, but goes bravely from rebuff to insult in the perpetual hope that just around the corner he will find the friend his beloved institution seeks.

The "financial agent" generally moves eastward, for civilization moves westward. A score of "financial agents" of midwestern colleges may be found at almost any normal time seeking funds in New York, Boston, and Pittsburgh, and often obtaining them in generous sums. The early financial history of Harvard, Yale, Princeton and nearly all of our Eastern colleges is filled with chapters beginning about as follows: "And so the trustees, having exhausted their resources, called upon Brother So and So to make a journey to England and Scotland to ask our friends in the East to send us more financial aid."

A thousand years ago a permanent officer of each medieval monastery was designated the "financial agent." This jovial member of the order traveled over his domain pleading for gifts and bequests to charity, which at that time was entirely an ecclesiastical function resting on the doctrine of the religious merits of almsgiving. He gave absolution of sin in return for alms for his institution.

The average "financial agent" can usually carry about double his own weight each year. If he brings in twice the cost of his own salary and expenses, he is doing as well as the average.

The Tithe

The tithe, which several of our Protestant bodies have attempted to revive in recent years, is, of course, of ancient Hebraic origin. In the early chapters of the Old Testament we read of the Sabbatical Year, during which seventh year nothing could be planted in the fields. (Federal Farm Board please copy). The spontaneous growth in that year belonged to all, especially the poor. Every third year a tenth of all the harvest went to the poor, and at every harvest, a corner of the field was left for the poor.

The Chamber of Whispers

A later Jewish method of obtaining philanthropic funds comes very near the ideal expression of charity. A room in the Temple was set aside as the "Chamber of Whispers or of Silence." The philanthropic and pious stole in here, unobserved, and left donations for the respectable poor, who, in turn, stole in, unobserved, to obtain the relief they needed.

The Dole

The dole has had its share of advocates in the last year or two as a desirable substitute for private benevolence, but history also has much to say about this method of providing charity and little that it says is good.

Greece had its public granaries long before the Christian era with little satisfaction to anyone concerned. Pericles extended the dole idea to paying citizens to attend public dinners and theatrical performances in his honor. The Corn Laws of Rome promoted pauperization to such an extent that in the time of Augustus Cæsar over 300,000 citizens of Rome were living on the dole. Public officials were required to give baskets of food, public entertainment, baths and general charity to all who demanded them. So burdensome did this obligation become that some men tried to escape holding office by fleeing to the desert, but if they were found they were forced to return, take up positions again and start anew the doles to the public. Julius Cæsar became bankrupt because of his enforced gifts. Of a nineteenth century dole in England, an historian said, "A half million people have been flung into the crucible of public benevolence and have come out of it paupers."

The Campaign

The present century has produced but one essentially new device in the financing of philanthropy. It is the whirlwind "campaign" which was created thirty years ago by two men in Y. M. C. A. work. The golden era of philanthropy the past twenty years which has witnessed the raising in this country of sums of unprecedented size is largely indebted to this new "campaign" method. But as we study its essence we discover that even this device, modern as it is, had its origin nearly two hundred years ago in the active brain of old Benjamin Franklin, who rarely moved about without a subscription list in his pocket. In his *Autobiography* Franklin describes his efforts to establish the school out of which the University of Pennsylvania developed: "The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part; the next move was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.* This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and support-

ing an academy; it was to be paid in quotas yearly for five years; by so dividing it, I judged the subscription might be larger, and I believe it was so, amounting to no less, if I remember right, than five thousand pounds."

The modern "campaign" method not only has helped to increase enormously the amount of money available for philanthropic agencies, but has done a still finer thing in multiplying many-fold the number of contributors to philanthropy. In the city of Cleveland, for illustration, 5000 citizens used to contribute the whole financial needs of the city's social agencies twenty years ago. Then all these agencies united in a community chest, with one short, intensive annual "campaign" for them all, and now 250,000 citizens of Cleveland contribute each year to their social agencies. In Rochester the contributors increased from 4600 to 96,571; in Louisville from 3400 to 37,896, and so on. The average cost of raising philanthropic funds through the "campaign" method is from five to ten per cent.

The "campaign" is not the final word of our generation on the subject of financing philanthropy. Public resistance to its technique is developing and at least some of its practices are under the process of change. Back of whatever change may come is the urge of the financial necessities of our immense philanthropic undertaking. America has committed herself enthusiastically to a wide range of constructive philanthropy. We have, for instance, 907 universities, colleges and professional schools which are supported by private philanthropy; as against 526 such institutions supported by taxation. During the prosperous era of the 1920's we gave about $400,000,000 per year to these colleges for endowments and new buildings.

We have 7,375 hospitals in our nation, 2,728 of which are supported by private philanthropy. During the past year we made gifts of $166,000,000 to these private hospitals for their current needs, endowments and buildings.

There are 210,000 church edifices in the United States, all of which are supported by private gifts. The total giving to the churches varies each year from $750,000,000 to $1,000,000,000, dependent upon economic conditions.

Scores of thousands of other philanthropic institutions and societies dot our land, each with its program of service to humanity and each with its financial necessities. While the aggregate financial load seems large, it is not burdensome upon our people as a whole, for even at the very peak of philanthropic giving in 1928 and 1929, which reached two and a quarter billions in one year, our total philanthropic gifts amounted to only 2½% of our national income. This philanthropic "industry" is of imposing size and importance and warrants the development of more scientific plans for its financing, a development which is now very definitely under way.

Complimentary copies of this reprint may be obtained from
MARTS & LUNDY, INC.
FINANCIAL COUNSELLORS FOR PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Reprint from
SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

1934

NO MORE LARGE GIFTS?

By ARNAUD C. MARTS

"THERE will be no more large gifts to education and philanthropy in the years ahead of us." This prophecy has wide currency at the moment and its constant reiteration by many educational and religious and philanthropic leaders is having a noticeable effect upon the hopes and plans of our colleges, hospitals, churches and humanitarian institutions.

A prophecy which affects the further development of these institutions merits careful analysis, for such institutions comprise a very important section of American life, more important, I believe, than is generally recognized. Our philanthropic enterprise, that is, our agencies and institutions which are supported by voluntary gifts, is a vast undertaking. It includes, for instance, 210,000 churches. In many Christian nations the churches are supported in whole or in part by taxation, but in America they are supported entirely by the voluntary gifts of people who wish to support them. If these churches were set side by side, they would occupy a continuous strip from New York to Los Angeles, a "Bible Belt" which would be worthy of even Mr. Mencken's attention.

Philanthropy's Immense Enterprise

Of our 907 colleges and universities, 526 are supported by voluntary gifts and private foundations. Students and teachers at these colleges supported by private philanthropy are equal in number to the entire population of the city of Washington, D. C. Among our 7,000 hospitals, 2,738 are supported by private philanthropy and the 300,000 beds in these hospitals would hold all the people of the city of Louisville, Ky. The Boy Scout Movement is another type of agency supported entirely by voluntary gifts. There are over 700,000 boys enrolled in this great movement at the present time, and over 5,000,000 have been enrolled since its inception. There are over 300,000 girls enrolled in the Girl Scouts, also carried forward by voluntary gifts.

There are 535 of our libraries that are supported by philanthropy. We have 1,000 Y. W. C. A.'s and 1,100 Y. M. C. A.'s, all supported by voluntary gifts. We have a thousand or more settlement houses, tens of thousands of local welfare, charity and humanitarian agencies. We have the Red Cross Society, anti-tuberculosis, anti-cancer, anti-leprosy societies and scores of other health organizations, with many local branches, all supported by private giving. We have local, state, national and international societies devoted to widely divergent humanitarian and cultural purposes from the prevention of vivisection of a stray puppy to the advocacy of the League of Nations, all of which depend upon voluntary gifts for their maintenance.

The Finest Expression of Patriotism

During the 1920's we gave away over two billion dollars per year to these philanthropic agencies, and even in the depressed 1930's we are still giving to them, voluntarily, at least a billion dollars per year. Millions of our best citizens experience their greatest satisfaction of patriotic and social expression as trustees, directors, committeemen and volunteer workers in these philanthropic undertakings. The degree of one's interest in these institutions may well be regarded as the measure of the cultural caliber of the

average American. Gloomy or unwarranted prophecies about the financial future of philanthropy are, therefore, treading on premises which are sacred to the very best instincts and expressions of American life, and should be appraised with great care. I, for one, believe the prophecy referred to should not be accepted on its face value without strict questioning and I propose to question it, briefly but pointedly on six counts.

FIRST, we are in no proper state of mind to prophecy about the future. After five years of depression-shock, the only future in which we can believe is a gloomy one. The only prophets whom we consent to honor to-day are the prophets of pessimism. This particular prophecy seems to me to reflect our general pessimism of the moment rather than any prescient understanding of the future.

SECOND, the phophecy seems too sweeping. We have been misled recently by other sweeping prophecies uttered in a national mood of pessimism or exaltation. "We are in a new era, wealth is unlimited"—1928. "Prices of stocks will never go down"—1929. "Prosperity is just around the corner"—1930. "Our industrial machine is hopelessly smashed—technocracy is our only way out"—1931. "Prices can never go up again"—1932. One who trusted these prophecies is cautious in accepting another prophecy that is as sweeping and radical in its terms.

THIRD, we have no certain knowledge yet of how far the New Deal will go in changing traditional American life. The prophecy we are considering is based, of course, on the expectation that the New Deal will make great fortunes impossible in the future through the withdrawal of special privileges and through heavy taxation. While this is undoubtedly the trend of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, it is too early to know how far the program is intended to go or how far it will be permitted to go in that direction. It may be fairly doubted that the New Deal will bring about such a sharp curtailment of individual wealth as this prediction takes for granted. We read of a resident of Chicago who has filed a tax return on an income of $4,000,000 in 1933; we read of a young man conferring million dollar gifts on his bride in 1934; we know of corporations still willing to pay enormous salaries to men competent to manage their complicated affairs; and we observe many other evidences that great wealth has not been legislated summarily out of existence. Unless the New Deal should be replaced by a system of government far more radical it is quite probable that Americans of unusual business and inventive genius will continue to be permitted to accumulate and hold great fortunes.

Past Giving Not Overburdensome

FOURTH, we have not given so lavishly to our cultural and philanthropic institutions in the past that the curtailment of riches need force the curtailment of giving. The implication in the prophecy is that we have been giving such a large proportion of our income that decreased incomes will necessarily cut into our giving ability. The facts are to the contrary. Mr. Robert R. Doane, author of the valuable book published recently by Harper Brothers, "The Measure of American Wealth," sets forth the amounts which we did actually give to our philanthropic enterprises in 1929, a year of great incomes. Approximately a million people paid income taxes to the Bureau of Internal Revenue that year on incomes of $5,000 or more. They reported an aggregate income of $20,050,000,000. They were permitted to make certain deductions on their tax returns for their gifts to philanthropy up to 15 per cent. of their income. According to Mr. Doane, they listed such deductible gifts at only $380,000,000, or 1.9 per cent. of their income. After spending all they could, or were obliged to spend, for clothes, food, rent, recreation, travel, taxation, etc., they were able to put back 36 per cent. of their income in savings and new investments. This means, of course, that though many people were giving most generously to the philanthropic institutions of the nation, still more persons who were amply able to give were giving little or nothing.

A New Social Consciousness

FIFTH, I question the validity of this prophecy on the grounds of the development of a new social consciousness which may more than counterbalance the decreased incomes. The reason so many of the million persons referred to in the preceding paragraph gave nothing to the nation's cultural causes in 1929 was because they had no interest in such causes. The formula for large giving is not simply a large bank account. It is a large bank account plus a sense of social responsibility. For my part, I would rather take my chances of obtaining a gift of $1,000,000 for a humanitarian purpose from a man worth $2,000,000 who has a social sensitiveness than from a man worth $50,000,000 who is a social illiterate.

There are evidences all about us of a decided growth in this sense of social responsibility. Men are asking themselves: "What is wealth? Why do I have it? Will I be permitted to keep it? Could I get greater happiness by using it for humanity than in holding it for myself? Do I not owe some of it to society?" The whole nation is going these days to a school of social consciousness, the attendance at which is compulsory! New social ideas are penetrating unaccustomed hearts. Is it not quite possible that this new social sensitiveness may more than compensate in the matter of giving for any actual decrease in wealth?

Large Gifts Even in 1934

FINALLY, I question the prediction because everyday events refuse to conform to it. The very distinguished president of one of our greatest universities laid down this prophecy a year ago:

"In the history of the University we have arrived at the end of an era during which most generous and great gifts were received from many different individuals for the endowment and enrichment of the work of the University. . . . The great fortunes and the large accumulations which made these benefactions possible are either dissipated or destroyed. . . . Should these great fortunes be renewed, either in whole or in part, an extravagant government stands ready to take a great proportion of their annual income in taxation. . . . A steady flow of gifts from the alumni, moderate in amount but large in number, must be one of the University's chief sources of dependence for its continued usefulness in the years that lie just ahead of us."

Six months later the gifts to the University in the interim were made public. They totalled $655,499, rather a neat little sum for six months of a year as depressed as 1933. Had this come in the "steady flow from the alumni, moderate in amount but large in number"? On the contrary. $400,000 had come from one generous man and $245,000 of it had come in lesser individual amounts from wealthy persons and foundations created by wealthy persons. Only $9,550.67 had come from the "steady flow."

Early in 1934 a conference of many of the nation's religious leaders was called to exchange views on the financial status of the church. The following quotation sums up their belief on the matter under discussion. "It would seem that the day of large gifts may be over. If income and inheritance taxes absorb the wealth which has been available in the past, then the loss must be made up by the larger number of small givers." Within ninety days of that meeting a modest gentleman of quiet religious faith died and named two denominational boards which had been represented actively at the conference as the legatees of his residuary estate of $10,000,000, without doubt the largest single gift those boards had ever received. Certain of the decedent's disappointed relatives wish he had not died before learning that large-scale philanthropy was no longer expected.

In April, 1934, several hundred presidents and officers of colleges met to confer over the financial outlook. The following excerpts are quoted from the public utterances on that occasion: "There will be fewer men giving millions of dollars to this or that in-

stitution; this seems to be clearly proven by the evidence of the last three or four years, so the college which is going to grow and develop in answering the social needs of the future must look about for new means of support. . . . Certainly one solution will be found in the building up of a number of small contributors." Again, "there will be increasingly fewer great fortunes from which Universities may hope to draw support. . . . Universities will do well to turn their energies to the solicitations of small gifts in large numbers." Others spoke in the same vein, but the sequence to which I wish to call attention is that within ninety days colleges announced publicly gifts and bequests during the academic year as follows: One for $1,300,000; one for $1,000,000; one for $516,154; one for $500,000; one for $402,213; one for $350,000; one for $250,000; three for $100,00; one for $93,424, and so on and on to a total of many millions.

I have not endeavored to prove, or even to claim, that great gifts to philanthropy will be resumed on the grand scale of the 1920s. On the contrary, I have endeavored simply to neutralize the extreme pessimism of the current prediction and to suggest that perhaps the event will not be as discouraging as the prophecy.

Bad Strategy

May I suggest further that it is poor strategy for our philanthropic leaders to continue to reiterate this prediction, even if they could prove its warrant. Its effect on prospective large donors is bad, for they need stimulus and inspiration to give rather than ready-made excuses for not doing so. Its effect on the rank and file donors is equally bad, for they can not be inspired to give more generously by the plea that persons better able to give will or can do so no longer. Most of us give to philanthropy because others do rather than because others do not.

It would seem to me that a far more effective theme for the pronouncements on this subject by our cultural and religious leaders would be a strong emphasis upon the urgent need for the further development of character and culture. Recent world events provide abundant material for such emphasis. The one lesson which looms with ever-increasing clarity against the background of world tragedy is that brute strength and selfish greed in modern civilization succeed ultimately only in destroying themselves. Vast material wealth has turned to ashes in the very hands of its possessors; only cultural and spiritual values remain intact.

Underproduction of Cultural Values

These latter are the values, of course, which our philanthropic institutions, our colleges, churches, libraries, hospitals and other agencies have been created to produce. In a world of material overproduction, these abiding values, alone, have been underproduced. Can not the challenge to strengthen the agencies which produce character, intelligence and good will be invoked by our cultural leaders in a manner so impressive that a continued outpouring of great gifts shall be inspired?

Additional copies of this reprint may be obtained gratis, from

MARTS & LUNDY, INC.

Financial Counsellors for Philanthropic Institutions

521 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Reprint from
The American Scholar
Summer 1938

The American Assn. of Fund-Raising Counsel
580 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N. Y.

Do Taxes Kill the Golden Goose?

ARNAUD C. MARTS

A YEAR or so ago a full-page advertisement appeared in the Pittsburgh morning newspapers entitled "Destructive Taxes Will Eventually Cripple College, Church and Charity." It was paid for by a wealthy gentleman of wide business and political interests who had received a letter from a college president soliciting a gift to his college and calling attention to the income tax regulations which enable a donor to give, tax free, up to 15 per cent of net income to educational and philanthropic organizations. The advertisement admonished all college presidents to fight the heavy direct taxation of the wealthy. Excerpts from the advertisement suggest the full argument:

All responsible heads of institutions, writing letters similar to that which you address to me, should as a matter of duty to the institution represented, as well as decorum to the person solicited, express their abhorrence of a system of taxation that destroys initiative, invites governmental extravagance, involves ever-increasing taxation, lays the groundwork for a totalitarian state, and sounds the death knell of the very work in which they are engaged. . . .

During the last twenty years, the masses, led by the radical press and by swarms of vociferous politicians, pulpiteers and professors, have been more than advocating the crippling—they are demanding the destruction—of that element whose ingenuity, initiative, progressiveness and aggressiveness made us a great nation.

This destruction can be accomplished by any one of three methods: By wholesale murder, by confiscation of capital, or by high and discriminatory taxes. The latter method has been chosen in our country, although it may take two generations to accomplish that which could be done in a day by either of the other methods. . . . When the goose is killed, it stops laying golden eggs. When the seed corn is destroyed there can be no crop. . . . Therefore, unless men like you, who head educational institutions, in conjunction with those interested in hospitals, the Y. M. C. A., and the Red Cross, sponsor a movement and make it a successful movement to prevent a continuation of the improper use of the power of taxation, and substitute reasonable taxation, equitable taxation, general taxation in place of punitive taxation, then let me tell you that you are on your last round-up. The future solicitor will be compelled to make his appeal for dollar and dime contributions!

Many wealthy persons resent recent increases of tax schedules so intensely that as a gesture of disapproval of the New Deal they are withholding support from our voluntary cultural institutions. There are others whose estates are being so drastically depleted by heavy taxation that they feel unable to give or bequeath a portion of their property to philanthropy. On the other hand some are stimulated to greater giving by heavy taxation. "I would rather give my money now to an

institution that will do good with it than have it go via inheritance taxes to a profligate government" represents a not uncommon attitude.

A more even distribution of national wealth and income is one of the objectives of the new governmental policies as to taxation. If this is achieved our voluntary educational and philanthropic institutions should take cognizance of such a shift and build new financial policies around the altered income distribution. Robert R. Doane's *The Measurement of American Wealth* is valuable in this connection. Mr. Doane presents the sources from which all our voluntary cultural, social, religious and character-building agencies except private colleges derive their income. He states that during 1929, the last year studied, the living supporters of all these voluntary agencies paid into the treasuries of our churches, hospitals, welfare, community, relief, civic and philanthropic societies by dues, fees and gifts a total of $2,029,560,000. Mr. Doane estimates that persons with incomes of $25,000 and over contributed 13½ per cent, those with incomes from $3,000 to $25,000 gave 18½ per cent and those with incomes of $3,000 and less gave 68 per cent. The greater share of the load of this philanthropic and welfare burden was borne by those with the minimum incomes because they vastly outnumber those with large incomes. Of 48,000,000 income recipients over 45,000,000 were in the lower brackets. The burden of our voluntary philanthropic undertakings is supported, therefore, by approximately 32,000,000 people representative of all income levels.

Since 68 per cent of the support of our voluntary religious and philanthropic agencies comes from those with the lowest incomes, and if the New Deal policy of taxation succeeds in raising the income levels of these same people, should these various agencies not plan to increase dues and fees and tuitions and depend less upon gratuities and generous windfalls? The latest published report of the United States Office of Education on the receipts of all privately controlled degree-granting colleges and universities in this country reveals sources of income for current educational and general purposes as follows: From student fees $105,458,335; from sales and services $7,123,742; from invested endowment $50,636,883; from private gifts for current expenses $24,902,787; from public sources (taxes) $7,853,109. The point here is that although interest from endowment and current gifts is essential to the maintenance of our private colleges the income from students themselves is still more important.

At present our colleges carry a heavy burden in the scholarship aid they give poor young men and women. During 1936 the 51 Liberal Arts colleges and universities in Pennsylvania gave financial assistance, exclusive of N.Y.A. aid, to 22,300 students through scholarship grants totaling $4,390,000. At the same time these same colleges received a total annual income of $4,212,000 from invested endowment. The financial operation of our colleges is conditioned, to be sure, upon the endowment provided by generous friends. But it is dependent to an equal degree upon the financial well-being of the vast number of families whose sons and daughters are our college students. As this well-being improves the demands upon philanthropy will diminish.

May not our voluntarily-supported agencies take wise measures to bolster their income from the increased incomes of those whom they serve? In the hospital field, for instance, the redistribution of income makes possible a much wider spread of some form of Group Hospitalization. Hospitals which can in future adopt such a mutual plan will not be obliged to go so often to the wealthier individuals for the substantial outright gifts they would otherwise need for endowment and operating losses. Most colleges, also could improve their financial operations from the increased income promised the masses of the people. A great many of them can, if they will, devise methods for inducing larger numbers of their students to pay a larger share of what it costs the colleges to educate them. Rich and poor at the private college now pay the same tuition. But to keep their tuitions low, colleges have been obliged from the very beginning to solicit the wealthier members of society for endowments and gifts. A rather unhealthy condition has grown up in recent years, however, because many colleges, in their eagerness to obtain students, have made wide offerings of scholarship aid. Scholarships offered by one college have forced its neighboring college to offer similar scholarships and before they were aware of the pit they were digging for themselves the colleges created expectations of subsidies and aids which in some cases the students did not need. One could cite many instances of boys and girls of well-to-do families who "shop around" amongst colleges to find which will make the best scholarship offer. In the college's eagerness to serve the poor boy it now finds itself giving away more to the boy of comfortable means than that boy needs or than the college can spare. To make up this deficit, philanthropy has been asked to contribute more and more. If rich men will be fewer in the years to come, colleges must make up their losses by ceasing unnecessary scholarship grants.

But it is to be hoped that our voluntary agencies may not lose the confidence and support of our wealthy men and women, as predicted in the advertisement quoted, even though these agencies gain from the increased support of the masses. They need and deserve the sustained and augmented generosity of all fine-grained persons, in all income categories. It is not too much to hope that they will experience added rather than diminished support, even from those upon whom new taxes fall the most heavily.

The formula for philanthropy on a large scale is a large bank account plus a deep sense of social responsibility. Our voluntary colleges and our churches and hospitals and other agencies have an opportunity to create an augmented sense of social responsibility and to spread this sense of responsibility across various income levels—a spread which may more than compensate for the actual reduction of personal wealth in the upper brackets. For though there may be an irresistible trend to reduce the size of individual fortunes, is there not an equally irresistible force at work increasing our social sensitiveness?

The fear that new economic controls will so reduce personal fortunes that large-scale giving will cease may not take into full account the actual practices of many wealthy persons. This fear assumes that our wealthy men and women

are contributing to their limit and that against their own preferences they will be forced by increased taxation to a curtailment of giving. But the record of giving, as revealed by the Federal Income Tax returns, does not indicate that all of the wealthy are burdened by their gifts. The Internal Revenue Act permits taxpayers to make deductions for gifts to philanthropies up to 15 per cent of their net income. Year after year, however, these taxpayers report gifts aggregating only about 2 per cent of their net incomes.

As a nation we spend 85 per cent of our annual income, save 12 per cent and give to our philanthropic undertakings only 3 per cent or less. We should be a vastly happier and richer nation if we could be induced to give many times this 3 per cent to efforts in behalf of education, religion, welfare, health, culture, science and character building. Every dollar invested in such successful endeavor creates many new dollars' worth of permanent material values to our society. This refers not merely to spiritual intangibles, but specifically to actual dollar values that education and health and religion and character create. The United States Office of Education has made a study of the values that emerge from the educational process. Dr. William J. Cooper, former Commissioner of Education, said in summing up this study that education creates business by giving people purchasing power.

. . . a thirst for information about other parts of one's country and the world, which demanded newspapers, magazines, and books for its satisfaction; a longing to participate in affairs beyond the limits of one's country, which required at first roads, then railroads, then paved highways, and finally airplanes. Finally some leisure was secured which brought demand for entertainment, involving music and musical instruments, chautauquas, theatres, concerts, and, in our own day, such devices as radio receiving sets. . . . Only 5 per cent of illiterates deposit money in banks, and only 10 per cent of them pay any taxes other than the poll tax. Iowa, the least illiterate state, has more farmers who own their own farms than any other state, while Louisiana, the most illiterate state in 1920, has the fewest farm owners.

There is also a dearth of modern farm implements in illiterate rural sections as revealed by assessors' reports. Vehicles of all kinds are lacking and even such farm animals as milch cows and work horses are scarce. Illiterate localities are the poorest purchasers of paint, for not even the houses are painted. Assessors' lists also show little jewelry, silverware, and few clocks in the homes of illiterates. Moreover, State assessors' reports show that in illiterate counties merchants carry meager stocks of goods and these consist of the poorer and coarser qualities.

The churches, colleges, character-building institutions and social service agencies, all combined, cost the nation but a small fraction of the twelve-billion-dollar bill which crime is said to impose involuntarily upon us each year. Racketeering and graft are said to cost the nation billions more. There is but one sure way to lighten this crushing load. It is the way of the church, the college, the character-building and the humanitarian agency, all of which seek to make the honorable, unselfish ideal of life so appealing that fewer and fewer of our young people will be drawn into the pathway of selfishness, ignorance, dishonesty and crime.

Reprints may be obtained from
MARTS & LUNDY, INC.
521 Fifth Avenue, New York City

ADVANCEMENT VOLUNTARILY OR BY STATUTE?

BY
ARNAUD C. MARTS

Reprint from SOCIAL SCIENCE
Vol. 11, No. 4
October, 1936



Advancement Voluntarily *or by* Statute?

By Arnaud C. Marts

President of Marts and Lundy, Inc., New York City, and Acting President of Bucknell University

IT WAS less than five short years ago that the President of the United States refused to agree to a federal appropriation, of a size which seems inconsequentially small to us now, for the drought sufferers of Arkansas with the comment that "the American way" to deal with such an emergency was through private philanthropy. A Representative from New York, Major Fiorello LaGuardia, was booed on the floor of Congress for advocating the proposal, and there is no doubt that the President's opposition was quite generally applauded—at least by those who were not drought sufferers. The Red Cross hurriedly launched an appeal for a $10,000,000 fund in an endeavor to draw the fire of Senators Robinson, Borah, LaFollette and Carraway from the beleaguered gates of the United States Treasury. The President himself gave an earnest of his conviction by subscribing $7,500; Mr. Rockefeller gave $250,000; Miss Mary Pickford, Will Rogers, Ex-President Calvin Coolidge and Hon. Alfred E. Smith made an appeal over the radio; a ten-year old boy sent the President a large white penny; Governor Roosevelt appealed to the people of New York to subscribe their quota; Mr. Edison donated his birthday cake; the bankers of Boston scored the proposed congressional fund for food as a "soul-destroying dole;" an ex-convict sent a dollar; and the rest of the giving public soon poured the balance of the $10,000,000 into the Red Cross treasury. Meanwhile, the Senate subsided when Secretary Hyde made a gentleman's agreement to use some of the farmers' loan fund for food for people instead of for farm animals; Senator Carraway apologized to the President for intemperate language, and the battle was ended with the Red Cross the nominal victor.

Today, in contrast with that recent attitude, the federal, state, county and municipal governments are spending billions of dollars for welfare work and they are doing it with so blithe a smile that our national repugnance to this course five brief years ago seems but a hazy memory half lost in a far-off past. Food, clothing and shelter for the unemployed; organized camps in the woods for a half million lads stranded on city streets; thousands of tenement slums being razed; pensions for the aged; special appropriations for the blind; millions of dollars in work aid for poor students; extensive public recreation centers; contributory insurance against unemployment; these are goals toward which the laggard, philanthropy, has aspired for generations, but government is now flashing breathlessly by them in its swift dash into the social welfare field.

This startling reversal of "the American way" has created a delicate situation for voluntary philanthropy because of the resultant confusion in the public mind in regard to philanthropy's relationship to the new processes which government has initiated. Is there any further need for philanthropy? Has not government taken over entirely philanthropy's burdens? Some persons, formerly generous givers, are saying to appeals for support for other philanthropic enterprises, such as hospitals, colleges, and character-building agencies which are receiving no governmental aid, "Let the New Deal take care of that. They are taxing me for a long list of social welfare projects; there's no longer any need for private philanthropy." Certain of the brighter minds among the social planners, at the other extreme, are insinuating that voluntary philanthropy should be done away, as it is, in their opinion, but a vestigial remain of an unhappy era, now fortunately extinct. "Let the laggard die," say they, "onward by swifter wings into the happy social state!"

It is an uncomfortable moment for our many voluntary philanthropic institutions, for between these two extreme views lies a vast area of confusion, or at least very incomplete appreciation, as to the significant part which voluntarism plays in the cultural life of America. Those who would like to think accurately about this important phase of our national life should have certain facts, historical and interpretive, which are not sufficiently current to be readily available, which are offered herewith.

In the first place, American philanthropy is a far wider enterprise than our so-called "charities" or welfare institutions, which serve the needs of the unfortunate poor. Philanthropy should be thought of as that whole array of voluntary, non-tax-supported institutions by which the American people are lifting themselves to higher social and cultural and moral levels on their private initiative without governmental aid. We have, for instance, 229,000 churches which we support voluntarily, 2,698 hospitals established and supported by voluntary groups, scores of thousands of local and national character-building societies, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Y M. and Y.W.C.A., Catholic Youth Bureaus, Jewish Welfare Societies, Boys Clubs, etc., which receive not one cent of tax appropriations, 832 colleges and universities which operate with money given voluntarily to them for that purpose, and many thousands of miscellaneous voluntary, non-tax-supported groups which range all the way from a village improvement society to an international association in support of the League of Nations. All of these agencies, and they number close to 500,000 scattered in all parts of America, are voluntary; they are supported by the gifts of men and women who long for a better day and are willing to give their money unselfishly to help bring the dawn of that day. Even in these depressed times, the American people are giving over a billion dollars per year to our whole range of voluntary philanthropic agencies, divided about as follows: to churches $500,000,000; to education $100,000,000; to hospitals and health agencies $100,000,000; to welfare work $150,000,000; to character-building agencies $75,000,000; to miscellaneous $75,000,000. Thus, it will be seen that private "charity," or welfare work, comprises only 15% of our total voluntary philanthropic enterprise, and that there is a vast number of other voluntary institutions of the nation rendering a service of indispensable importance to the people which are receiving nothing at all from the

emergency federal appropriations. Is it not manifestly unfair and supremely unwise to turn a deaf ear to the plea for them simply because of a vague misimpression that government by engaging in welfare work has taken over or should take over all philanthropic functions?

Another thing which should be known and weighed by those who are sincerely trying to think straight about the present confused state of things is that government, in spite of its vast relief appropriations, has not taken any of the normal load off the shoulders of private welfare agencies. This seems incredible, at first thought, but it is nevertheless true. For three years after the economic collapse, as unemployment and distress mounted, private welfare agencies extended their work for the unemployed and needy heroically and miraculously, and tried to deal with the emergency in "the American way." They did so through the first half of 1932, and in that year, difficult as it was for most givers, an all-time high was established in voluntary gifts for private welfare work, although the gifts to other forms of voluntary philanthropy named above had dropped about 50%. In 1932 government started to pour its money into unemployment relief, and the voluntary giving to that type of welfare receded somewhat, but today it is still well above the figure of 1929. A survey of this matter in 120 scattered urban areas shows that voluntary philanthropy gave to welfare agencies in 1934, $1,294,527, as against $859,000 in 1929. Government has not superseded philanthropy in welfare work; it is dealing with an enlarged emergency need, while private philanthropy is still giving all it ever did to welfare prior to the emergency, and much more. There is need at the present for all which government and philanthropy can do together in the welfare field. After the emergency is over, voluntary philanthropy will, undoubtedly, be found in this field rendering a service to the disadvantaged far greater and more effective than it ever rendered prior to the recent advent of large governmental aid.

Now for a moment, let us look at the broader historical aspects of the role which voluntary philanthropy has played in the evolution of our democratic society. It is a magnificent and heroic role, but one which is almost totally ignored in the usual accounts of American history. The historian seems to be interested only in the formation of the political structure of our republic and takes for granted the spiritual and intellectual development of the people without bothering to relate the processes of the latter. Consequently, for a dozen pages of history devoted to a political issue, we read perhaps only one sentence—or more likely, none at all—concerning the part philanthropy has played. Yet for three hundred years voluntary philanthropy has been the constant, quiet leader in our nation's progress toward the higher levels of culture. Almost every cultural advance has been pioneered by private associations of persons willing to put their money voluntarily at the service of a social cause. After the usefulness of such a cause has thus been demonstrated, the electorate has often adopted it into the family of tax-supported enterprises. Thus philanthropy has been a sort of John the Baptist in our democratic progress, preparing the way, modestly willing to "decrease" in prestige if only the progress shall "increase." A few illustrations of the historic interplay between philanthropy and government in the evolution of our present cultural and social agencies may prove of interest.

Free public education, for instance, is now regarded as the inalienable right of every child and we of this generation accept the public school as an integral, matter-of-fact part of our governmental system. But for two centuries the public school in America was a "charity" in most of the nation, outside of New England, maintained wholly or in part by voluntary religious and philanthropic societies. It was as late as 1842 that the public Board of Education was created in the City of New York, an event which marked the transfer of public school education from voluntary philanthropy to tax-supported government in that city. It would be difficult to find a sane person today who would argue that public schools should not be institutions of government, but in 1671 the Governor of Virginia is reported to have exclaimed, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing presses in Virginia and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." And in the early part of the 19th century, a member of the Indiana General Assembly closed his impassioned oration against free public schools as follows: "When I die I want my epitaph written 'Here lies an enemy of free schools.' " In addition to the lead which philanthropy took in founding and maintaining public schools, it organized Educational Societies as propagandizing agencies to urge state legislatures to assume their rightful responsibility for the schools. Thus, in the course of the years, philanthropy was able to persuade government to take over by degrees this social burden which it had shouldered voluntarily in the service of the race at a time when no one else would carry it forward.

Our free libraries also were created by philanthropy and the burden of them was borne by voluntary contributions for many long years before they were adopted by government. Someone has said that "civilization expands its most benignant and effective agencies of progress only under protest." We protested long and vigorously against voting support of libraries, but, because philanthropy patiently led the way, we have today about 11,000 free public libraries with 162,000,000 volumes on their shelves, which circulate 340,000,000 books a year to 20,000,000 borrowers, and the major part of the cost of operating these libraries now comes from tax funds.

Benjamin Franklin and his associates created the first public library in 1731 in Philadelphia and other philanthropists gave voluntary funds to establish libraries in Charleston, S.C., Providence, R.I., New York City, Baltimore, and elsewhere. One hundred and seventeen years later, the first state, Massachusetts, passed an act which would *permit* a municipality to tax itself for the support of a library. Even with this permissive act, the citizens of our most enlightened communities were slow to vote tax funds for this purpose, and the free library long continued to be regarded as a luxury, a demagogic means of pampering the masses. The son of a president of Harvard, for example, published a book in 1875 in which he endeavored to dissuade his fellow citizens against a certain appropriation for a library. He asks, "Upon what principle can a citizen who has the power to cast his ballot justify himself in voting increased taxation upon his neighbor for the purpose of establishing a library?" Philanthropy gave its money and its zeal for a hundred and fifty years to the patient demonstration of the social value of public libraries before the citizenry was prepared to vote tax appropriations to their support. And philanthropy might still be providing the major support of public libraries had it not been for the canny generosity of Andrew Carnegie who began to offer handsome free library buildings to thousands of cities on condition that

they would support the libraries. It was this offer of something for nothing which turned the scale of public opinion in many a city. In Edinburgh, Scotland, for instance, the voters were induced to reject the proposal to establish a public library there by the display of sandwich signs with the following inscription:

Ratepayers!
Resist this Free Library Dodge
and save yourselves from the Burden of £6000
of Additional Taxation

Five years later when Mr. Carnegie offered £50,000 to erect a library building in Edinburgh the voters accepted it readily enough and the library was established. Mr. Carnegie's similar strategy in America had a like effect and greatly hastened the acceptance of the public library as a proper beneficiary of tax support in most American cities. Dr. Faunce, late president of Brown, wrote at the beginning of the 20th centnury, "Libraries have spread from sea to sea by a happy contagion. They have become a noble American epidemic." Although the typical American library today is a member of the tax-supported family of institutions, it still enjoys considerable support also from voluntary philanthropy, and some of our great libraries now are curious three-headed hybrids of taxation, private endowment, and voluntary philanthropy.

A voluntary philanthropy might be described as a minority movement which cannot obtain a majority vote of taxpayers and voters, but which is, nevertheless, carried forward by a group of persons willing to give their money and energy to this voluntary service to society. When it becomes so popular or its need becomes so evident that it develops a majority following, then government ushers it into the fold of tax support. Mr. Felix M. Warburg has recently said, "The feeling was, and I think rightly, that experiments should be made by private institutions before the public's funds were risked in large amounts on schemes which have not been tried out thoroughly as yet . . . I am quite sure the method has saved the United States a very large amount of money."

Voluntary philanthropy is constantly pioneering many new realms of cultural and social advancement and beckoning government to follow into those lands which it discovers to be socially desirable. It was private philanthropy, for instance, which led America into the realm of higher education. A bequest of the Reverend John Harvard launched our first college and it was through the activity of the Reverend James Blair in soliciting voluntary contributions that our second college, William and Mary, was founded. Indeed, nearly every college founded in America prior to the Civil War was established in whole or in part by private philanthropy. About twenty state universities, so-called, were founded prior to 1860, but not until the Land Grant Act was signed by President Lincoln did our modern, wholly tax-supported state university evolve. And now, seventy-five years after the university was admitted fully into the fraternity of tax-support, there are still 832 colleges and universities under private philanthropic control, against only 246 under tax control.

Much of the creative work in the field of establishing and maintaining our general hospitals was done by private philanthropy. The oldest general hospital in the United States is the Charity Hospital at New Orleans, which was founded in 1737 by a gift from Jean Louis, a sailor of the East India Company. This particular hospital happens to epitomize in itself the trend which we have been describing from the pioneering of voluntary philanthropy to the assumption of governmental responsibility, for this once private hospital is now owned and maintained by the State of Louisiana. Although it is now a tax-supported institution, it is still the object of the constant generosity of private citizens and it includes in its group of buildings several memorial units which have been established by voluntary contributions. Municipal, county, state and federal governments have assumed a large part of the responsibility for certain phases of hospitalization, such as mental and nervous cases, tuberculosis, charity cases, etc., but private philanthropy still maintains twice as many general beds as does government. In other words, when the average self-supporting citizen needs hospitalization, he usually goes to a hospital maintained by private philanthropy for the service of humanity. The health work outside of hospitals also, the preventive and educational endeavors in the field of health, such as the work of visiting nurses, dental clinics, the anti-tuberculosis and cancer and leprosy campaigns, the work of the Red Cross, and so on, have been pioneered by private philanthropy and much of it is still carried forward in this manner.

Parenthetically, there is no important field of humanitarian endeavor in which so much of the public confusion, of which we are speaking, exists at the moment as in the hospital and health field. To explain just why this should be so would require too lengthy a dissertation upon the spasmodic and spotty development of hospitals, upon the silly unwillingness of a slightly superstitious public to think about hospitals at all, upon the strong undercurrent of conflict between lay and professional leadership of the hospitals, and upon several other aspects of hospital history and legend. For whatever the reason, hospital leadership at the moment is divided; government support for health activities lags seriously, and the support of voluntary philanthropy is extremely sluggish also. Strong, intelligent, unselfish leadership is required by our health agencies to interpret their services and to clarify their functions to a befuddled or indifferent public.

One might go on in the recital of an astonishing number of our present-day institutions that are now operated as the accepted duty of government, but which were originally the creation of voluntary philanthropy. There are, for illustration, our reformatories, which we regard as an essential part of our penal system. But a century ago it was not thought that the state owed any special consideration to youthful offenders. Consequently, our first reformatory was founded in 1820 in New York by the private philanthropy of Edward Livingston and others. Philanthropists in several other cities followed the example of New York, and a generation later, in 1848, the first tax-supported reformatory was established in Massachusetts. The voters, as a whole, had no vision of the human wastage that might be stopped by segregating wayward children from hardened criminals until voluntary philanthropy made a visual demonstration of it.

Nor did the government give thought to those terribly afflicted citizens—the blind—until after voluntary philanthropy had showed the way. That valiant young crusader of Boston, Dr. S. G. Howe, established the first school for the blind in 1832, and from that beginning the present widespread sense of responsibility for the special training of the sightless has developed, part of it under tax-support and a good part still under voluntary philanthropy. The first schools for the feeble-minded were also launched by this same young doctor under private philanthropy, with the present-day consequences that this specialized field of

education is now very largely a recognized function of the state.

Night schools were launched in 1834 by a voluntary association, named the Public School Society of New York, in an effort to combat vagrancy and truancy among children. They were carried forward in several cities by the private contributions of generous citizens for a whole generation before they began to be incorporated in the tax-supported public school systems of the land.

Pensions for the aged, which we now see provided for in the laws of the federal government and of twenty-eight state governments, had their beginning in voluntary action by several philanthropic groups which raised funds by subscription to care for the aged. The first effort along this line was made in 1717 by the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia in behalf of its old ministers. They called the pension system at that time the "Fund for Pious Uses." Later other religious bodies adopted pension systems; then certain railroad and industrial corporations; then in 1906 Mr. Carnegie started a fund of $25,000,000 to institute a pension system for college teachers. Now, after more than two centuries of pioneering and demonstration by voluntary philanthropy, the voters as a whole are ready to take on old age pensions as an integral part of governmental responsibility.

Few persons will question now the propriety of appropriating tax funds to the support of a free museum where the people may view the collections of historical and artistic treasures, but this popular acceptance of tax-support for museums has been brought about only after several generations of private beneficence to them. Many of our best known museums were created by voluntary contributions. Our great national museum, the Smithsonian Institute of Washington, while now a federal institution, was created in the first instance by a bequest of $500,000 from an Englishman, James Smithson, who never even saw the United States. The Congress of the United States debated for twenty years before they were ready to *accept* the gift for this purpose. One can imagine how much longer they might have debated the question of appropriating that sum to found a museum.

One thinks of the Washington monument as a proud possession of the government, but it, too, was initiated by voluntary philanthropy after thirty-four years of effort to persuade the government to do so had ended in controversy and failure. It is hard for us to understand that political prejudice against the Father of our Country was powerful enough to prevent the passage of a congressional act for memorializing him, but it was, and, consequently, voluntary philanthropy had to take the initiative. In 1833 the Washington National Monument Society was organized as a philanthropic endeavor, and proceeded to collect the $1,000,000 thought necessary to erect a suitable monument to Washington. By 1847 the Society had gathered $70,000, the cornerstone was laid and, in a few years time, the monument was 152 feet high, where it paused for a quarter of a century. Then, fifty years after the voluntary society started its work, and 85 years after the death of Washington, the government was finally ready and an appropriation was made which completed the monument. The total cost was approximately $1,000,000, of which $300,000 was contributed by voluntary philanthropy.

Voluntary philanthropy has rendered numerous other notable services to the nation in sponsoring moral and social ideas which have later been incorporated in the laws of the land. The drive against slavery, for instance, was initiated and carried forward at the beginning by small voluntary groups in this nation and in England against

the stolid indifference or active resistance of government. The first Abolition Society was created in 1775 in Philadelphia. It was called "the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race." This amply titled society is said to exist to this day and to continue to distribute a small income from endowment which was given to it voluntarily generations ago. Anti-slavery was most decidedly a minority movement when it began, but the voluntary societies generated public sentiment which soon began to find expression through governmental channels. By 1825 there were 140 Abolition Societies in the United States, 106 of which were in the South, and several states, including Virginia, had passed anti-slavery laws.

The British Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was organized in 1787, and the British historian, Trevelyan, has said of this voluntary association and its successors that their achievements in forcing the British Parliament to abolish slavery in the British possessions established "a turning point in the history of the world," for, said he, "if slavery had continued into the industrial half of the 19th century the tropics would have become a vast slave farm for white exploitation," and the European races "would have been degraded by the diseases of slave civilization of which the old Roman Empire died." It was government which actually ended human slavery in the 19th century in British, French, Portuguese and Dutch possessions, and in America, but it was the voluntary devotion of men and women who as private citizens gave money and energy in the service of this great humanitarian cause which made legislative action possible.

Numerous further examples might be cited of other important social and cultural developments which have grown from the initial voluntary efforts of socially-minded persons to the degree of importance and recognition at which they have been taken over, in whole or in part, as a function of the government. Indeed, the only institutions in our whole philanthropic enterprise that have not been gradually incorporated, in whole or in part, in the official structure of government, are our churches, and our other religious and character-building agencies. By a queer twist of democratic procedure, this group of voluntary institutions have evolved in our nation in the precisely opposite direction, for our churches started out in the New England theocratic colonies as functions of government. In those days taxes were laid to support the churches and only church members had the privilege of voting for town and colonial officers. This policy has been completely reversed, of course, and the churches now have become strictly voluntary with no governmental duties or privileges. This contra-development of our religious institutions is an absorbing story all by itself, but it cannot be told here. With the exception of these religious agencies, it would seem to be the settled policy of American experience for voluntary philanthropy to pioneer the way for all new cultural and social endeavors, and then for government to absorb a portion of such endeavors into its tax-supported program of service to its people. This evolution is normal, traditional, approved by past experience.

Should we, therefore, be violently upset or confused because government has overtaken philanthropy in welfare work? Is it not rather an outcome which is in line with tradition in our democracy? We may be startled by the suddenness of the recent shift in leadership from philanthropy to government, but the shift itself was as inevitable as it had been in the other

ernmental responsibility, for this once private hospital is now owned and maintained by the State of Louisiana. Although it is now a tax-supported institution, it is still the object of the constant generosity of private citizens and it includes in its group of buildings several memorial units which have been established by voluntary contributions. Municipal, county, state and federal governments have assumed a large part of the responsibility for certain phases of hospitalization, such as mental and nervous cases, tuberculosis, charity cases, etc., but private philanthropy still maintains twice as many general beds as does government. In other words, when the average self-supporting citizen needs hospitalization, he usually goes to a hospital maintained by private philanthropy for the service of humanity. The health work outside of hospitals also, the preventive and educational endeavors in the field of health, such as the work of visiting nurses, dental clinics, the anti-tuberculosis and cancer and leprosy campaigns, the work of the Red Cross, and so on, have been pioneered by private philanthropy and much of it is still carried forward in this manner.

Parenthetically, there is no important field of humanitarian endeavor in which so much of the public confusion, of which we are speaking, exists at the moment as in the hospital and health field. To explain just why this should be so would require too lengthy a dissertation upon the spasmodic and spotty development of hospitals, upon the silly unwillingness of a slightly superstitious public to think about hospitals at all, upon the strong undercurrent of conflict between lay and professional leadership of the hospitals, and upon several other aspects of hospital history and legend. For whatever the reason, hospital leadership at the moment is divided; government support for health activities lags seriously, and the support of voluntary philanthropy is extremely sluggish also. Strong, intelligent, unselfish leadership is required by our health agencies to interpret their services and to clarify their functions to a befuddled or indifferent public.

One might go on in the recital of an astonishing number of our present-day institutions that are now operated as the accepted duty of government, but which were originally the creation of voluntary philanthropy. There are, for illustration, our reformatories, which we regard as an essential part of our penal system. But a century ago it was not thought that the state owed any special consideration to youthful offenders. Consequently, our first reformatory was founded in 1820 in New York by the private philanthropy of Edward Livingston and others. Philanthropists in several other cities followed the example of New York, and a generation later, in 1848, the first tax-supported reformatory was established in Massachusetts. The voters, as a whole, had no vision of the human wastage that might be stopped by segregating wayward children from hardened criminals until voluntary philanthropy made a visual demonstration of it.

Nor did the government give thought to those terribly afflicted citizens—the blind—until after voluntary philanthropy had showed the way. That valiant young crusader of Boston, Dr. S. G. Howe, established the first school for the blind in 1832, and from that beginning the present widespread sense of responsibility for the special training of the sightless has developed, part of it under tax-support and a good part still under voluntary philanthropy. The first schools for the feeble-minded were also launched by this same young doctor under private philanthropy, with the present-day consequences that this specialized field of

ment has also steadily increased its range of social and cultural interests. There is no limit to be set for voluntary philanthropy, any more than there is a limit to be set for the spirit of man. Vast areas of finer and nobler living remain to be explored. Philanthropy is our pioneer, our advance scout for such areas. It goes on ahead, unhampered by governmental inhibitions and rigidities, and spies out new cultural lands for the occupation of our slowly advancing civilization. As long as such fairer lands beckon to the race, philanthropy will go on and on, always on the march, always ahead of government. And when, as in the case of the public schools and of anti-slavery, government finally moves up to the position which philanthropy had reconnoitered, philanthropy is encouraged, rather than daunted. It takes up new humanitarian quests and devotes increased energy and enthusiasm to exploring new directions of advancement.

A vast work lies ahead of voluntary philanthropy today, a work which those who love America must not neglect, in the mistaken notion that "there's no longer any need for private philanthropy." With all our boasted progress in the invention and development of mechanisms, gadgets and comforts, we can boast little enough of our progress in good manners, in moral character, in the capacity to dwell together in unselfish good will, in the genuine appreciation of cultural values. America has a great unfinished task for voluntary philanthropy. There will be no discharge for it until we shall have achieved levels of social and cultural living which now beckon us from afar.

1936

SHOULD COLLEGES TRAIN PHILANTHROPISTS?

By ARNAUD C. MARTS
ΦΒΚ Oberlin, Acting President of Bucknell University



Arnaud C. Marts

So far from being a totalitarian State, the American people maintain approximately 500,000 units of voluntary social endeavor as contrasted with only about 175,000 units of government regulation. To give away money voluntarily to these humanitarian causes is one of the most satisfying of human experiences. Few other acts provide a comparable glow of satisfaction.

One who has cultivated the art of giving knows it to be an art, and one of the most gracious arts of self-expression. Yet it is an expression which must break through a crust of inhibitions which seems almost racial in its formation. Why is it that one dreads to ask another, especially a friend, to make a modest contribution to a noble cause? Why, indeed, does one, even a generous person, dread to *be* asked to do so? On both sides there is a strain of awkwardness which suggests a general social inhibition in the matter. Why is the solicitor so often enveloped in an involuntary vapor of timidity? Why do instinctive protective reactions surround the prospect with the shell of an armadillo, and erect between the two a wall of ice?

Good Fishing for a Ph.D.

Here is a phenomenon of racial instinct which needs to be torn apart and examined by the same astute students of human behavior who have in recent years revealed to us age-old reasons for other of our instinctive reactions. Here is a fruitful field of study for some doctor of social psychology. Scores of thousands of reports on interviews could be made available for his study. He might, for instance, seek to explain why a prosperous gentleman last fall declined to give to his community chest on the ground that he had not been able to collect rents from certain houses which he owned and that he would, therefore, regard that loss "as his gift to the unemployed." Now, this gentleman is not "stingy," he *spends* money freely without too penurious an attitude. It is only when he comes to the consideration of *giving* money to a humanitarian cause that his mental processes lead him to decisions which make him appear ridiculous.

I have appeared before many individuals to plead support for an unselfish cause. Many times I have been received graciously; a few times even with cordiality; generally, however, with suspicion, dread, or fear plainly in evidence. In one instance the rich man of the town actually kept to his bed part of the time and to the back streets the balance of the week I was in his town, lest he should be solicited. His fright amused the whole community. Of what was he afraid? Simply that he would be asked

to give a little out of an abundance to protect the future of the local college which several members of his own family had attended and which he himself held in high repute. There should have been nothing terrifying in that experience. The fear was so completely out of proportion to its causation that it suggested a protective attitude rooted in social habits.

Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the void in our educational processes with respect to the development of social attitudes toward giving money to humanitarian causes. What strictly *educational* agency includes any such training? None comes to mind.

Would it not be appropriate for the college to begin to consider, as a definite cultural duty, some instruction in the art of giving? One hears of a college professor who built a quotation board in his lecture room in order to instruct his students of economics in the fine art of speculating in common stock. One reads of a Bureau for Street Traffic Research at one of our leading centers of culture. One hears of courses in personality and charm, in motion picture acting and radio announcing. Is there not place also for some definite mention of the financing of those philanthropic, educational, character-forming, and cultural institutions which serve to enrich and ennoble our life and whose support requires approximately a billion and a half dollars in voluntary gifts each year? Appropriate mention of this phase of our cultural life could well be made in the college's courses in history, economics, sociology, psychology and ethics, without necessarily creating a new course for the purpose.

Where Colleges Muff the Ball

Colleges which would give such instruction and encouragement to their students would serve themselves as well as the nation, for colleges rank as the second largest beneficiary of American philanthropy. These institutions, which depend largely upon public philanthropy, might well assume a larger responsibility in inducing a spirit of philanthropy among the future leaders of the nation. The average college reserves all it has to say on that subject until its students become alumni. Not until the student steps off the commencement platform into the ranks of alumni does this phase of his education commence, but the college then begins to expect a response from the philanthropic spirit which it neglected to nourish while the student was on the campus. It has waited too long in many cases, for 45 of 100 alumni never respond to their alma mater's request for funds.

Culture or Soda Water

When the colleges begin to prescribe to students the giving of money to humanitarian uses, as a definite phase of their cultural life no sooner to be omitted than reading good books or listening to good music, then perhaps a new social attitude in the matter may be created. Perhaps the solicitor may then be able to cast off a bit of the furtiveness of his approach and feel more like the good citizen that he is in giving his time to the common good. Perhaps, then, churches may be able to discard their raffles as a means of financing, and hospitals will be able to get along without their charity balls. Perhaps the average American family will bring its voluntary gifts for education and culture up to the level of its expenditure for soda water. And we may, as a nation, eventually give enough each year to all our institutions of religion, education, health, social service, character-building, and culture to raise the total to a figure equal to the amount of our annual bill for criminal thefts and frauds. To do so would require us to give just twice as much as we now give, but wise education could persuade us to do it — and to enjoy it.

Reprinted from
The Key Reporter
The Quarterly of the
United Chapters, Phi Beta Kappa

Additional copies may be obtained
from - Marts & Lundy, Inc
Financial Counsellors to
Philanthropic Organizations
521 Fifth Ave., New York City

VITAL SPEECHES

OF THE DAY

Vol. XII No. 24
25 cents a copy

OCTOBER 1, 1946

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VOL. XII NEW YORK, OCTOBER 1, 1946 NO 24

The Way To Peace

DIVISION OF WORLD BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UNITED STATES

By HENRY A. WALLACE, *Secretary of Commerce of United States*

**Delivered before a meeting under the joint auspices of the National Citizens Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, New York, N. Y., September 12, 1946*

FIRST off, I want to give my own personal endorsement to the candidates chosen by the Democratic Party and the American Labor Party in New York. James Mead long has been one of the ablest public servants in Washington—a constant, faithful and intelligent proponent of the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. The Senate will miss him—but Albany needs him. He will make a great governor—worthy of the tradition of Smith and Roosevelt and Lehman.

Herbert Lehman knows full well the problems and the opportunities facing the State of New York, the United States, and the United Nations. His great heart and great mind will be increasingly useful when he is a member of the United States Senate.

Victory for Mead and Lehman in November will mean a long stride in the people's progress.

Tonight I want to talk about peace—and how to get peace. Never have the common people of all lands so longed for peace. Yet, never in a time of comparative peace have they feared war so much.

Up till now peace has been negative and unexciting. War has been positive and exciting. Far too often, hatred and fear, intolerance and deceit have had the upper hand over love and confidence, trust and joy. Far too often, the law of nations has been the law of the jungle; and the constructive spiritual forces of the Lord have bowed to the destructive forces of Satan.

During the past year or so, the significance of peace has been increased immeasurably by the atom bomb, guided missiles and airplanes which soon will travel as fast as sound. Make no mistake about it—another war would hurt the United States many times as much as the last war. We cannot rest in the assurance that we invented the atom bomb—and therefore that this agent of destruction will work best for us. He who trusts in the atom bomb will sooner or later perish by the atom bomb—or something worse.

I say this as one who steadfastly backed preparedness throughout the Thirties. We have no use for namby-pamby pacifism. But we must realize that modern inventions have now made peace the most exciting thing in the world—and we should be willing to pay a just price for peace. If modern war can cost us $400 billion, we should be willing and happy to pay much more for peace. But certainly, the cost of peace is to be measured not in dollars but in the hearts and minds of men.

The price of peace—for us and for every nation in the world—is the price of giving up prejudice, hatred, fear, and ignorance.

Let's get down to cases here at home.

First we have prejudice, hatred, fear and ignorance of certain races. The recent mass lynching in Georgia was not merely the most unwarranted, brutal act of mob violence in the United States in recent years; it was also an illustration of the kind of prejudice that makes war inevitable.

Hatred breeds hatred. The doctrine of racial superiority produces a desire to get even on the part of its victims. If we are to work for peace in the rest of the world, we here in the United States must eliminate racism from our unions, our business organizations, our educational institutions, and our employment practices. Merit alone must be the measure of man.

Second, in payment for peace, we must give up prejudice, hatred, fear and ignorance in the economic world. This means working earnestly, day after day, for a larger volume of world trade. It means helping undeveloped areas of the world to industrialize themselves with the help of American technical assistance and loans.

*The prepared text.

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VITAL SPEECHES OF THE DAY is published twice a month by the City News Publishing Co. (Inc. 1911), 33 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y. Telephone LOngacre 5-4040. Thomas F. Daly, Jr., President and Treasurer, M. P. Daly, Vice President, K. D. Hoey, Secretary.

Subscription Rates: $4.50 a year. Two years or 2 subscriptions $8.00. (Special group rates to students for period of 4 months; $1.00 each for ten or more; 75 cents each for 25 or more. All to be sent to one address.) Single copies 25 cents. Back issues, if available, 30 cents a copy.

Vital Speeches is Indexed in The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. An annual Index is printed each November and distributed to all subscribers. Volume Binders for Vital Speeches $2.00 each. Vital Speeches will be found on file in thousands of public and college libraries throughout the United States.

Entered as Second Class matter December 24, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

We should welcome the opportunity to help along the most rapid possible industrialization in Latin America, China, India, and the Near East. For as the productivity of these people increases, our exports will increase.

We all remember the time, not so long ago, when the high tariff protectionists blindly opposed any aid to the industrialization of Canada. But look at our exports to Canada today. On a per capita basis our Canadian exports are seven times greater than our exports to Mexico.

I supported the British loan of almost four billion dollars because I knew that without this aid in the rehabilitation of its economy, the British government would have been forced to adopt totalitarian trade methods and economic warfare of a sort which would have closed the markets of much of the world to American exports.

For the welfare of the American people and the world it is even more important to invest $4 billion in the industrialization of undeveloped areas in the so-called backward nations, thereby promoting the long-term stability that comes from an ever-increasing standard of living. This would not only be good politics and good morals, it would be good business.

The United States is the world's great creditor nation. And low tariffs by creditor nations are a part of the price of peace. For when a great creditor demands payment, and at the same time, adopts policies which make it impossible for the debtors to pay in goods—the first result is the intensification of depression over large areas of the world; and the final result is the triumph of demagogues who speak only the language of violence and hate.

Individual Republicans may hold enlightened views—but the Republican party as a whole is irrevocably committed to tariff and trade policies which can only mean world-wide depression, ruthless economic warfare and eventual war. And if the Republicans were in power in the United States today, intelligent people all over the world would fear that once more we would be headed straight for boom, bust and world-wide chaos.

I noticed in the papers recently that Governor Dewey doesn't like my prophecies. I said weeks before the last election—and said it repeatedly—that Franklin Roosevelt would carry 36 states and have a popular majority of three million. Of course, Mr. Dewey didn't like that one. I say now—as I have said repeatedly—that Republican foreign economic policies carried into action would mean disaster for the nation and the world. Mr. Dewey won't like that one either.

The Republican party is the party of economic nationalism and political isolation—and as such is as anachronistic as the dodo and as certain to disappear. The danger is that before it disappears it may enjoy a brief period of power during which it can do irreparable damage to the United States and the cause of world peace.

Governor Dewey has expressed himself as favoring an alliance of mutual defense with Great Britain as the key to our foreign policy. This may sound attractive because we both speak the same language and many of our customs and traditions have the same historical background. Moreover, to the military men, the British Isles are our advanced air base against Europe.

Certainly we like the British people as individuals. But to make Britain the key to our foreign policy would be, in my opinion, the height of folly. We must not let the reactionary leadership of the Republican party force us into that position. We must not let British balance-of-power manipulations determine whether and when the United State gets into war.

Make no mistake about it—the British imperialistic policy in the Near East alone, combined with Russian retaliation, would lead the United States straight to war unless we have a clearly-defined and realistic policy of our own.

Neither of these two great powers wants war now, but the danger is that whatever their intentions may be, their current policies may eventually lead to war. To prevent war and insure our survival in a stable world, it is essential that we look abroad through our own American eyes and not through the eyes of either the British Foreign Office or a pro-British or anti-Russian press.

In this connection, I want one thing clearly understood. I am neither anti-British nor pro-British—neither anti-Russian nor pro-Russian. And just two days ago, when President Truman read these words, he said that they represented the policy of his administration.

I plead for an America vigorously dedicated to peace—just as I plead for opportunities for the next generation throughout the world to enjoy the abundance which now, more than ever before, is the birthright of man.

To achieve lasting peace, we must study in detail just how the Russian character was formed—by invasions of Tartars, Mongols, Germans, Poles, Swedes, and French; by the czarist rule based on ignorance, fear and force; by the intervention of the British, French and Americans in Russian affairs from 1919 to 1921; by the geography of the huge Russian land mass situated strategically between Europe and Asia; and by the vitality derived from the rich Russian soil and the strenuous Russian climate. Add to all this the tremendous emotional power which Marxism and Leninism gives to the Russian leaders—and then we can realize that we are reckoning with a force which cannot be handled successfully by a "Get tough with Russia" policy. "Getting tough" never bought anything real and lasting—whether for schoolyard bullies or businessmen or world powers. The tougher we get, the tougher the Russians will get.

Throughout the world there are numerous reactionary elements which had hoped for Axis victory—and now profess great friendship for the United States. Yet, these enemies of yesterday and false friends of today continually try to provoke war between the United States and Russia. They have no real love of the United States. They only long for the day when the United States and Russia will destroy each other.

We must not let our Russian policy be guided or influenced by those inside or outside the Untied States who want war with Russia. This does not mean appeasement.

We most earnestly want peace with Russia—but we want to be met half way. We want cooperation. And I believe that we can get cooperation once Russia understands that our primary objective is neither saving the British Empire nor purchasing oil in the Near East with the lives of American soldiers. We cannot allow national oil rivalries to force us into war. All of the nations producing oil, whether inside or outside of their own boundaries, must fulfill the provisions of the United Nations Charter and encourage the development of world petroleum reserves so as to make the maximum amount of oil available to all nations of the world on an equitable peaceful basis—and not on the basis of fighting the next war.

For her part, Russia can retain our respect by cooperating with the United Nations in a spirit of openminded and flexible give-and-take.

The real peace treaty we now need is between the United States and Russia. On our part, we should recognize that we have no more business in the *political* affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the *political* affairs of Latin

America, Western Europe and the United States. We may not like what Russia does in Eastern Europe. Her type of land reform, industrial expropriation, and suppression of basic liberties offends the great majority of the people of the United States. But whether we like it or not the Russians will try to socialize their sphere of influence just as we try to democratize our sphere of influence. This applies also to Germany and Japan. We are striving to democratize Japan and our area of control in Germany, while Russia strives to socialize eastern Germany.

As for Germany, we all must recognize that an equitable settlement, based on a unified German nation, is absolutely essential to any lasting European settlement. This means that Russia must be assured that never again can German industry be converted into military might to be used against her—and Britain, Western Europe and the United States must be certain that Russia's Germany policy will not become a tool of Russian design against Western Europe.

The Russians have no more business in stirring up native communists to political activity in Western Europe, Latin America and the United States than we have in interfering in the politics of Eastern Europe and Russia. We know what Russia is up to in Eastern Europe, for example, and Russia knows what we are up to. We cannot permit the door to be closed against our trade in Eastern Europe any more than we can in China. But at the same time we have to recognize that the Balkans are closer to Russia than to us—and that Russia cannot permit either England or the United States to dominate the politics of that area.

China is a special case and although she holds the longest frontier in the world with Russia, the interests of world peace demand that China remain free from any sphere of influence, either politically or economically. We insist that the door to trade and economic development opportunities be left wide open in China as in all the world. However, the open door to trade and opportunities for economic development in China are meaningless unless there is a unified and peaceful China—built on the cooperation of the various groups in that country and based on a hands-off policy of the outside powers.

We are still arming to the hilt. Our excessive expenses for military purposes are the chief cause for our unbalanced budget. If taxes are to be lightened we must have the basis of a real peace with Russia—a peace that cannot be broken by extremist propagandists. We do not want our course determined for us by master minds operating out of London, Moscow or Nanking.

Russian ideas of social-economic justice are going to govern nearly a third of the world. Our ideas of free enterprise democracy will govern much of the rest. The two ideas will endeavor to prove which can deliver the most satisfaction to the common man in their respective areas of political dominance. But by mutual agreement, this competition should be put on a friendly basis and the Russians should stop conniving against us in certain areas of the world just as we should stop scheming against them in other parts of the world. Let the results of the two systems speak for themselves.

Meanwhile, the Russians should stop teaching that their form of communism must, by force if necessary, ultimately triumph over democratic capitalism—while we should close our ears to those among us who would have us believe that Russian communism and our free enterprise system cannot live, one with another, in a profitable and productive peace.

Under friendly peaceful competition the Russian world and the American world will gradually become more alike. The Russians will be forced to grant more and more of the personal freedoms; and we shall become more and more absorbed with the problems of social-economic justice.

Russia must be convinced that we are not planning for war against her and we must be certain that Russia is not carrying on territorial expansion or world domination through native communists faithfully following every twist and turn in the Moscow party line. But in this competition, we must insist on an open door for trade throughout the world. There will always be an ideological conflict—but that is no reason why diplomats cannot work out a basis for both systems to live safely in the world side by side.

Once the fears of Russia and the United States Senate have been allayed by practical regional political reservations, I am sure that concern over the veto power would be greatly diminished. Then the United Nations would have a really great power in those areas which are truly international and not regional. In the world-wide, as distinguished from the regional field, the armed might of the United Nations should be so great as to make opposition useless. Only the United Nations should have atomic bombs and its military establishment should give special emphasis to air power. It should have control of the strategically located air bases with which the United States and Britain have encircled the world. And not only should individual nations be prohibited from manufacturing atomic bombs, guided missiles and military aircraft for bombing purposes, but no nation should be allowed to spend on its military establishment more than perhaps 15 per cent of its budget.

Practically and immediately, we must recognize that we are not yet ready for World Federation. Realistically, the most we can hope for now is a safe reduction in military expense and a long period of peace based on mutual trust between the Big Three.

During this period, every effort should be made to develop as rapidly as possible a body of international law based on moral principles and not on the Machiavellian principles of deceit, force and distrust—which, if continued, will lead the modern world to rapid disintegration.

In brief, as I see it today, the World Order is bankrupt—and the United States, Russia and England are the receivers. These are the hard facts of power politics on which we have to build a functioning, powerful United Nations and a body of international law. And as we build, we must develop fully the doctrine of the rights of small peoples as contained in the United Nations Charter. This law should ideally apply as much to Indonesians and Greeks as to Bulgarians and Poles—but practically, the application may be delayed until both British and Russians discover the futility of their methods.

In the full development of the rights of small nations, the British and Russians can learn a lesson from the Good Neighbor policy of Franklin Roosevelt. For under Roosevelt, we in the Western Hemisphere built a workable system of regional internationalism that fully protected the sovereign rights of every nation—a system of multilateral action that immeasurably strengthened the whole of world order.

In the United States an informed public opinion will be all-powerful. Our people are peace-minded. But they often express themselves too late—for events today move much faster than public opinion. The people here, as everywhere in the world, must be convinced that another war is not inevitable. And through mass meetings such as this, and through persistent pamphleteering, the people can be organized for peace—even though a large segment of our press is propagandizing our people for war in the hope of scaring

Russia. And we who look on this war-with-Russia talk as criminal foolishness must carry our message direct to the people—even though we may be called communists because we dare to speak out.

I believe that peace—the kind of peace I have outlined tonight—is the basic issue, both in the Congressional campaign this fall and right on through the Presidential election in 1948. How we meet this issue will determine whether we live not in "one world" or "two worlds"—but whether we live at all.

A United States of Europe

FRANCE AND GERMANY MUST LEAD THE WAY

By WINSTON CHURCHILL, *Former Prime Minister of Great Britain*

Delivered at Zurich University, Zurich, Switzerland, September 19, 1946

I AM honored today by being received in your ancient university and by the address which has been given to me on your behalf and which I greatly value. I wish to speak to you today about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth, enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the Western world. It is the foundation of Christian faith and Christian ethics.

It is the origin of most of the culture, art, philosophy and science, both of ancient and modern times. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance there would be no limit to the happiness, the prosperity and the glory which its 300,000,000 or 400,000,000 people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that has sprung that series of frightful and nationalistic morals originated by the Teutonic nations in their rise to power, which we have seen in this twentieth century and which have for a long time wrecked the peace and marred the prospects of all mankind.

Europe Senses New Terror

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the smaller states have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn and bewildered human beings gaze on the ruins of their cities and scan the dark horizon for the approach of some new peril, tyranny or terror.

Among the victors there is a babel of voices, among the vanquished a sullen silence of despair.

That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient states and nations—that is all that the Germanic races have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide. Indeed, but for the fact that the great republic across the Atlantic Ocean has at length realized that the ruin or enslavement of Europe has involved their own fate as well, and has stretched out hands of succor and guidance—but for that, the Dark Ages would have returned in all their cruelty and squalor.

They may still return. There is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted by the great majority of people in the many lands, would, as if by a miracle, transform the whole scene and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is today.

A United Europe

What is this sovereign remedy?

It is to recreate the European family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living.

The process is simple. All that is needed is the resolve of hundreds of millions of men and women to do right instead of wrong and to gain as their reward blessing instead of cursing. Much work has been done upon this task by the exertions of the planned European Union, which owes so much to Count Coidenhove-Calergi and which demanded the services of the famous French patron and statesman, Aristide Briand.

There is also that immense body of doctrine and procedure which was brought into being amid high hopes after the first World War. I mean the League of Nations. The League of Nations did not fail because of its principles or conceptions. It failed because these principles were deserted by those states who had brought it into being. It failed because the Governments of those days feared to face the facts and act while time remained.

This disaster must not be repeated. There is, therefore, much knowledge and material with which to build and also bitter, dear-bought experience to spur the builders.

No Conflict With U. N.

I was very glad to read in the newspapers two days ago that my friend, President Truman, had expressed his interest and sympathy with this great design. There is no reason why a regional organization of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organization of the United Nations.

On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon broad natural groupings in the Western Hemisphere. We British have our own commonwealth of nations. These do not weaken—on the contrary they strengthen—the world organization. They are, in fact, its main support. And why should there not be a European grouping which can give a sense of national patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty Continent, and why should it not take its proper, rightful place, with other great groupings and help to shape the destinies of man?

In order that this may be accomplished, there must be an act of faith in which millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part. We all know that the two world wars through which we have passed arose out of a vain passion of a newly united Germany to play a dominating part in the world. In this last struggle crimes and massacres have been committed which have no parallel since the invasion of the Mongols in the fourteenth century and have no equal at any time in human history.

Blessed Act of Oblivion

The guilty must be punished. Germany must be deprived of the power to rearm and make another aggressive war.

But when all this has been done, as it will be done, as it is being done, then there must be an end to retribution.

There must be what Mr. Gladstone called a blessed act of oblivion. We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past. We must look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years that are to come the hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past.

If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery and, indeed, from final doom, there must be this act of faith in the European family and this act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past, and the free peoples of Europe must rise to the height of these resolves of the soul and of the instinct of the spirit of man.

If they can, the wrongs and injuries which have been inflicted will have been washed away on all sides by the miseries which have been endured.

Is there any need for any further conflicts or agony? Is the only lesson of history to be that mankind is unteachable? Let there be justice, mercy and freedom. The people have only to will it in order to achieve their hearts' desire.

I am now going to say something which will astonish you. The first step in the re-creation of the European family must be a partnership between France and Germany.

In this way only can France recover the moral and cultural leadership of Europe.

There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany.

The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important.

Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honor by their contribution to the common cause. The ancient states and principalities of Germany, newly joined together into a federal system, might take their individual place among the United States of Europe.

I shall not try to make a detailed program for hundreds of millions of people who want to be happy, free and prosperous, and wish to enjoy the four freedoms of which the great President Roosevelt spoke, and live under the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter.

"Dangers Have Not Stopped"

If this is the wish of Europeans in so many lands, then they have only to say so and means can certainly be found and machinery erected to carry that wish to full fruition. But I must give warning; time may be short. At present there may be a breathing space. The cannons have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped, but the dangers have not stopped.

If we are to form a United States of Europe, or whatever name it may take, we must begin now. In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield, and I will even say protection, of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a State and nation which we know will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom, but it may very well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilization but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.

I must now sum up the propositions which are before us. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the United Nations organization. Under and within that world concept, we must recreate the European family in a regional structure, called, it may be, the United States of Europe, and the first practical step would be to form a Council of Europe.

If at first all states of Europe are not willing or able to join the union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and can. The salvation of the people, of the common people of every race and land, from war and servitude must be established on solid foundations, and must be guarded by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than to submit to tyranny.

In all this urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America and, I trust, Soviet Russia—and then indeed all would be well—must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe. Let Europe arise!

Opinion on Current Questions

STATEMENT TO PRESS

By JOSEF STALIN, *Premier of the United Soviet Socialist Republic*
Delivered at Moscow, U.S.S.R., September 24, 1946

Q. DO YOU believe in a real danger of a "new war," about which at the present time so much irresponsible talk is being carried on? What steps should be taken for preventing war if such danger exists?

A. I do not believe in a real danger of a "new war." The noise is being raised about a "new war" mainly by military-political scouts and their few supporters from the ranks of civilian officials.

They need this noise if only (a) to frighten with the specter of war some naive politicians from the ranks of their counter-agents and thereby aid their Governments to extract more concessions; (b) to make difficult for some time the reduction of military budgets in their countries; (c) to check demobilization of troops and thereby prevent quick growth of unemployment in their countries.

It is necessary to distinguish sharply between the noise about a "new war," which is being carried on now, and the real danger of a "new war," which does not at present exist.

"Encirclement" Discounted

Q. Do you think that Great Britain and the United States consciously are forming a "capitalistic encirclement" of the Soviet Union?

A. I do not think the ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States of America could create a "capitalistic encirclement" of the Soviet Union even if they wanted to do this, which, however, we cannot affirm.

Q. Speaking in the words Mr. Wallace used in his last speech, can England, western Europe and the United States be assured that Soviet politics in Germany will not be turned into a weapon of Russian efforts directed against western Europe?

A. I believe using Germany by the Soviet Union against western Europe and the United States of America is excluded. I believe this is excluded not only because the Soviet Union is bound by a treaty of mutual assistance against German aggression with Great Britain and France, and with the United States of America by the decisions of the Potsdam conference of the three Great Powers; but also because the politics of using Germany against western Europe and the United States of America would mean a departure of the Soviet Union from its fundamental national interests.

Speaking briefly, the politics of the Soviet Union in the German question comes down to demilitarization and democratization of Germany. I think that demilitarization and democratization of Germany presents one of the most important guarantees for the establishment of a sound and lasting peace.

"Red Dictation" Absurd

Q. What is your opinion about the accusation that the policies of Communist parties in western Europe are "dictated by Moscow?"

A. I consider this accusation absurd and to be borrowed from the bankrupt arsenal of Hitler and Goebbels.

Q. Do you believe in the possibility of a friendly and lasting collaboration of the Soviet Union and western democracy despite the existence of ideological discord, and in friendly competition between the two systems, of which Wallace spoke in his speech?

A. I do, unconditionally.

Q. During the sojourn here of the [British] Labor party delegation, you, as I understand it, expressed belief in the possibility of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. What could help in the establishment of these relations, which are so eagerly desired by the broad masses of the English people?

A. I really believe in the possibility of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Establishment of such relations would be appreciably helped by strengthening political trade and cultural relations between these countries.

Q. Do you believe that the quickest withdrawal of all American forces in China is vitally necessary for the future of peace?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Do you believe that the actual monopoly possession of the atomic bomb by the United States of America is one of the principal threats to peace.

Atomic Bomb Not Crucial

A. I do not believe the atomic bomb to be as serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to regard it. Atomic bombs are intended for intimidating weak nerves, but they cannot decide the outcome of war, since atomic bombs are by no means sufficient for this purpose. Certainly monopolist possession of the secret of the atomic bomb does create a threat, but at least two remedies exist against it:

(a) Monopolist possession of the atomic bomb cannot last long.

(b) Use of the atomic bomb will be prohibited.

Q. Do you suppose that with the further advance of the Soviet Union toward Communism the possibilities for peaceful collaboration with the outside world will not decrease in so far as this concerns the Soviet Union? Is "Communism in one country" possible?

A. I do not doubt that the possibilities for peaceful collaboration not only will not decrease, but can even increase. "Communism in one country" is fully possible, especially in such a country as the Soviet Union.

World Brotherhood Through the State

MENTAL ADJUSTMENT TO A DYNAMIC PEACE

By JOHN FOSTER DULLES, *Attorney*
Delivered under the auspices of The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Philadelphia, Pa., September 8, 1946

IT is not easy these days to talk about the Brotherhood of Nations. It would have been easier a year or two ago. Then there was a brotherhood in arms. Now that brotherhood has given way to strain and tension.

War coalitions usually fall apart when they have destroyed the common peril. This time, however, what is happening is more than that. We seem to be witnessing a challenge to established civilization—the kind of thing which occurs only once in centuries.

In the tenth century after Christ the so-called Christian world was challenged by an alien faith. The tide of Islam flowed from Arabia and swept over much of Christendom. It was not primarily a military thrust. Rather it was a social challenge. H. G. Wells said of it: "Islam prevailed because it was the best social and political order the times could offer. It prevailed because everywhere it found politically apathetic peoples and selfish and unsound governments, out of touch with any people at all. . . . It offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind."

Now another ten centuries have rolled by and the accumulated civilization of those centuries is faced with another challenge. This time the challenger is Soviet communism.

The faith and institutions of Soviet communism differ vastly from those of the Western democracies. The official creed of the Party is an abstruse materialism. The form of government is dictatorship. The economic life is an extreme form of state socialism. The official methods are ruthless and intolerant. The spirit is revolutionary. The scope of its effort is universal.

Soviet leaders consider, as Islam considered, that the governments of the outer world are selfish and unsound and out of touch with the people. They believe that they can offer better terms than any others to the mass of mankind. They proclaim to 750,000,000 dependent people their right to be independent, and publicly and secretly they encourage revolutionary efforts to throw off the yoke of what they call Western imperialism. By intensive Spanish and Portuguese language propaganda in Latin America they prod the peoples there, upwards of 100,000,000, to arise from political apathy and to take power—as communists. Through Chinese communists they hold out to 400,000,000 Chinese the promise of change from corruption and incompetence which have become traditional in some circles of Chinese officialdom. To the 350,000,000 of continental Europeans, economically

wrecked by two world wars, they offer a plan which, they promise will sustain productivity more surely than an individualistic economy.

Thus the Soviet communist party challenges the supremacy of the so-called Christian world. Controlling at home 10 per cent of the human race, it offers leadership to a further 75 per cent, constituting the overwhelming majority of Europe, Asia, Africa and South America. That challenge has had an initial success. In every part of the world there are influential groups which accept leadership from Moscow.

To many this is dismaying. It ought to dismay us to discover that the Western democracies, after ten centuries of unchallenged economic and military supremacy in the world, have so slight a spiritual hold on the masses of mankind that they eagerly listen to those who have not even shown that they can establish a good society at home. What is happening is not a measure of Soviet communist capacity. That is still an unproved factor. What is happening is a measure of Western inadequacy. We no longer inspire confidence because we have not done that of which we are capable.

What is happening now could not have happened during the 19th century. Then the British industrial revolution, the French revolution with its concept of "liberty, equality and fraternity," the "great American experiment" in political freedom, had created world-wide confidence in the dynamic and life-giving quality of our institutions. Now, within a few decades, that confidence is gone and our prestige is everywhere in jeopardy. The Western democracies risk being surrounded and isolated, if not overrun, by an alien faith.

What has happened is not without cause. The Western democracies have been guilty of grave lapses. As colonial powers, they should have advanced more rapidly the self-government of dependent peoples. In the American hemisphere, the United States should have been more concerned with being a good neighbor to peoples, and not merely to governments. In China, the Western democracies should have had a deeper concern than that the Chinese government should be merely acceptable to Treaty Port traders. American industrial and labor leaders ought to have found a way so that, in the pre-war depression, our economy would not have been a dead weight on the world, unable to translate idle men and idle machines into productivity.

Of course it is easier to say that those things should have been done than to have done them. Each was a task calling for a high order of ability and statesmanship. Nevertheless, we could have done much more than we did. Some Christians saw that; but their exhortations carried little weight. So long as no foreign nation was exploiting our inadequacy, it seemed safe and easier to drift along. Now that our failures are seen to be jeopardizing our society of freedom, our people may arouse themselves to remedial action. In that sense the prospect is far from dismaying.

The most important task which faces the American people is that of mental adjustment to a dynamic peace. Most of us would like a peace which is a condition of tranquillity. We would like all threat and challenge to be removed and to feel that we can safely relax. We are inclined to believe that unless we get that kind of a peace, we have not peace at all. That is a dangerous mental condition. It can readily lead to a mood of frustration, for we are not likely, this time, to get a peace of tranquillity. We may, however, get something much better. Peace ought to be a condition of vigorous effort to redress wrongs and to advance the general welfare of mankind. That kind of a peace is available to us. It requires no prior agreements or settlements. No nation can close to another that door of opportunity.

It is, of course, of immense importance to the life of Europe and Asia that the victors quickly agree on the terms of peace. The Conference now going on in Paris warrants the attention and effort it is receiving. On the other hand, there is no warrant for feeling that until everything is settled between the victors, nothing worth while can be done. We should see the future in truer perspective. We should not permit ourselves to despair because of disagreements, obstacles and delays which are now almost inevitable and which, probably for a long time, will prevent a conventional form of peace.

After long exertion the principal victors may agree on what shall be the future territorial, economic and political status of Germans, Japanese and Italians. However, by that time a new group of unsettlements will doubtless have risen to plague us. That will go on until a new equilibrium is established in the world as between the faith and institutions of Soviet communism and the faith and institutions of the Western world. That equilibrium will never be achieved by paper agreements or compromises or surrenders. It will be established by the weight of facts. It must first be determined how much constructive influence each society can exert in the world. That will take time.

Such a period of unsettlement is not a distaster. It has its disadvantages and its risks. But a settled peace has, too, its risks. It is apt to generate an atmosphere of stagnation within which forces of evil readily breed. That was shown by the aftermath of World War I.

The "Big Three" of the victory of 1918—Great Britain France and the United States—were all satisfied nations. Their peoples had similar beliefs and institutions. None challenged the other. All three had already achieved for themselves an advantageous position in the world. Their idea of peace was, consequently, to buttress that existing position and then to relax from the great effort of war. So they disarmed Germany and dismembered the German Empire. They broke up the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. They made the Covenant of the League and the Kellogg-Briand Pact whereby they ruled that there should be no more war. Then they went their several ways of self-enjoyment, feeling that this was safe because, internationally, everything had been settled.

For a time that peace seemed good. If this meeting were being held in the atmosphere which for a few years followed 1920, it would be easier to talk about the Brotherhood of Nations.

Actually, that post-war condition was unhealthy and treacherous. The Treaties of Versailles and of Trianon were not bad treaties as treaties go. The Covenant of the League and the Kellogg-Briand Pact were good as such things go. What was wrong was the spirit which dominated the principal victors. They abandoned initiative and sense of mission. That role was left to be taken over by evil spirits who brought the peace to a quick and ignominious end. The impression of the victors that all was settled proved their undoing.

History teaches that a static peace is a dangerous peace. Christ taught that same truth. Christ did not preach peace as a condition of tranquillity. Surely it was a static peace that Christ had in mind when He said "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword."

Christ's Gospel was evolutionary, in some respects revolutionary. It taught men constantly to struggle against the

imperfections of world order. So Christians want a peace that does not stifle but encourages efforts to promote human welfare.

In recent years we have been coasting on the waning momentum of the past. Now our people are beginning to see that they must choose between contributing to the world and being isolated, crowded and jolted by the world. Once that alternative is clearly understood, there is little doubt as to what our choice will be. We shall prove again, as we have proved before, that our society of freedom can gloriously serve mankind.

Of course a dynamic peace has its risks. It will, under present conditions, involve competition between great powers. There is always danger in such a competition. It may become so keen that the competitors will use unscrupulous methods. Each may exasperate the other to a point where ill will is great and peace can be jeopardized by minor incidents. That appears to be the greatest present danger.

Communist leaders have always professed to believe that capitalism uses war in order to keep itself going. They also profess to believe that the capitalistic nations will engage in armed conflict against Soviet communism, as the only way to overcome it. It is understandable that some phases of our nation's armament and strategic defense policies may, to Soviet leaders, seem threatening.

On the other hand, Soviet leaders themselves have never believed in tolerant methods. They have, at home, regularly employed coercion, purge and propaganda unrelated to objective truth. They employ these same methods in aid of their foreign policy. They seem to believe that the ends which they seek justify any means.

We know, from our own political system, that it is possible to have a society which, on the one hand is peaceful and, on the other hand, contains many different beliefs, each with devoted adherents who seek competitively to propagate their faith. However, that is possible only under a system where no one is allowed to propagate his faith by coercion, intimidation, purge or fraud. We need, internationally, the same restraint on intolerant methods. The big question is, will we get it?

It is possible that we can. Powerful aids are at hand to prevent the competition of great powers becoming unbridled and unscrupulous and dangerous to peace. There is no warrant whatsoever for concluding that a peace which is dynamic, competitive and vigorous must, for that reason, culminate in violence.

First of all, none of the competitors want war. None would willingly provoke it. Each may strain the patience of the other, but none will deliberately do what it thinks will lead to major war. The danger that exists is more a danger of miscalculation than a danger from actual malevolence. That risk of miscalculation can be reduced if the nations deal with each other in terms of candor. The cause of world peace is not really served by giving Soviet leaders the impression that the Western peoples are indifferent and complaisant toward Soviet methods of intolerance.

In the second place, we have the United Nations. Public attention focuses upon its Security Council. Actually, other aspects of the life of the United Nations may, for the present, be more important. A major purpose of the United Nations is "To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations" in regard to economic, social and humanitarian matters. If any member state wants to see undernourished people get more food, idle workers get more employment, ignorant people get more education, impoverished people get more economic development, dependent people get more self-government, there is an organ of the United Nations through which it can prosecute its desire.

These activities of the United Nations are already getting under way. At the first meeting of the Assembly in London, all but one of the nations holding colonial mandates expressed the intention to accept United Nations trusteeship. Great Britain is showing in India that it respects its undertaking under Chapter XI of the Charter. It is performing there an historic task of great delicacy by the use of statesmanship of a high order. The Dutch Government is promoting autonomy in the Netherlands East Indies. The United States has proposed that atomic energy should be developed by the United Nations so that there will not be competition along national lines. There already exist organs or specialized agencies to deal with food, health, economic development of backward areas and monetary stability.

That illustrates how the United Nations can effectively serve as a harmonizing center. If the members of the United Nations will vigorously develop its humanitarian activities, that will do much to prevent human misery and discontent being exploited by particular groups for ulterior purposes. Indeed, the gain can be more than negative. The United Nations, by developing common peacetime goals, may revive the spirit of brotherhood which existed when the United Nations were fighting for common wartime goals.

Finally, there is the moral law. That is not something which only preachers talk about on Sunday. It is something that the most realistic politicians take into account. Today all national leaders talk in terms of the moral law. No doubt that reflects some hypocrisy. But the very fact that it seems necessary to present a moral facade is proof that the moral law is a recognized power.

Moral law is variously expressed and understood. Its implications do not seem to all to be the same. It needs to be translated into codified world law. But even today moral law can serve mightily to direct the conduct of nations into ways consonant with peace.

Last month the representatives of non-Roman Christian churches from 15 lands met at Cambridge, England, to discuss the part which the churches might take in the world affairs. It was unanimously agreed that "the judgment and guidance of the Christian conscience upon international problems must be clearer and more decisive than hitherto." To that end we established a permament Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. It can be expected that that Commission will recognize that peace requires the cooperation of men of all nations, races and creeds and that the principles upon which world order depends are those which men of good will throughout the ages have accepted as part of the moral law. A great body of Christian churches, representing many denominations and many races, is committed, as never before, to subject the conduct of nations to moral law.

Nothing that we have said affords a basis for easy optimism. We would only delude ourselves if we did not look on the future as one of peril. That, however, is no reason for pessimism. The future has always been a future of peril. Often the perils have been hidden so that there has been no defense against them. Also, those perils brought with them no opportunity comparable to the risk. This time the perils are seen; possible defenses are at hand, and the vigorous and dynamic spirit which produces the peril can also produce an era of unprecedented progress. Thus we have great opportunity at the price of measurable risk. More than this men should not ask.

The Preservation of the Constitution

OUR FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES ARE AT STAKE

By GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW, *Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of Kiwanis International for the United States*

Delivered before the Rotary Club of Denver, Colorado, September 12, 1946

A YEAR ago we Americans permitted ourselves to relax, thankful that World War II was over, proud of our part in its successful prosecution, and confident that our form of government—and all that it means to us—had been preserved against a vicious and determined onslaught. We of course knew that there would be certain inevitable problems of peace-making to solve, certain domestic war strains to relieve; but few of us then foresaw even in small measure the threats which today hang over our way of life, and over the Constitution which was adopted for the precise purpose of insuring that way.

Those threats are posed within our own land, by Communists; by their dupes, whom we may charitably call our "political morons"; and by that more intelligent, but thoroughly unscrupulous, group among us who, disguising themselves under the viciously false labels of "liberal Democrats", "liberal Republicans", "progressives", and "non-partisan labor leaders" and other misnomers, actually draw on Communistic dogma to promote the sale of their spurious political wares. These internal threats are vastly augmented by the menace of Communist Russia.

Unhappily and inescapably these threats directly menace our Constitution—the source of protection of the individual in his right to think, to speak, to write, to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, to enjoy the privacy of his home, to engage in the occupation of his own choice, to develop property according to his judgment and within proper bounds.

The Constitution even envisions, and wisely, that the individual may exercise his own judgment as to whether and how he will obey the law, but that he must take the legal consequences for his acts. Under the Constitution, as conceived by its authors, the law enters the individual's life *after* he exercises his judgment and commits an overt act—and not before, as was the case in Hitler's Germany. No one can be sent to jail in our country for *thinking* wrong; he has to *do* wrong to elicit punishment. When the government intervenes *before* a man commits an overt act—as *was* in Germany, and *is* in Communist Russia—then it is the Government, and not the individual, that does the thinking, planning and deciding. The Constitution's concept is freedom; the Communistic concept is slavery!

The freedom of which we are talking is many-sided; our Founding Fathers, whose fine and comprehending judgment gave us our Constitution, intended that it exist in the political, the economic, the social, the religious, the aesthetic and *all other* aspects. Those aspects are intertwined. Thus it took an atmosphere of *political* freedom to encourage men to engage in *economic* ventures, which our people did—inventing, exploring, opening new territory, sinking mines, establishing factories and mills, developing new means of communication. Many other demonstrations of the interlinking of the various aspects of freedom may be adduced, but one fundamental law underlies the group of them: that if one fails, the others will eventually and inevitably disappear. Wisely alive to this, our people were for many decades on guard lest any sort of alien ideas of the enslavement of the individual might prove, in some distorted perspective, attractive to any group of our people. Obviously, the group most likely to fall victim to that bait was and is made up of those who, less adroit, less competent, less able, have failed to achieve their ambitions.

But, to an increasing degree which bodes ill for America, those abortive ideas seem to find acceptance. The siren song of European socialism now more than ever before fills our ears with an equality that in fact exists nowhere but in the promised millenium which is always just "around the corner". All the seductive songs, such as Planned Economy, which assail the freedom of the individual, hold out, in exchange for the sacrifice of one or more of our many freedoms, the bait of some form of freedom which in fact we already have—and will continue to have so long as we preserve our Constitution. However else these songs may differ, they always call for a strangulation of economic freedom—the most potent contributor to the greatness of our country.

One important reason for our arrival at this state of affairs is to be found in a sordid number of years of lax political thinking, of foolhardy toleration of executive and judicial inroads on legislative authority—all in derogation of that fundamental champion of our rights, the Constitution.

Many years ago the Chief Executive had exceeded his powers, and the Federal Government had exceeded its authority over the individual. Where does the Chief Executive derive his authority to raise or lower wages? Where in the Constitution can the Supreme Court justify its decision that elevator operators in a building where goods were displayed that might be sold in interstate commerce, were likewise engaged in interstate commerce?

The Supreme Court upheld the practice of a union compelling farmers entering New York City to hire union members to "pilot" the farmers to the markets. On what ground did the Court legalize and thus encourage this highjacking practice? Let it speak for itself: the Court said that it did so because it was a "usual practice"! Are we to assume that if murder was a "usual practice" in this country, the Court would legalize and thus encourage such a crime? In light of this and like decisions, it is not difficult to understand why a finally enraged Congress enacted into law the Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill!

The recent disgraceful squabble among the justices of the Supreme Court gives us a very illuminating conception of the caliber to which that intendedly august body has been warped by one President's appointing seven of its nine members. Do you wonder that many of our citizens now find it impossible to look upon this Court as a defender and unbiased interpreter of the Constitution? And is it not plain how we have, through political inattention, slothfulness and sheer stupidity, invited much of the danger that now confronts us?

Serious as is the impending internal chaos resulting from years of Constitutional erosion, nevertheless at present another and probably even more immediate aspect of danger is the threat posed by Communist Russia—of whom a prominent churchman has advisedly said: "Communism denies the right, dignity, and liberty of man. Communism permits no individual liberty. Communism holds that religion, the belief in God, is an opiate of the people."

Seldom a day passes that the atheistic Stalin, through his controlled press, radio and puppet governments, does not attack our form of government, our private citizens, our public officials, and impugn the motives of our press and radio. Meanwhile Molotov, Stalin's "man Friday", wears down, confuses and tries to gobble up and enslave the peoples of the world through his maneuvers at the conference which was intended to write a world peace—and his counterpart, Gromyko, plays a similar role at the United Nations' Conference. As late as February of this year, in a war-like speech to his people, Stalin announced a fifteen-year plan to strengthen his fighting forces. Why does he need an enlarged fighting force, when the peoples of the world are prepared neither mentally nor physically for another war; when, aside from the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States, most of them are actually prostrate?

Not unlike Adolf Hitler, Stalin, too, wrote a book. Stalin called his book, "Problems of Lenin", and in that book Stalin disclosed the purpose for which he now wants this fighting force. He said: "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic could continue to exist . . . side by side with industrial states—ultimately one or the other must conquer." Are we by any chance within Stalin's definition of an industrial state?

During and since World War II we have provided Russia with war and rehabilitation materiel worth upwards of twelve billions of dollars—equal to the totaled combined wealth of the State of Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming! Stalin not only has used much of this materiel for political purposes, but also, since and even while accepting our help, has carried on a vicious Hitler-like propaganda against us—designed, of course, to cause his people and his satellite countries to fear, distrust and even hate us. The Yugoslav attack on our planes—approved by Stalin's mouthpiece, *Pravda*—is typical of a pattern of aggressive action maintained by the Russians throughout the past two years. All of this is in large measure the result of the policies of the administration to appease Russia, and thus to obtain the votes of the real enemies of our Constitution, masquerading as liberals, and their moronic fellow-travellers. Each concession has only whetted Stalin's appetite for greater concessions. And even today there are actually those in our country who would further appease Russia by making available to her our industrial know-how and the secret of the atomic bomb!

Is there anyone in this room who feels that Russia would be less difficult to get along with if she, and not we, had the secret of the bomb? Have those appeasers forgotten that Stalin and Hitler became partners in 1939, at which time Stalin said there was no reason why Communism and Naziism—which was actually the most highly developed form of Fascism—could not live together in the same world? This partnership, by assuring Hitler of a one-front war, made World War II inevitable.

The appeasers offer not the slightest assurance that Stalin would not use our industrial know-how and the secret of the atomic bomb against us if we made them available. On this matter of getting along with Stalin, President Roosevelt, crippled and in ill health, made three trips, hat in hand, to see and appease Stalin; President Truman went to see and appease Stalin; Winston Churchill made many trips to see and appease Stalin—and finally very vocally attested to their futility. So far from being appeased, Stalin, by every move he makes, continues to confirm what he said in his book: that Soviet Russia and industrial states cannot "continue to exist" in the same world, and that "ultimately one or the other must conquer." If Stalin is the victor, leaders of every nation on the face of the earth, including our own, will take their orders, not from the people who elected them to public office, but from Stalin's Kremlin—and that only begins to suggest the probable concrete consequences to you and me as individuals!

What should our government do about this threat to our existence as a free people? If it abandons wishful thinking and appeasement; if it establishes and adheres to an intelligent foreign policy; if it maintains an army, navy and air force commensurate with its responsibilities as a world power; if it presents to Russia the absolute certainty that it is so determined on ultimate peace and on freedom of the individual that it will wage another all-out war for them—then, and only then, will it have done its duty in preserving the Constitution against its foreign enemies. At the same time it will have rendered that new war far less probable.

Our government, as a result of the vitality that still remains in our Constitution, is still intended to be only the voice of our people. The Constitution intended that our government's acts should represent the collective judgment of our people. In practise, its acts tend to represent the collective judgment of those particular people who manage to make their judgments heard.

If the preservation of all that we have is important to you, then make your judgments heard, and heard widely. Make them heard by direct communication to those who now purport to represent you. Make them heard by your vote in the elections of your representatives to come. Still more importantly, make them heard in your community now, and again and again prior to those elections, so that your *fellow citizens,* in crystallizing *their* views, may have the benefit of yours.

Our fundamental liberties are at stake; there is actually being posed—both from within and from without—the serious question of whether we will be able to remain a free people.

Exert every last ounce of energy you can muster, avail yourselves of every last iota of influence you have over the thinking in your community, in shouldering the formidable and challenging task of preserving what our country still has; of keeping us all free men and women.

A Greater Alma Mater

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY HAS THE CHANCE AND THE CHALLENGE

By DR. MONROE E. DEUTSCH, *Vice President and Provost of the University of California, Berkeley, California*

Delivered at the Commencement of Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif., June 4, 1946

THERE are today certain well-nigh overwhelming problems in the realm of collegiate education. These concern all institutions of higher learning, and in speaking of them I do not for a moment intend to imply that they are peculiar to Claremont Colleges—for they are not —or that this institution needs particularly to be reminded of them. But they concern all of us whose lives are spent in educational work, and indeed all Americans, since their solution is of the very greatest moment to the people of this land and (I sincerely believe) to mankind as a whole.

It was not long ago that the colleges of the country were seriously worried as to their enrollment, and consequently, their financial security. Those institutions were deemed lucky which had detachments of V-12's or A.S.T.P.'s or WACS or WAVES upon their campuses for instruction and maintenance.

Now of a sudden the picture has changed completely. The question today is, instead, for how many students we can care, and it is certain that each and every college in the land will have to strain itself if we are to accept the multitudes now pressing to enter our halls. It is by no means a case of "Too Little and Too Late," but, on the contrary, of "Too Many and Too Soon." For by no means all of our many professors serving in the armed forces, or in governmental offices, or in scientific research connected with warfare had returned to us when the throngs began to pour in.

They were made up both of the civilian students not chosen for military service and of the GI's returning from almost every conceivable part of the globe. And to cap it all, we Californians had in five years the astounding increase of at least two million in the population of the State, an increase naturally reflected in the number seeking higher education.

Starting as a trickle, it has become a veritable flood. It is estimated that 250,000 veterans will seek admission to California colleges and universities this fall.

And the problem is rendered infinitely more acute by several factors. In the first place, the war years have deprived us of the college teachers whom normally that period would have added to the total, as well as in replacement of those who had passed away or been retired. In the second place, the housing shortage added yet more difficulties. All sorts of devices have been employed to meet the situation. War-workers' dwellings, army barracks, quonset huts, trailers—these are among the means used to expand housing facilities. In the third place, even where colleges have money to erect much-needed academic buildings and dormitories, they cannot obtain priorities to do so, despite the fact that it is the influx of veterans which is making additions imperative now.

These are the hurdles—and they are indeed high ones. But they must be surmounted—somehow. For the GI's constitute the very group of young men and women whose education was brought to a sudden stop by the war, and to whom as a result we all owe a debt, and a great debt. Some have suffered physically and will never be completely restored to health and strength. But whether they have so suffered or not, they have placed three or four years at the service of their country and fought and stood guard for us against the forces which sought the overthrow of the kind of life which we know and love. There is a debt to them—and this our country is trying in some measure to repay. Besides this, however, just because of that hiatus of some four years, we must make up for it by training yet more lawyers, teachers, public servants, agriculturists, and those in a host of other fields, than the normal crop of civilian entrants would produce. In other words, society in its own selfish behalf needs these additional college graduates.

We find, however, that the GI's, instead of scattering among the many colleges of the country, tend to concentrate in a relatively small number of institutions. This is bad both for them and for the colleges. I trust everything possible will be done to distribute them widely among the many colleges of the land.

But our difficulties do not come singly. At the very time that we have a host of veterans seeking to gain admission, students from almost every part of the globe are also indicating their eagerness to study with us. It is stated that there are now 12,000 such foreign students in our colleges, and we are told that if we will accept them, we shall have between forty and fifty thousand in our institutions of higher learning in the year 1946-47. They do literally come from all parts of the globe. Many seek to study with us because of the condition in which the Germans or the Japanese have left their universities. In some instances, the buildings were actually levelled to the ground by artillery shells or bombs dropped from planes. Their libraries were often either destroyed or stolen by the brutal conquerors. Equipment was practically always carried away to be used by the victors. Sometimes the destruction was based on pure vandalism, sometimes it was intended to deprive the victims of the means of restoring their intellectual life. From China to Poland, it is easy to find examples of such deeds. It will be long before their universities can be physically rebuilt, their libraries and laboratories equipped. More important, however, has been the effect upon their faculties. Many, far too many, perished—often in concentration camps or before firing squads; some have suffered so greatly that resumption of their activities is difficult or even impossible; in other cases, as a result of their maltreatment, the intellectual pace has been slowed down. To this, add the fact that these nations have for an even longer period than we forced their young people to turn to arms instead of books or laboratories and that a far larger percentage of their youths made the supreme sacrifice; this makes them even less able to supplement their faculties than we are.

Besides, during the years between 1939 and 1945 in so many of the lands there was established an impenetrable wall, cutting them off from the outside world and the activities of mankind.

So these people are turning to us in a land whose colleges are intact, not even a window broken by artillery concussion, whose faculties are far more nearly complete than those abroad, whose libraries and laboratories have suffered absolutely no losses, that we may give their young people the education that they cannot possibly secure in their native lands.

Those who have suffered under Nazi tyranny would not dream of sending their young men and women to German universities if they could, nor would the Chinese wish for a moment that their sons and daughters should study in Tokyo.

We ourselves see the need of replenishing our group of trained and educated men and women. How much greater is it in lands like Holland and Belgium or Poland or Czecho-Slovakia! They desperately need well-equipped technicians in a host of fields, but they also need men and women educated in the humanities and the social sciences. It is from this latter group that their teachers, their administrators, their public officials will in largest measure come. Let us not forget, for example, that Thomas G. Masaryk, Czecho-Slovakia's great founder and president, one of the world's noblest figures, was a professor of philosophy. There is a great danger that in our emphasis on radar and nuclear energy, mankind will think that no other knowledge is of worth. But these, powerful as they are, are but man's tools, and it is he who will determine whether they are used for good or ill. Man is and must be the one to make the determination—and this, fortunately, is shaped by many influences that are not physical.

Yet it is unquestionably our efficiency, our extraordinary productive power that has caused such nations as Turkey to propose to send a host of students to us.

From Africa, from Asia, from Europe they seek to come. They come from lands that bore the brunt of the war in which they were allied to us, suffering merely because geography placed them near the enemy; while we were remote. They made great sacrifices of life in our common cause. They lost homes, they lost churches, they lost universities. Starvation hovers over their lands. Shall we not help their peoples to recovery and restoration by training their chosen

young men and women? Remember too, that it is by the civilization, the scholarship, yes, the universities of those lands—Italy, England, France—that ours have been nurtured: without Oxford and Cambridge what would Harvard and Yale have been? This is our opportunity to repay a debt that goes back seven long centuries.

It is, moreover, a debt to the lands from which we have drawn our own blood and our inheritance.

Think of the glory that is ours in having all lands turn to us, fledgling in the family of nations, to be their teacher.

Think what it will mean in the future in the relations of these peoples to us, that their leaders have lived among us, have studied with us, have come to know us; and that we have known and understood them. Our leaders and theirs may well have studied together at Claremont or in Berkeley, at Cambridge or Chicago, and have become friends and intimates.

But even more than all this is involved. The intermingling of the chosen young men and women from all parts of the globe will make our colleges veritable international centers where Turk and Chinese, English and Indian will meet as human beings face to face.

What better can we do toward making and cementing one world? What better can we do for world peace?

Our educational problems are indeed great—hosts of veterans eager to secure their deferred college training, throngs of foreigners seeking to obtain the education which has become so inadequate in their homelands. And yet both groups need us; both groups are made up of the future leadership of the world.

We must strain our resources to the utmost to care for them—and yet we must see to it that in trying to meet the needs of the many we do not dilute our product; for that would be no kindness to either veteran or foreign student. We should then be faithless to our trust.

At the same time we must not forget the students who come to us directly from secondary schools. They are the group who under normal conditions constitute our whole student body or nearly so. They are no less worthy of our help than their predecessors and must not be thrust aside. That they are not veterans is due to no fault of their own, but primarily to age. We have no reason to think they will fail to take advantage of higher education to the fullest, and these normal students must not be overlooked as the tide of other students rolls in.

The burden is a heavy one, but rightly considered it is a challenge such as has never, I believe, come to any educational system. If we turn our backs on it we shall have cast aside the greatest opportunity that will ever come to us to shape the world. The old world, our teacher and our mother, now comes to us to help and aid her. We cannot refuse.

To meet this huge triple burden many hitherto unused devices must be employed. Classes must be scattered over all the hours of the day, and not (as has been the practice in some institutions) concentrated at certain periods regarded as most pleasant both by faculty and students. I see no reason why Saturday should not be used as fully as Friday, despite the fact that football games fall on the former day. Indeed, night classes should not be regarded as out of consideration. If young men and women, after working all day in offices or shops, have found it not only possible but valuable to go to night classes offered by school systems or adult education centers, I see no reason why college students should not attend some of their classes between seven and ten P.M. All this will, I admit, interfere with many interesting activities of our colleges—athletics, dances, club meetings and the like—but something is at stake infinitely greater than any of these—and that is the primary function of our colleges and universities.

And we have found that our returning GI's, though no recluses by any means, have come back with maturity and seriousness of purpose that makes them see these extra-curricular activities in a better perspective than pre-war students. I hasten to say that I am not undervaluing such activities but merely trying to hint that many college students overvalue them. Our faculty reports that the academic record of the veterans is higher than that of non-veterans, and this same statement is made on other campuses as well.

Indeed, I have the feeling—at least the hope—that the attitude of the GI's may influence that of the entire student body and cause these years to mark the end of one epoch in collegiate life and the beginning of another. Mark you—I said it was a hope.

And surely the presence of foreign students among us will not only be of inestimable value to them and their peoples, but should in and of itself constitute the best form of education for our students and ourselves. I know that during the United Nations conference in San Francisco it meant much to us to meet the representatives of foreign lands—and there were times (shall I whisper it?) when we felt a bit ashamed of some of our own by comparison. I recall for example a member of the delegation from Iran whom I heard speak. He was a professor of philosophy in one of their universities and had been trained in Germany; his English was excellent. More important, however, was the noble tone of his address, its lofty idealism. How many of us previously had had an opportunity to meet anyone from Iran? I know that as far as I am concerned, Iran is now more than merely a name for the land once called Persia and today the subject of discussion before the Security Council of the United Nations.

I even hazard the belief that the education of Americans through the presence among us of students from Turkey or China or even France or England will be enriched and they will acquire far more than most of our fellow countrymen have learned of those lands in their fleeting glimpses as they darted through them; these saw merely externals—streets, buildings, churches, palaces—but in the inability of most of them to speak the languages of the people, there existed a barrier to a real understanding of those among whom they were travelling. However, when for a year or two or three, these students live among us, speaking to us face to face, we shall be able to look into the mind and spirit of their people.

We need this, too, to prevent a swing toward isolationism. If our thoughts concerning a foreign land or people are based wholly on what our newspapers say—or rather what the one newspaper that we regularly read, says,—our point of view is likely to be distorted by the way in which the news is "played up" (to speak in newspaper language) and by the phraseology of the headlines, which have far greater effect than we dream.

It is so easy to justify our own actions from the standpoint of self-interest and to condemn our sister nations if they proceed on what appears at least the same basis. If our belief in one world is not merely rhetorical, if we are convinced that on the success of the United Nations rests the peace—nay, even the very existence of our world—we must all be ready to look at problems from a world point of view and not merely a personal and selfish one. Easy is it to be moved by the starvation and suffering in Europe and Asia, and even to make some slight sacrifices that the millions who are in dire famine may obtain a bit of food to keep soul and body together. It is not hard to make such suffering visible to us. But when questions of loans and tariffs and bases are under discussion, it is not so simple for the man on the street to see it as other than an effort by some European "slicker" to put it over on guileless Uncle Sam, the boy from the country. In short, the plea for human understanding and

brotherhood which poets and prophets and seers have repeated again and again throughout the centuries, has by no means penetrated to the hearts of mankind; self still comes first, and islationism is the natural offspring.

For that reason the presence among us of students from all parts of the world is perhaps as important to us as it is to the peoples of whom they are a part.

They do not wish to be treated either as something strange or exotic on the one hand, or subjected to the indecent discriminations which we have erected against those whose skins are black or yellow. Discrimination, whether based on ancestry, creed, race or color, is incompatible with the very basis of democracy, is incompatible with the teachings of Christianity and Judaism. Indeed, if college students coming to us from China are to be treated as inferiors, are to be denied abodes because of color, are to be refused admission to hotels and restaurants, far better would it be that they should never come to us, than that in their very persons they should be made to suffer from the arrogant superiority complex of our people. Absurd it is when one thinks of it, that we, made up of peoples from all quarters of the globe, all colors, all creeds, should for a moment conceive that we are a superior race. Our very heterogeneity should be our pride, for we have within us traits derived from all the peoples of the globe. Indeed, we should rather remember that our ancestors all came here for escape—escape from religious persecution, or from a caste system that denied them a chance, or from dire poverty. They were not a chosen people, save in the courage with which they tore up their roots and faced the hazards of sea and land and the uncertainties of a new life.

But if we, living together in close association, cannot break down the barriers of discrimination, how hopeless it would be to think of a human brotherhood stretching about the entire globe! And if this should prove hopeless, of how little avail would organizations of states and governments be! Shall mankind wait with fear and trembling until the next dispute between powerful states brings us to the verge of war, and the horrible weapons which science has placed in their hands are poised, ready to wipe out cities and states in a few moments? Surely mankind has enough intelligence to devise methods to live in peace; if not, perhaps we deserve to be destroyed.

But I, for one, shall not give up hope. And I feel that a most potent factor in building threads (at least) of understanding between the peoples of the earth will be the presence among us of those from all quarters of the globe, who will live among us, study with us, come to know us better and enable us to know them.

At the same time does not all this indicate the need in our educational systems of something in addition to technical and scientific training? International understanding must rest upon knowledge. Let us realize that this is based on study of the history, the geography, the economic conditions of a people, and also their language and supremely through their literature. A fluent reading knowledge of a foreign tongue opens the doors to an understanding of a people as nothing else does; it enables one not only to see what they are thinking today, but what their great minds have said throughout the centuries. It will free us, as nothing else can, from the contempt that is sometimes felt for those who live differently from ourselves, a contempt manifest in the attitude of some of our American soldiers in the armies of occupation in Europe. Even as ice-cream sodas and soda crackers are not necessarily the acme of foods, so our ways of living do not necessarily mean a nobler civilization. The status of music and art, of philosophy and the drama, of literature and science, is really far more significant.

We have much—very much—to contribute to mankind; while democracy among us still needs to function better, still it offers to many peoples of mankind a vision of a kind of government far better than their own. There is, too, a friendliness and kindness among us which are truly democratic; they do not go as far as they should toward all elements of our population, but as far as they go, they strike a European as warmer and more spontaneous than the attitudes with which he is familiar.

We are a peace-loving people; we do not fight unless we have to. Indeed, sometimes we are late in realizing the tides in human affairs that will inevitably draw us in. And again we do not realize that peace in and of itself is not the supreme good, but only a means to it. Our Bill of Rights is a document of significance, despite the Ku Klux Klans, the Silver Shirts, and the other organizations whose un-Americanism somehow escapes the notice of certain legislative committees. We have still a long distance to go, but we are on the right road.

Such things will our foreign visitors learn, even as we will learn much from them.

And perhaps it is even more important for the GI's than for the rest of us. For it is clear that for some years to come into their hands will be committed the helm of our ship. Too often the glimpses they have had of foreign lands have been so brief and so much concentrated on its worst aspects that association with its best representatives will be even more important in giving them a better balanced view of foreign peoples.

And so, in pointing out the great problems confronting our colleges, I am at the same time indicating the great opportunity that is before them, the opportunity to play the most significant of parts in training our nation's leaders and in educating those who will build up the stricken lands in all parts of the world, and above all in binding together men and women all over the globe in bonds of understanding, friendship, and indeed brotherhood. The American university has the chance and the challenge to become the *Alma Mater* of sons and daughters from all climes and all lands. It is a chance that comes but once in the life of the world. We must not fail it.

The Battle of Smokestacks

IT WON THE WAR, IT WILL WIN THE PEACE

By CHARLES E. WILSON, *President, General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y.*

Delivered before the New York Sales Executive Club, New York, N. Y., September 10, 1946

IT has been a little over four years since I have had the opportunity of speaking before this group—four of the strangest, most critical, and most colossal years—to give Hollywood language its due—that men can imagine. I am sure that all of you have had the experience, at one time or another, of reading "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" or some equally time-leveling historical work, which from the vantage-point of centuries leads us to look upon recurring violence as a regular and almost functional thing. Wars, empires, and the men who win and lose them have

their dimensions cut down by this critical process until they become barely perceptible bumps on the vast expanse of time. It may be that what we have just passed through may become another of those bumps, and that future historians can reduce Hitler and Hiroshima and the blitz to fine print references in an appendix, but you and I certainly will never have that trouble. It may even be that the descendants of the same kids who had trouble distinguishing the two Adamses and the two Harrisons, among the chief executives of the United States, will have trouble distinguishing the two Roosevelts. That is even harder to believe, but time does strange things.

The reason that I recall the other occasion so clearly is that it was a very uncomfortable time for me, and so is this, but not to the same extent and for different reasons.

In 1942 we were teetering on the edge of what could only be a long, shattering conflict, the final outcome of which was hidden from us. But the entire world was involved. Years of hard physical struggle were ahead of us, and millions of tons of production. Although we had no way of measuring the confusion, or the depths and extent of the problems ahead, there was one thing that was very clear: the salesman was out of a job. The marketplace was going to be closed for a long, long time, and it might never re-open. The amazing special talents of selling, which more than anything else characterize America and set it off from every other country in the world, were not going to be very useful.

In the face of this tragic situation my own dilemma was very small, but the discomfort was very real. The Sales Executive Club of New York was playing host to a national conference of selling experts, and I suppose I was there because under normal conditions I represented an organization that manufactured more than 200,000 separate products and services that had to be sold. But the lights were even then going out, the handwriting was on the wall, the selling experts were respectfully listening—and there just didn't seem to be anything to say. What I needed was an urgent telephone call that would take me off the spot.

Actually it was not just this little incident I have been describing that was important, but the fact that businessmen all over the country were waiting for a telephone call, and it didn't come. Finally all had to sit down together and face some facts, and while it may not have been pleasant, it was a sign of maturity. We had come of age since the last war, and we were no longer children economically. In every business across the land there was growing—separate and distinct from the call to arms—a sense of responsibility for the various enterprises of which we were a part. We had not yet begun to fight seriously at home or abroad, we didn't even know that we were going to win, and yet American men of business were already looking to the postwar years. True, they were a little ashamed to be doing it, because it didn't seem to be decent and patriotic to think or do anything that was not directly concerned with turning out ships and guns, but it was there just the same. The determination was part of everything we did, that not only were we going to win a war, somehow, but when it was over, we were going to have something ready with which to carry on. More important than parades and bonuses and celebrations and peace conferences were jobs, factories, homes, distribution systems, and well-defined opportunities for progress and better living.

Things may not have turned out just the way we saw them, and even now it is too early to appraise our situation accurately. It is child's play for special pleaders and Monday-morning quarterbacks to "prove" right now that things are in an awful mess, and that we are whirling towards another war at a dizzy pace. But the battle was more than half won back in the 1940's, in my estimation, when American business found the courage and the intellect and the confidence to acknowledge its responsibility for its fellow man. It went in for self-analysis, it rubbed its depression scars, and put its best brains to work on future planning, determined to avoid the more tragic consequences of postwar hangover if that were humanly possible.

Postwar planning was, of course, cold comfort four years ago to a salesman with nothing to sell. But he did what he could. He went into uniform in many cases. He went into factories and made things with his hands and with tools. He discovered that wonderful wartime activity of expediting, and he went up and down the land, or maybe just up and down alleys, looking for nuts and bolts and parts and raw materials and manpower. Sometimes, like a lot of other Americans, he gave up his life. But most of the time he kept his knowledge and ingenuity, and added to it, and told himself that this could not last forever. Men who sell, as a class, have vision and tolerance and understanding, probably because their profession makes them be so many different things to so many people. They are always on the offensive, pacing the scientist, the engineer, the manufacturer; continually making factories too small and working hours too short, as they drive through the day.

Men who sold goods knew that the war was going to be a battle of smokestacks, and they adapted themselves as best they could, and kept their eye on the ball. I say "they"—but I would guess that most of us in this room are numbered among such a group. We may be manufacturers, or designers, or researchers, but our interests are primarily in the movement of goods at a fair profit. The things we stand for, the rules we live by, are readily ascertainable. There is nothing very complex about our familiar business cycle. We decided, along about 1941, that there must be no retreat from the high mark of our industrial activity when the war was over, and the main thing we worried about was unemployment. The whole postwar planning program was drafted in terms of jobs, because jobs meant purchasing power and contentment. As time went along we became highly interested in new materials and new devices—light metals, plastics, electronics—and our interest stemmed from the belief that these would mean more jobs. We foresaw that thing we have come to know as reconversion, and I think that American industry performed one of the finest jobs in its history in planning reconversion, regardless of how it has turned out. Inefficient operations were recharted, new ground and new plants acquired, plans were made for new machines and for better arrangement of old ones, markets were probed, and distribution machinery tightened up.

Most of us had our eyes on these things: taking back the millions of men in the armed forces, retraining them where necessary, and putting them as fast as possible into civilian harness where they would have job security; second, increasing our productive efficiency so that costs could be cut and prices lowered, to the end that there might be greater distribution of goods and services; third, improving the distribution machinery itself, providing for a fairer division of the margin between sales price and manufacturing cost, eliminating some of the wastes that had grown into the system, and immeasurably broadening our markets. The angle from which all of this was attacked, the real problem uppermost in our minds, was the provision of employment for all who wanted to work. Industry thought it knew more about the way its own system worked than any outside group could possibly know, and it was prepared to make the most

of its opportunity to show its stuff to the unbelievers, the cynics, and the academic adventurers.

Then something happened. While we were calling signals, somebody stole the ball. Somebody still *has* the ball. To the rest of the world we appear to be just a little ridiculous. We still have our fine team. We still have our plans to drive ahead and they are almost as sound as they ever were, but the maddening thing to most of us sitting on the management bench is the sense of delay and frustration, because we have not been defeated, but just thrown off balance. If there was one thing that none of us were worrying about, it was our ability to produce. That was beyond question as late as a year ago, for had we not produced our enemies right off the map, with steel and glass and rubber and gasoline, with planes and tanks and ships and shells, with ingenious and unheard-of devices such as radar and jet propulsion and finally the atomic bomb itself? Produce? That would be childishly easy with our magnificent new plant, or so it seemed.

Of course we knew it would not be quite as well-oiled and automatic an operation as it appeared to be on paper, no matter how great was the demand for goods on the part of a war-starved consuming public, no matter how comforting the backlog of savings which would pour forth in a golden stream. Wartime controls could not be cast off all at once. There would have to be some restraint exercised, and some healthy examples set, if we were to keep prices in line. We might have to scratch around for raw materials and parts at first, until things became organized and set into a peacetime groove. The competitive picture was bound to be unsettled, with newcomers in the field. There would be initial inefficiency as new hands took over and new assembly lines took shape. But certainly none of this was serious, because we would all pull together. We could not afford to do otherwise. Nothing else made sense, and there was a vast amount of work to be done.

But it just didn't work out. Today, more than a year after VJ Day, our shelves and showrooms, if not empty, are tantalizingly unfilled. Homeless American families tramp the streets with money in their pockets looking for a place to live. The black market in food and other commodities is a commonplace. Manufacturing plants jerk along spasmodically, occasionally coming to a dead halt as they run out of steel, or copper, or glass. Advertising and promotion falters, groping for the products which it should be helping to sell, and finding nothing. . . . And, finally, this is where I came in, because after four years here I am back with you, wanting to talk with you about selling, but there is not much to sell, and I am uncomfortable all over again.

The last time we arrived at this impasse, and were waiting for the telephone to ring to save us embarrassment, we eventually wound up with something good. Not you and I personally, but others like us, all over the country. Perhaps we—you who want to get this machine of ours into motion—can come up with something again. Once more I believe we are faced with a battle of smokestacks. Just as we were able to make our victory possible with unprecedented production, so we can beat out the doldrums of industrial unrest and peacetime sickness with the same kind of remedy. I am afraid that I am one of the world's champion optimists, where American industrial production is concerned, although I will admit that there are many days when I wonder how I get that way. Those are the days when I take a look at the figures and see that on one side we have high employment, high costs, and high ambitions, balanced on the other side by low prices, low efficiency curves, low supplies of material and parts, and low production. Not so long ago we almost ran out of copper, and no one has yet figured out how you can run an electrical manufacturing company without copper. That was just after we almost ran out of steel. Now the copper supply is getting better and we are short of steel again. But seriously, there is just one commodity that is even more precious and vital in the electrical industry than steel and copper, and we have more of that today, of a higher quality, than we ever had since Thomas Alva Edison sat peering through the night hours at Menlo Park some 67 years ago at the first successful incandescent lamp. That commodity is enthusiasm and faith in the future. It would not be difficult for me, with the resources at my command, to marshal enough figures and failures and frustrations to paint a very discouraging picture of American industry and enterprise. Yes, we have had a year of strikes. Yes, prices are inflated. Yes, there are too many of our fellow countrymen who seem to be more interested in security than they are in opportunity, more afraid of the atom bomb than they are excited by the promise of atomic energy. Yes, there is a continuing shortage of white shirts and straight whisky and prime beef. Yes, we seem to have a rising wave of crime, international vituperation, and domestic communism. In view of this alarming situation, the General Electric Company, for one, plans to employ *more* people, in *more* plants across the United States, at *higher* wages, and drive for *more business* than ever before in its history. Furthermore, we expect to have plenty of company, and we cordially invite you to come along for the ride, helping us to produce more goods, for more people, at less cost.

Salesmen who wanted to help did find something to sell during the catastrophic war years. As you are well aware from our own experiences, they sold their fellow citizens courage in the dark days, confidence in American ingenuity and hard work, pride in achievement, and the old virtues of sacrifice and teamwork. In the disappointing months since the war's end, we have found new things to sell each other, and I hope we shall not forget them as our machinery gathers speed and begins to sing again.

For example, out of trouble we have gained a new awareness of what makes a business enterprise, something we must have known all along but were perhaps too busy to acknowledge properly. A company is not just physical—so many human beings who labor, so many others who put up capital, so many buildings and machines and contractual obligations. It is also a highly organic social entity which keeps house in a community, pays taxes, keeps its grass cut and its hedge trimmed, merits the respect of its neighbors, and needs their friendship and understanding. It will get only what it deserves to get by its conduct, and no more nor less. Too often, it seems to me, even after we have become aware of our social obligations, have we tried to discharge them in a cold and ineffective manner, along mass production lines. When we tried to explain ourselves to our fellow citizens we used a sound truck when we should have been talking across the back fence. We were apt to employ the same megaphone technique when we addressed employees and stockholders and customers. The trick is this, to put it simply: as long as you do your talking from behind a loudspeaker or a headline, nobody but the crackpots bother to answer. If you want help, and understanding, you have to talk to one man, or one family, at a time. That way, you find out a few things about yourself. You will get answers.

It is not easy for a corporation to carry on a two-way conversation, or get on a next-door-neighbor footing, but we are

working at it. If we can sell the idea to 150,000 employees, more or less, that gives us 150,000 back fences to hang over, and 150,000 front porches to sit on, in the places where we do our business.

Here is another thought for your consideration, as salesmen. There is the old saw that time heals all things, but usually it isn't just time alone that gets in the healing work; it is time plus preoccupation with something else. I have a hunch that we are suffering from an overdose of "one world" doctrine, and Americans who normally were occupied by such great issues as the price of corn in Iowa, or how to get off jury duty in Milwaukee, were suddenly given the world for breakfast and urged to get on intimate terms with Balkan politics, Chinese Communists, and various economic problems of the British Empire. For the last few years the age-old headaches of Europe and Asia have been grafted onto us willy-nilly. With the Atlantic Charter in one hand and a copy of "Life" magazine in the other, we became world citizens before we could catch our breath. Large American families were likely to find themselves represented by offspring in both the Pacific and the European theaters simultaneously. Isolationism became not very fashionable while a shooting war was on. As a consequence of all this, perhaps we are unduly influenced, and therefore unduly depressed, by the daily crises among the United Nations and their erstwhile opponents. We hardly have time to unfurrow our brow and close our mouths from the shock of this morning's Moscow pronouncement before the afternoon's blast from another capital ties us in painful knots.

Without frivolity, and with due concern for the state of the postwar world, I should like to be reminded every so often that Molotov, after all, may yet turn out to be only a trick name for a short vodka, and Tito still another columnist for the *New York Post*. It is true that there are tragically serious decisions to be made before we can ever approach the peace we hoped we would get, and you and I as ordinary subway riders cannot brush them off. Perhaps we will be able, in our small way, to influence those decisions. But do not let us discount that expression—"in a small way"—because it is important. The thing that Americans do best, in a small way, is to go about their business as usual. "Business as usual" is one more of those expressions or concepts that have come to be regarded as indicating a stupid and provincial outlook. There is a British expression very comparable to it, known as "muddling through," and in two world wars it was spoken of very contemptuously by the most important power in central Europe, and today those same central Europeans have only to raise their eyes from the broken streets of Berlin and Hamburg and Munich and observe how their cities have been tumbled about their ears and their dead counted in millions, just because they never really understood the miracles that could be wrought by a policy of muddling through, with every man, in his small way, voluntarily contributing his share to victory.

The bitter violence that encumbers the Trieste settlement, the nightmare of a starving and beaten Europe facing billions in reparations, and the strangling hostility being born on the other side of the Soviet iron curtain—these are matters that will not immediately be settled, today or next month, even by diplomats, much less by you and me. Let us cultivate our garden, as Voltaire said, and see whether by such small measures we will not in the final reckoning turn out to be the real diplomats after all. If we cannot heal Europe and Asia this week, let us at least keep our machine shop, or our peanut stand, or our rolling mill, going. Perhaps we can inch up the production a little, turn out a few more products, employ a few more men. Every inch thus gained is an inch along the road to stability, and a stable United States, with smokestacks going and cash registers ringing, speaks with more authority in the councils of the world than all the quarreling commissars and marshals and foreign ministers that can be packed into the halls of the Luxembourg palace. The stomach is mightier than the sword; the expense account more potent than the ultimatum; and a bill of lading fills out a better economic "straight" than a bill of reparations. Personally I am not ashamed to enlist, for awhile at least, under the banner of "business as usual," and leave the grandiose and cosmic business of world diplomacy to those appointed to do it.

This should be our economic preoccupation until the economic world body becomes a little more dehydrated. Many of us who are dizzy from contemplating the international effect of the American dollar as measured by the billion will sleep better nights if we get back to contemplating the American dollar one at a time. That is more familiar ground. The atom bomb would be far less of a threat to world peace if we could find some way of bombing the restless and hungry peoples of Europe with modern plumbing or electrical appliances—at a reasonable profit.

Meanwhile, how are we doing, here at home? Certainly not as well as any of us expected and hoped that we would, but our difficulties and daily setbacks, coming on the heels—I *hope* it was the heels—of the greatest wave of costly strikes in our history serve to obscure the small, sound gains that are being made here and there. In our company we are still manufacturing certain items at a loss—but not at as great a loss as was the case awhile ago. In counting our blessings we have to begin at the small end, and perhaps we should be happy just to be making things at all. The other day in one of our factories I came across a manager of manufacturing who has been growing noticeably older this summer trying to get some assembly lines organized. Before the war he probably wouldn't have looked up as he walked past a conveyor bristling with hundreds of half-assembled equipments, but on this day he was leaning against a pillar, tired but happy, like a five-year-old at the end of a birthday party, watching a handful of men assembling a machine. "They're actually making something," he said. "It's almost finished. We have all the parts for it we need today, even if we run out tomorrow. Over there we have some lumber to crate it up, and we are going to ship it out. Somebody is going to sell it, and somebody is going to buy it and use it. I had to look all over the plant to find something that was actually being finished, but there she is!"

You could look at him, in my position, knowing the heartbreaking interruptions, the frustrating shortages, the high costs, and the pitiful little volume, and say to yourself, "Boy, this is bad!" But somehow I found it good. It was the best thing I had seen all day, and right there I had all the confidence and enthusiasm of a farmer who watches the seed being put in the ground and knows that with patience, luck, skill, and a large helping of honest toil, he is going to have a bumper crop. We are again going to have bumper industrial crops in America, before too long, because a lot of earnest men with their mind on their business and determination in their hearts are in there pitching. In our company again, we have been measuring our disappointment by a pretty big yardstick, it occurred to me the other day. It was not the old pre-war yardstick of production, because in terms of that we have already exceeded our best pre-war

figures in some lines. What we have been using is a brand new postwar yardstick, and the calibrations on it are a lot farther apart. We threw the other one away and I hope we never have to go look for it.

Our people engaged in the distribution of consumer product lines have begun to report little things that I believe are important to all of us salesmen. The other day I heard some actual instances of hastily-manufactured products, thrown together to tap the starved market by a fly-by-night operator. They were priced high, of course, but they didn't sell. That was surprising enough in itself, as we have been led to believe that people today will buy anything. Those devices were then marked down so that the dealers wouldn't have to return them, and still they didn't sell. I think this comes under the handwriting-on-the-wall department and we will do well to remember it. Our surveys have very definitely shown us that today there is a marked preference for, and demand for, branded merchandise. They have also shown us that the buyer in this market, instead of slapping down his cash and carrying away his gadget, is showing considerable interest in quality of construction, materials, and performance before he makes a purchase. I hope none of you are dismayed by such reports. I hope you welcome them, as we do, because the careful and exacting buyer who knows what he wants has never penalized a company yet that didn't deserve to be penalized.

I am indebted to a recent issue of "Business Week" for some figures which perhaps many of you saw, on national employment. To me they seemed to establish two things—a cause for satisfaction and a warning. Here they are:

In July, 1945, the total United States labor force numbered 67½ million persons, and in July of this year it numbered 63 millions—a drop of 4½ millions caused by women and emergency workers dropping out. The armed forces a year ago this summer numbered 12.3 millions, but by July, 1946, they had dropped to 2.6 millions. That meant that the civil labor force had risen in a year from 55.2 to 60.4 millions. During this year the farm labor force had hardly changed at all, whereas the non-farm group had increased 3.8 millions, and the army of the unemployed had risen from one million to 2.3 millions. So much for the figures alone. What this means is that despite the prophets and calamity-howlers who foresaw demobilization as disastrous to the American scene, some 9,700,000 members of the armed forces have been absorbed into civil life since VJ Day in a dramatic movement of epic proportions. You will also note that our total available labor force has been reduced in that year by 4½ million persons. It is pretty well established, as the statistician points out, that there is a normal unemployment in this country of two millions at almost any given time due to shifting of jobs and situations. The real gain in our labor force, figuring normal unemployment, will be less than two per cent, when all factors are considered, and with this barely augmented army of workers we are faced with a vast increase in the production of goods and services, on which the planners are pinning their hopes. This is the simple outline of the real challenge to American enterprise. Now we are feeling and fumbling our way up from strikes and shortages and various disjointed but temporary conditions, trying to attain a point that we once considered normal. Paced by our intelligent planners, we are of course shooting far beyond that level. But at a given and determinable point we shall reach a manpower ceiling, and then the chips will be down and it will be up to all of us who compose the entity known as American industry to show the world something new, not only in productive efficiency but in economical distribution. I have every confidence that we will deliver the goods when that time comes—and I mean deliver *more* goods, to *more* people, at *less* cost. You and I have seen in our lifetimes too many made-in-America miracles to be apprehensive over this one. We have the scientific research, the inventive genius, the engineering and manufacturing skill, and most of all the sheer dynamic force to achieve just such a goal. This is a very serious business, as you well know, and the peace of the whole world may depend on it, but even if it didn't, I am convinced that we would probably do it anyway—just for the hell of it.

We seem to have gone a long way in a very short time, considering that we began today by agreeing that we had nothing to sell and then wound up shooting the moon. On the other side of the ocean they just eat lunch. Over here we eat quickly so that we will have time to remake the world according to our own design before going back to the office. We are smiled at in international circles for that habit, because those who do the smiling don't understand us, or appreciate that we long ago adopted this technique to keep us in training, to share our respective enthusiasms, to exchange experiences, and to sharpen us mentally so that we can go back and begin hitting the ball without too many practice swings.

It is worth noting that no so long ago it was utterly impossible for businessmen to get together to talk or listen on an occasion such as this without bringing Washington, the administration, the bureaucrats, or the rest of those overworked words into every other sentence. Almost without our knowing it, a subtle change has taken place. Whether you like the present administration and approve of its policies or not, it strikes me that Washington is once more becoming a city on the Potomac, and less of an ever-present symbol of authority. Part of our recent confusion and grief can be attributed to the fact that we are being left to our own problems, and we are a little rusty at it. But we can learn not to lean. It will be pleasant to go around once more without carrying that little man on our back. I can visualize real management-labor negotiations, for instance, when the parties know that they have to have a meeting of the minds themselves, without recourse to any distant oracle. Significantly enough, the worst domestic mess that faces us today is the one in which there is a large measure of federal control—or rather, attempt at control—and that is home construction. The sooner we stop building those paper houses and begin driving a few nails, the sooner we will reach a solution.

So I think we are going back to work, slowly but surely, with a great deal of backing and filling, but more and more concentrating on the familiar, substantial things which we understand because these are certainly the building blocks with which to rear an enduring peacetime world. It is comforting to live in a country where a window display or a sales meeting is important, where a man can make his living by ringing doorbells and asking "Have you read this?", and where the new book that seems to be selling the most copies is about a cat that inherits the Brooklyn Dodgers and appears on Information Please. We are the people who love to hear Admiral Halsey tell the press that we will sail our ships "anywhere we damn please!", not because we actually have any hostile designs on foreign territory, but just because we love to hear that man talk. This is once more getting to be our kind of country. Let's treat it right, with a little humor and a lot of respect and invest in it a great deal of hard work, and before your eyes, before you know it, we will be back on the beam.

Oil in United States Foreign Policy

OBJECTIVES WE SHOULD SEEK TO ATTAIN

By JOHN A. LOFTUS, *Chief, Petroleum Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C.*

Delivered under the auspices of the Fuels and Lubricants Branch of the Supply Division, OQMG, Summer Seminar in Petroleum Engineering at University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1946

THE history of oil goes back to remote antiquity; but the oil industry is essentially modern and young. Geologically, the history of oil formation and accumulation is measured in millions of years. The history of the extraction and use of petroleum in some of its forms extends back to the earliest civilizations known to archaeologists.

During all the period, however, from the beginnings of the earliest recorded Eurasian civilizations until the latter half of the nineteenth century such meager quantities of oil as found their way through seeps to the surface of the earth were used for limited purposes. No significant or enduring progress was made in either the techniques of finding and processing oil or in the uses to which it was put; indeed, the principal uses had not been discovered.

When, however, the lubrication requirements of an expanding machine economy inspired the search for some relatively abundant substitute for declining supplies of whale oil and other known lubricants, several American investigators of the problem theorized that by drilling wells with techniques that had been developed for the drilling of salt wells it might be possible to obtain larger supplies of petroleum than those which seeped spontaneously to the surface of the earth. Colonel Drake tested this theory in 1859 near Oil Creek in northern Pennsylvania. The theory was proved; oil was produced in substantial quantity. Extensive uses for it were found as lubricant, as illuminant, as medicinal. Other wells were drilled. Other oil fields were discovered. From Pennsylvania the oil producing industry spread rapidly westward and southward and within a few decades a major industry had come into being. Then tremendous possibilities were discovered in the use of petroleum products as liquid fuel for the propulsion of automotive vehicles. The oil age had been born.

Within a space of 87 years that industry has developed to a point where production in the United States alone amounts to 250,000,000 tons per year. Petroleum products are employed not only for their prime uses as liquid fuel, as illuminant, and as lubricants, but also for other purposes too numerous and variegated to mention.

About 1910 an overwhelmingly important development took place. It simultaneously occurred to many military strategists and planners that techniques of warfare would need to be modified to reflect the superiority of oil as fuel. The British Admiralty shifted from coal to oil. Plans were laid for the employment of gasoline-fired land and air vehicles. At the outbreak of World War I in 1914 a major shift had taken place in mechanical methods of waging war. As the war progressed it became more and more evident that oil was a determining factor; and the outcome of the war led to such statements by Allied statesmen as that "The Allies floated to victory upon a sea of oil", and "A drop of oil was worth a drop of blood."

Thus petroleum was precipitated onto the center of the stage of world politics. During the period between World War I and World War II a continuing struggle went on among nations for control of strategically located oil resources. As World War II approached it became evident that planning of both offensive and defensive warfare would take cognizance of the location of oil resources, of the possibilities for quick seizure or neutralization of oil producing potentialities, and of what reliance could be placed upon synthetics and substitutes. As World War II moved on to its conclusion oil played a role of supreme importance. It could only provoke controversy to assert that petroleum supplies were the main determining factor of the eventual outcome. It is beyond controversy, however, that a critical element in the defeat of Germany and Japan was the throttling of the precarious access to oil supplies which those nations enjoyed.

Such is very briefly the past history of the oil industry. As for its ultimate future, no one should assume that petroleum will occupy indefinitely the critical position it has held and now holds in the processes of industry and transport. Still less should anyone who is aware of the tempo of technical progress and senses the potentialities inherent in the discovery of new sources of energy (I refer, of course, to atomic fission) walk with his eyes cast backward, assuming that the importance which oil has had in the last two wars it will have forever. No matter what technical developments of the future may do to the place of petroleum in peace and war, the importance of oil will be bound to decline simply because of its exhaustibility. Global shortage of oil resources is not imminent; but the oil that is now being extracted and consumed necessarily reduces the total supplies remaining, and eons of geological time would be needed to replace them.

That is looking far into the future, however. Oil is at the present time, and for some considerable while into the future certainly will be, a major commodity and a major problem. During that period of time, whatever it may be, oil will continue to be a focal point of friction among nations, a source of conflict and of instability, unless the circumstances which surround its ownership and development are most carefully studied and understood by nations intent upon preserving peace. It is imperative, therefore, that the nature of the political and economic problems that arise in connection with the control and use of the world's oil be clearly understood and that such means as are available for minimizing conflict and instability be boldly employed.

Let me review briefly the past and present foreign oil policy of the United States. Then, in the light of present and foreseeable future problems surrounding the oil industry, we can examine some factors likely to determine what our foreign oil policy in future years will be.

Until about 1920 the petroleum industry did not enter significantly into the foreign relations of the United States. Abundant supplies of oil were available domestically and indeed a substantial export business was developed. The Government from time to time intervened in protection of the right of American oil companies to do this export business in foreign countries on nondiscriminatory terms. Beyond this, however, the oil industry went its own way and had little to do with the Government and the Government had little to do with it.

After 1920, for a short while the apparent imminence of a decline in domestic reserves engendered keen interest on the part of American oil men and the American public in

the acquisition of foreign oil reserves by American companies. To further this end, American oil operators sought concessions in various parts of the world, principally in Latin America, the Middle East, and the Dutch East Indies. Whenever in this process they encountered obstacles arising out of the apparent intention of other governments to award rights and privileges to develop oil on a basis that would discriminate against American capital, the Government, through the Department of State, intervened vigorously and effectively to insist on recognition and application of the "open door" principle of equal commercial opportunity. The two most conspicuous and well known instances of this kind arose in the case of Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and the Dutch East Indies. There were others.

After about 1925 public interest in foreign oil reserves began to wane. Phenomenal discoveries of new reserves were made within the United States and the ability of the American industry to bring in sensational fields in the mid-continent, in Texas and California, and in the Rocky Mountain states seemed to be without limit. During the late twenties and in the thirties, however, the American oil industry continued to expand and to develop its foreign holdings, to find new oil reserves and to acquire new rights in Venezuela and Colombia and throughout Latin America. Additional concessionary rights were obtained in the Dutch East Indies, and large new concessions were obtained in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrein Island. The American industry developed significant production in Rumania and Austria, and discovered new fields in Hungary which ultimately proved quite important. In connection with all, or almost all, of these expanding activities of foreign operators in the American oil industry, the State Department rendered normal diplomatic assistance, more or less vigorous and varying in character in accordance with the circumstances of each particular case.

Finally, in instances such as arose in Mexico and Bolivia, when foreign governments decided to nationalize their oil resources and the development thereof, our Government when called in at a late stage insisted upon the principles of just and adequate compensation and facilitated negotiations looking toward that end in so far as it could be attained under the then existing political circumstances.

In summary we find that the activities of the United States Government with respect to foreign oil operations prior to World War II fall under one or another of these four heads:

1. Insistence upon nondiscriminatory commercial treatment of American oil marketers operating in foreign countries.
2. Insistence upon the "open door" principle of equal commercial opportunity (most-favored-nation treatment) with respect to the granting of rights to explore for and develop oil reserves.
3. Insistence on the principle of just and adequate compensation in circumstances where a foreign government exercises its sovereign right to nationalize the oil industry.
4. Diplomatic assistance to and support of American oil companies in their various dealings with foreign governments, when requested, such assistance and support being more or less routine, depending upon the circumstances.

All four of these points, however, are basic concepts in the foreign commercial policy of the United States. There is nothing in them peculiar to oil. With respect to any industry or any American commercial operation abroad we insist upon nondiscriminatory most-favored-nation treatment (the "open door") and just and adequate compensation, and the Government, upon request, renders to American commercial interests without discrimination or favoritism whatever measure of diplomatic assistance or support is necessary or appropriate under the particular circumstances.

In this sense then, we have not had until now a foreign oil policy in any way significantly different from, larger than, or more concrete than our foreign commercial policy generally. If there was at certain times greater emphasis upon the application of these principles to oil than upon their application to other commodities, it was attributable primarily to the large importance of oil in the total volume of United States foreign investments and, in some slight degree, to a recognition of the strategic importance of oil. This latter recognition, however, was tempered by a soothing awareness of apparently unlimited oil resources available within the United States.

So much for the past. As of today what is the foreign oil policy of the United States? As I see it there are three aspects to foreign oil policy. In the first place, there is the specific application to oil of our general commercial policy. In the second place, there is what might be called our "national" oil policy—the things with reference to oil what we want to accomplish in our own strict national interest. Finally, there is what might be called "international" oil policy—the things with respect to oil that we and other nations individually and collectively want to accomplish in order to ensure that oil will contribute to peace and prosperity rather than inhibit their attainment.

The principal historical applications of commercial policy to foreign operations of the oil industry I have already indicated. We shall continue to press for the same objectives —nondiscrimination, equality of opportunity, fair treatment. Beyond this, however, we also assume that oil will find its place in that pattern of expanding and liberalized international trade which the United States Government seeks to attain by inter-governmental consultation and collaboration. Such a pattern of world trade is the end-object of the United States "Proposals for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment". The mechanisms of collaborative action which we hope the nations of the world will undertake are described in those proposals. They include the elimination or reduction of restrictions upon trade imposed by governments, such as tariffs, preferences, quotas, miscellaneous import and export prohibitions or restrictions, export subsidies, discriminatory exchange controls, and discriminatory treatment on the part of state trading enterprises. They include also the elimination of restrictions imposed by private combines and cartels, such as combinations or agreements to fix prices and terms of sale, divide markets or territories, limit production or exports, suppress technology or invention, exclude enterprises from particular fields or boycott or discriminate against particular firms. They also include the elimination or mitigation of that disorder in the markets for certain primary commodities which results from the existence of burdensome surpluses accompanied by widespread distress to many small producers; this object is to be effected by the negotiation, where appropriate, of inter-governmental commodity agreements designed to prevent or alleviate economic dislocations and so remedy, if possible, their root causes. Finally, our program calls for the elimination of those violent fluctuations in economic activity and prosperity which result from the inability of nations to maintain high and stable levels of employment and production. If these collaborative measures are firmly and boldly espoused, the pattern of world trade in oil will perhaps be modified somewhat, but its volume will be increased and its contribution to the prosperity of nations and to a general increase in levels of living will be enhanced.

Such, in too brief a summary, is our commercial policy in its application to oil. What is our "national" oil policy?

A policy is, I think, essentially a coherent answer to these three questions: (1) What is the situation that confronts us? (2) What are the objectives that we must attain? (3) What are the main lines of action by which they can be attained?

The situation that confronts us is one wherein foreign oil supplies assume an unprecedented importance. It is almost a new experience for the United States to have to worry about the oil that might be needed in peace or war for essential requirements of the nation. As I indicated earlier, in the early twenties there was much agitated discussion of our dwindling oil reserves and of our imminent dependence upon foreign sources of supply. This period of alarm was short lived and few remember it. The alarm, it so happens, was ill-founded as the subsequent wave of sensational discoveries disclosed. Except for that short period the oil economy of the United States was one of abundance, indeed of surplus. There are serious indications that such is no longer the case and we cannot in good conscience close our eyes to these signs.

I do not propose to become engaged in a statistical controversy. I shall not attempt to tell you exactly how many years supply of petroleum remain in the United States—principally because I do not know (and no one can know with certainty) what additional quantities of underground oil we shall discover. I shall not attempt either to tell you how many millions of barrels of oil per day we shall be importing in 1965. Again I do not know. But some things I do know:

1. In the opinion of the best market experts and petroleum economists the demand for petroleum products in the United States will increase steadily over the next twenty years and will by general consensus reach a level of approximately 6½ million barrels a day in 1965.
2. The productive capacity of presently known oil reserves, if produced at maximum efficient rates, commonly referred to in industry terminology as MER, will decline over the next 20 years to a level materially below 3 million barrels per day.
3. The total productive capacity of the United States will be higher than the MER productive capacity of presently known fields only by the MER productive capacity of such new fields as may be discovered.
4. If the trend of discoveries that characterized the period from the end of 1938 through 1945 is continued substantially unchanged, the size and productive capacity of the new fields that will be discovered in the next 20 years will permit an additional MER productive capacity that will bring total MER capacity in 1965 to a level of not over 3½ million barrels per day.
5. The only circumstances that could produce a materially different result would be another wave of sensational discoveries of large new fields.
6. There are no presently known geological considerations justifying strong affirmative assumption that such a wave of discoveries is probable.

I do not rashly draw gloomy conclusions. I do not say that we cannot bring in another East Texas. I do not say that we shall necessarily have a deficit of 3 million barrels per day by 1965. I do say that, on the basis of presently known facts, there is serious indication that *if* consumption increases at the rate foreseen by the best petroleum economists and *if* the discovery rate that characterized the last 7 years is not greatly surpassed, then within a few years we shall of necessity be as a nation a significant net importer of petroleum. Either or both of these if's may be invalidated by future events—but there is no present evidence affirmatively suggesting that they will be. The only conclusion which I draw is that we are obligated in purdence to consider the possibility of substantial dependence upon external sources of supply and therefore to consider the measures which we should take to ensure the availability of foreign supplies.

The measures which we should take would be directed toward the following ends:

1. To promote the development of those sources of supply (primarily in the Western hemisphere) which are well located from our point of view—that is, economically located under circumstances of peace and strategically located under circumstances of war.
2. To encourage and facilitate within reason the participation of American capital and enterprise in the development of such sources of supply—not merely because of the readier access which such participation would guarantee to us but also because on the record the technical and managerial skill of the American petroleum industry is preeminently competent to ensure the prompt and efficient development of resources anywhere.
3. To promote the development of oil potentialities in the Eastern hemisphere, particularly in the oil-rich areas of the Middle East—so that the expanding requirements of Europe and Asia for petroleum products can be met from Eastern hemisphere production without that drain upon Western hemisphere reserves which has characterized the pattern of world oil trade in the past.
4. To facilitate and encourage within reason the participation of American capital and enterprise in the development of Eastern hemisphere resources.

These are the main objectives which from the point of view of our own national wellbeing we should seek to attain. The mechanisms by which we can further their attainment are too numerous to list in detail but include such things as:

1. Promotion of a generally stable political and economic environment.
2. Encouraging the emergence of sound conditions of basic law and of contract so that oil industry operations abroad can be conducted in an atmosphere of reasonable political tranquility.
3. Promotion worldwide of conditions of expanding trade upon liberal principles and in stable convertible currencies so that an adequate commercial incentive will be provided for the development of known oil potentialities.
4. Promotion of free and flexible competition in the international oil trade so that supplies from abroad may be available to meet the needs of the United States and to supplement our indigenous productive capacity.
5. Promotion of fair and mutually beneficial contractual relations between American oil companies and the governments of those countries whose oil resources are being developed so that (a) the investment position of American companies will be solidly based; (b) it will promote good intergovernmental relations; and (c) the commercial operations of American companies are conducted always in such manner as to foster the economic advancement and to raise the standard of living of the people within whose territory the oil is found.
6. Elimination of political and commercial restrictions upon the free competitive development of oil resources wherever found. This, as you know, was one of the principal objectives sought in the negotiation of the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement.

The foregoing is, I think, the outline of a sound foreign oil policy and program for the United States. Lest it be misunderstood, I hasten to add that it is not a program for

forcing imports, or for undermining the American domestic petroleum industry, or for flooding the country with cheap oil. It is a policy and program designed to ensure that, if this country finds that it needs to import substantial quantities of oil to maintain its complex industrial economy and to ensure its military security, the circumstances of world trade in oil will be such as to guarantee the availability to the United States of whatever petroleum supplies the domestic industry may be incapable of producing.

Finally, we turn to the question of what I earlier called "international" oil policy. The situation that confronts us can be described in the following terms:

In the first place, petroleum is a commodity of tremendous strategic and military, as well as commercial, importance, and it is therefore an object of acquisitive competition among nations. This theme needs no elaboration.

In the second place, the irregular geographic distribution of petroleum reserves bears no relation to political boundaries or to the geographic distribution of the world's population. The occurrence of oil is determined by geologic phenomena of the remote past. It has in general been laid down along the shore lines of ancient seas, the location of which has little to do with the present division of the earth's surface as between land and water and has a purely adventitious relationship to present physical and human geography.

In the third place, oil reserves through sheer accident apparently occur in rough inverse correlation to the present occurence of industrially advanced areas. For instance, little oil has been found or is likely to be found in Western Europe or along the Eastern seaboard of the United States. Very abundant supplies of oil are found in industrially undeveloped areas and sometimes in almost uninhabited parts of the world.

The foregoing are physical characteristics of the occurrence of oil. Certain other aspects of oil development which derive from the foregoing are less immutable.

For instance, control of underground oil resources, outside the continental United States and the Soviet Union, tends to be vested in a relatively small number of very large corporate organizations. Not more than a dozen companies in all control the bulk of production and marketing of that oil which moves in international commerce. Indeed, for practical purposes, seven companies exercise this control. Pairings and groupings of these seven conduct joint operations in many parts of the world. For instance, four of them control over 70% of the shares of the Iraq Petroleum Company, which in turn controls all the oil of Iraq, Qatar, the Trucial Coast, and other less important areas of the former Ottoman Empire; two of them control all the known oil of Saudi Arabia; one controls exclusively the presently developed oil production of Iran, and (in equal partnership with another of the seven companies) controls all the oil of Kuait; five of them, organized into three corporate entities, control almost all the oil of the Dutch East Indies and do most of the petroleum marketing in the Far East; one holds title to all the developed resources of Hungary; their combined direct and indirect interest in the oil industry of Rumania accounts for almost 50% of the total; separately and in various combinations they control most of the oil in Latin America, except in those countries which have nationalized their resources.

This kind of concentrated control arose logically and naturally as a consequence of the geographic location of oil resources. When in fact the most promising oil regions coincided with areas of industrial under-development, and indeed in some cases of political backwardness—areas the inhabitants of which lacked both the elaborate technical competence and the large quantities of capital required for the development of oil resources—it was to be expected that such development, which had to be undertaken by enterprises not native to the areas in question, would be undertaken only by organizations possessing large amounts of capital and qualified to assume large risks.

The result of these circumstances was that the great oil companies of the world in devising the arrangements under which they would operate in foreign countries have logically sought maximum latitude in their rights to operate and in their chances of gain, and simultaneously sought to ensure minimum political interference with their activities. This they have sought through the negotiation of concession contracts. A concession contract is, in the last analysis, a comprehensive set of rights, privileges, and immunities on the one hand, and financial and other obligations on the other hand.

The successful negotiation of such contracts as these resulted in situations where the oil companies have enjoyed, or have had an opportunity to enjoy, tremendous grants of economic power and far-reaching rights of self-determination. In cases too numerous to mention the result has been uneasiness, suspicion, and distrust on the part of the grantor and in the more extreme instances this has led to cancellation or expropriation. It promotes conditions under which the temptation always exists for some other power to play upon the uneasiness and suspicion latent in the minds of the granting government and thus establish an opportunity to acquire valuable developed oil rights.

This kind of an overall situation is not conducive either to peace or to commercial stability.

What objectives should be sought if peace and stability are to be ensured? Principally these:

1. To bring about circumstances whereunder, because of diminished political risks, small as well as large units can engage in the development of foreign oil resources.
2. To create conditions whereunder suspicion and uneasiness are allayed because there is some assurance that the contractual relations are fair, just and beneficial to both parties.
3. To promote conditions providing assurance that unnecessary powers are not vested in private oil companies.
4. To assure that all nations will enjoy access on competitive and nondiscriminatory terms to the petroleum resources of the world so that the distinction between have and have-not nations with respect to oil will become largely meaningless and the acquisitive greed of nations for control over external oil resources will be correspondingly reduced.

It is as yet too early in the process of moving toward a more orderly and stable organization of the world oil industry for anyone to profess to know how these objectives can best be accomplished.

One promising development taking place is a movement away from the granting of large concessionary rights through bilateral bargaining and in the direction of establishing a uniform and general basis of law governing the acquisition and exercise of rights with respect to oil resources.

Also there is a disposition, in the negotiation of concession contracts and in the formulation of basic laws, to include provisions designed clearly and frankly to recognize the legitimate interest of sovereign governments in the rate at which and the manner in which their oil resources are to be developed and to offer safeguards against two eventualities that governments tend to fear, namely bottling up of their resources by private companies and an excessive rate of extraction.

Also there is a disposition to welcome the financial and technical participation of foreign nationals or governments in the processes of the oil industry. Consequently new arrangements are being devised and new ways of organizing oil ventures are being worked out, the object of which is to permit genuine cooperative undertaking with management control continuing to reside in the element that is technically the more competent and that assumes the larger risks. This development is in the direction of stability and harmony. It should be facilitated where practicable by governments. The Department of State is presently rendering help and guidance in the devising of new patterns of cooperation between American companies and foreign countries.

Also there is a disposition to recognize that oil development in foreign countries is not and cannot be something conducted with a view to pecuniary profit alone, but must also be consciously directed toward the economic betterment of the peoples within whose territory oil is found, by the provision of fair revenues, by cooperative planning of public improvements, and by the provision of abundant supplies of local fuel at reasonable prices.

Finally, there is a growing pressure for the negotiation of some kind of world oil agreement which would result in the establishment of an international body under the United Nations organization. Only time will tell the full scope and efficacy of such international undertaking as may ultimately emerge.

It is possible that the pattern of international consultation on oil will take something like the following form:

> An instrumentality of the United Nations, consisting of expert representatives of many nations, would give continuing consideration to the political and economic problems of the international oil trade; would study the terms and conditions under which oil is developed in various parts of the world, whether under concession contracts or under general laws; and would be able and ready to advise governments and oil companies about the patterns of arrangements most likely to prove mutually beneficial and conducive to stability of commercial operations.
>
> Such a body might additionally have authority to review the terms of concession contracts and to recommend revisions thereto. Nations which had already concessioned out part or all of their petroleum resources to private foreign companies might be free to appeal to such international body for a review of either the terms of the concession arrangements or the concessionaire's compliance. Nations believing themselves to have inadequate access or at unreasonable prices to the oil supplies of the world would be free to appeal to the international body for a review of the circumstances of the case; and the international body might be authorized to recommend to governments and companies corrective measures if such were needed. Through the fact-finding facilities of the international body such basic facts of the international oil trade as costs, prices, royalties, inter-company contracts, and similar data would be of public record available internationally.

I shall not now conjecture further about the character and structure of an as yet hypothetical future world oil organization.

I recognize of course that existing international political stresses cannot be overcome overnight, any more than the tendency to think of oil along national, strategic lines. Nevertheless, it is not too soon to begin thinking of the conditions under which an international body could make a valuable contribution to the serious problems which have already arisen in the international field in regard to oil and which promise to become more serious in the future.

In any case, one important consequence of a collaborative undertaking among nations with respect to oil would be that a careful, competent, and continuing effort would be made to understand the causes of political friction, of conflict, of instability that might or do arise in connection with the international oil trade. Such an effort would be made by nations intent upon achieving tranquil relations, and therefore no matter how limited or how ambitious its scope might be it would be bound to bear fruit.

The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, when they negotiated their bilateral agreement on petroleum, undertook to seek early multilateral agreement among nations and to promote the convocation at an early date of a world oil conference looking toward the negotiation of such an agreement and the establishment of an international consultative body. The early realization of this objective not only will be of incalculable benefit to the preservation of cordial relations among nations with respect to a potentially explosive commodity of tremendous industrial and military significance; it will be of comparable benefit to the commercial prosperity and stability of oil industry operations.

Check Your Banners

UNIVERSITY NO PLACE FOR REGIMENTED MINDS

By FRANK DIEHL FACKENTHAL, *President of Columbia University*

Delivered at the Opening of the 193rd Academic Year of Columbia University, September 26, 1946

WE are opening a University year, the 193rd in the history of Columbia University. That could be unthinking repetition; a reflex without comprehension of its significance. Both teacher and student might well review what it is we do when we open a university, or a university year. The real question may be, what is a university?

To realize what it is, from what need it sprang, we must go back many centuries. Gabriel Compayré, writing about the universities of the Middle Ages, said:

> "The universities were not merely . . . schools of higher education . . . they were the only places in the world where men could study or exercise their minds with a certain degree of freedom. . . . In a society ignorant until then, the universities opened for the first time a free course to the travail of the mind and the search for truth. . . . Between the strongholds of the nobles and the cathedrals of the bishops, they were the sanctuaries of study. . . ."

The passing of the years has changed the conditions of living; universities are no longer sanctuaries in the sense of providing actual physical protection. But they remain—and their value is greatest—as sanctuaries from the distractions and distortions of current happenings, a shelter from the wind of fear and prejudice, in which knowledge may be sought in a calm and thoughful atmosphere.

You who have reached the age for advanced study will, of course, have opinions, maybe even prejudices; but ac-

ceptance of membership in an academic community carries with it the obligation to submit those opinions and those prejudices to examination under the bright light of human thought and human experience. If, perchance, your views have been crystallized into slogans held aloft on banners, or are subject to control by allegiance to minor and major pressure groups, check your banners and your membership cards at the college gate. A slogan-decorated banner is alien to the academic life, and is in addition an unwieldy, an embarrassing, a distracting thing in a classroom or wherever free discussion is in progress. Time and energy needed for the study of ideas will be wasted in protecting a preconceived notion; a notion, be it admitted, that study may confirm.

Dr. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins has recently affirmed that a university "must do infinitely more than teach facts and theories. It must help the student to develop his faculties, must train him to think independently and critically, so that he may form his own judgments. It must teach him methods of study so as to enable him to keep pace with developments. It must open up horizons for him, lead him in attaining a correct sense of values, in developing his attitude toward life, in one word, his philosophy."

Could there be a finer atmosphere than that in which to spend the years of youth, early manhood and womanhood?—an atmosphere even now far from prevalent throughout the world. To partake of it is the rare privilege of American youth. Any young man or woman who makes application for admission to an American college or university, by that very act agrees, if admitted, to try to develop his faculties, to think independently, to form his own judgments, to gain a sense of values. Without such agreement, his entrance into college is a travesty.

Some otherwise great nations have just now gone down in bitter defeat, shaking the whole world, largely in an endeavor to use, or rather mis-use, the methods of education to produce some kind of *ersatz* being to displace individual freedom and human dignity among men. It would be good to know that the idea of regimented minds had gone down in defeat with our late enemies. Travail of the mind and the search for truth, whether inside academic walls or without, brings to an end the blind acceptance of any doctrine, good or bad.

The great beauty of the American educational system—a system we must cherish—is that it aims to inculcate habits of informed thinking and the formation of independent judgments; in other words, the self-development of man—the world's greatest and maybe only irreplaceable natural resource.

If when you leave the University on Commencement Day, after having submitted yourselves to the processes of true academic life, you wish to have back your old banner, claim it, and you can take your place in the body politic with the deep satisfaction of tested and confirmed judgment. Equally deep can be your satisfaction should you decide not to claim it, for you will know that you have the ability and the willingness to face and to evaluate ideas.

When Columbia was established in 1754, as King's College, Samuel Johnson, the first president, described its purpose as "to train (young men) up in all virtuous Habits, and all such useful Knowledge, as may render them creditable to their Families and Friends, Ornaments to their Country, and useful to the publick Weal in their Generations."

May the year on which we are entering add to your virtue and your knowledge, to the end that when you leave the University you will be well-equipped to be "useful to the publick Weal" in your generation.

Soil Conservation

A DREAM COMING TRUE

By DR. HUGH H. BENNETT, *Chief, U.S.D.A. Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D. C.*

Delivered under auspices of the Brown Creek Soil Conservation District, Wadesboro, North Carolina, September 9, 1946

IT is not easy for me to tell you in any adequate way how honored I am on this day, which has been named for myself, and how very much I appreciate this expression of your kindly feelings. You have asked me to come back home to my people today so that you might extend some tanglible expression of your appreciation and good will concerning my work in soil conservation. I am accepting in the fullest personal sense this interest of yours and your kindness and hospitality, even though actually—and properly—you are paying tribute to a movement: Conservation of soil and water, a movement the objective of which is the welfare of the community and each individual in the community.

I don't know anything about how people who are honored as you have honored me today are normally affected by this sort of thing; but, as for me, this kind of expression by one's life-long friends is deeply touching. I hope I can go ahead with my part of the affairs of the day. Perhaps, the best way is to change the subject.

With your permission, I am going to discuss the national program of soil conservation—what it is, how it came about, and the progress that's being made. I may take advantage of the occasion to present some of my own experiences in relation to the development of the program. It would be difficult not to do so under present circumstances.

Let me say first that only a few years ago there was so little interest in this subject over most of the country that I never dreamed I would live to see the progress that's been made today. We have moved ahead in the United States from the unenviable position of wasting our basic resources of productive land at a faster pace than any nation or race that we know about, civilized or barbaric, up to the position of world leadership in the field of soil and water conservation. Specialists are now coming from the ends of the world as representatives of governments desirous of learning how we go about this task of taking good care of our agricultural lands. At least 30 countries are taking up our national pattern of soil conservation. Don't misunderstand me: We are not at all satisfied with present progress; we are still losing every year something like 500,000 acres of cropland by unnecessary soil erosion. But—and this is important—we do have a going program and we have learned a great deal about how to get the job done. The trail has been blazed; we are on the way. Last year, for example, we did more conservation work than in any previous year, even with shortages of technicians, machinery, and so on. We planned,

in soil conservation districts, 20½ million acres and finished the job of putting conservation practices onto 13½ million acres of land in 1945. This year our goal is to double last year's output; the prospect for that looks good. And then, next year, we are going to do our best to double that accomplishment again. If we can do that—and I think we can—we really will be getting along with the prodigious job of safeguarding more than 700 million acres of crop, grazing, and other kinds of land needing protection.

Looking back—a very long way back, it seems to me—I remember an occasion when my father was laying off terrace lines over on the Peter Place with an old-fashioned wooden "horse." A level attached to a cross-bar on this homemade contraption made it possible to survey out quite satisfactory terrace-grade lines. This was about 55 years ago. I recall this incident, because I had been assigned the task of making marker holes with a hoe at one end of the widely-straddling legs of the leveling outfit, so that the plowmen could follow the lines in constructing the terrace embankment.

I remember asking why we were doing this. My father's laconic reply was: "To keep the soil from washing away."

That incident, however, had very little to do with the development of any particular interest on my part in the national erosion problem, insofar as I can recall. But the concern of my father about holding onto his soil—his capital asset—came back to memory vividly later on when I began to see what serious damage uncontrolled water was doing to the United States.

Terracing was about the only thing that farmers did in those days for the specific purpose of controlling erosion. In most parts of the country, we were not even using terraces—farmers were doing just about nothing, generally, beyond throwing a few cornstalks into a gully occasionally.

I think my first real interest in the subject was when, 41 years ago, W. E. McLendon of Bishopville, South Carolina, and I were making a soil survey of Louisa County, Virginia (1905).

Our Chief, the head of the old bureau of Soils, instructed us to look carefully into the reason behind the reputation of the locality for its poor land. This was stimulating, something outside daily routine. We found a good deal of naturally poor land which consisted principally of decomposed talcose rock, but we found also much sloping land which had been made poor by erosion. In wooded areas that never had been plowed, we found, without exception, deep loam soil which was so soft and mellow at all times you could dig into it with the bare hands. In many adjacent fields, however, we found hard clay subsoil at the surface. This clay dried out almost to the condition of rock with every drought. Originally, the soil in such places was like that in the woods; but with cultivation a profound change had come about: The mellow topsoil had been stripped off by rainfall, a thin layer at a time, as muddy water flowed off the fields into the streams with every rain. Then it was that we learned the real meaning of sheet erosion: The removal of a thin layer, or sheet, from the surface of entire sloping fields as suspended material—mud—in the runoff of rainfall.

Following that basic discovery, my next revealing awakening was in Fairfield County, South Carolina, where we made a soil survey in 1910-'11. This survey revealed that of the 483,000 acres in the county, 137,000 acres, 28 per cent, had been so damaged by erosion that it had no further practical value for any immediate cultivation. In addition, the topsoil had been largely stripped from 79,000 acres, or 16 per cent of the area. Thus, in this relatively small county, 216,000 acres, 45 per cent of the total area, had been ruined or severely damaged by erosion.

Since that time, the damaged area has extended further. Some of the roads we drove over in 1911, with horse and buggy, have been completely abandoned. On at least one road we recently found it best to go all the way through to the other end once we had started, so difficult it would have been to turn around, because of encroaching gullies.

The rural population when we were there was 29,442 (Census 1910); the corresponding population in 1940 was 13,462 (Census 1940). That is one of the things uncontrolled soil erosion does.

I thought, way back there, that when the Fairfield survey report was published it would arouse considerable interest; but, after being distributed by Congressmen and agricultural authorities of South Carolina and the United States Department of Agriculture, it didn't even ripple the placid surface of national complacency with respect to the welfare of the land. And this was one of the first quantitative measurements of the effects of soil erosion ever made. Obviously, people were not intetrested.

Not much could be done in those days along the line of creating national interest in the subject. Findings more or less like those in Fairfield County were reported from other parts of the country, such as Stewart County, Georgia; Lauderdale County, Mississippi; and Caswell County, North Carolina. But nothing was done; no interest, no comments, just pure indifference—the inheritance of those halcyon days when our forefathers unfortunately felt we could never use up our supposedly limitless supply of "indestructible" land. Some well meaning students of soils got so sidetracked onto complex fertility studies, in those days, they forgot about, or didn't understand, the terrific rate at which good farm land was being unnecessarily gutted by erosion. Yet, from about 1890 to 1935, according to my estimate, we were losing in this country, as the result of erosion, approximately a million acres of crop and pasture land every year, the areal equivalent of ten thousand 100-acre farms.

It was even worse than that. Some folks got their feet so far off the ground as to say: "The soil is the one indestructible, immutable asset that the Nation possesses. It is the one resource that cannot be exhausted; that cannot be used up."

When I read this, I learned that it was possible to pack a lot of misinformation in two short sentences, even when the statements carry the full resounding ring of what is sometimes referred to as eloquence. The truth is, we can get along with what is left of our productive land only if we take scrupulous care of every remaining acre. Too many farms, too many localities, have already come to ruin for any further theorizing, philosophizing, listening to "rugged individualism," high-sounding panaceas, and so on.

In the meantime, still looking at the historical side of soil conservation, a few people were writing a little and talking a good deal about the subject of soil erosion. Finally, after a long time, there was begun in the United States Department of Agriculture an educational campaign on the subject. Among other things, we published a bulletin called "Soil Erosion A National Menace." Some of the newspapers and an occasional agricultural journal printed extracts from our educational material. Later, some of the magazines began asking for articles on the erosion problem and what to do about it.

Then, in 1928, I was asked to present to a congressional committee handling appropriations for the Department of Agriculture the whole national problem of land damage by erosion and what needed to be done as a first step toward getting under way a nation-wide program of conservation (Hearings on the Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1930, 70th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 310-330, Nov. 21, 1928). As a result, an appropriation was made through the Buchanan Amendment providing federal funds to set up regional erosion stations for measuring the rates of soil and water losses,

for making surveys to determine the extent of damage by erosion and location of the principal areas affected, and for working out methods of control.

It was not long before overwhelmingly convincing information was acquired in quantity at these stations. For example, at the 10 stations established on 10 very important types of farm land scattered throughout the country more than 200,000 quantitative measurements were quickly made of soil and water losses under different conditions of land use. In rapid order, estimates were thus replaced with measured facts.

It is interesting to note in this connection that some of the estimates relating to the vast extent of land damage which I had previously turned loose on an unprepared public—of which there was some criticism in a few papers here and there—proved to be underestimates. With the new information, it was possible to say at this later stage, for example, that every year enough soil was being washed out of our fields and pastures to load a train of freight cars that would encircle the earth 18 times at the equator. Nobody challenged that statement, even though it was much larger than any preceding estimates.

So much for history and the problem. Let's look now into the matter of what's being done about it.

First of all, a national consciousness as to the extent and seriousness of erosion has been developed. That alone is worth a great deal, because when Americans get an idea thoroughly implanted in their heads they are about as determined as any people on earth in doing something about it. I don't mean that all the facts have been absorbed into public understanding yet. They haven't been, of course, but there has been enough advanced thinking to give those of us who are engaged in the conservation job a great deal of encouragement. For example, banks, railroads, newspapers, civic organizations, soil conservation districts, manufacturing establishments, and individuals are providing for conservation prizes of various kinds and are putting out an enormous amount of effective educational information.

There is another thing—and it's very important. Too many people still seem to think that the food they buy in cans and sacks down at the corner grocery store somehow grows right there in the store. They still fail to understand that food comes from productive land and from nowhere else. They don't think about it, really.

Why it has taken more than 19 centuries—since the beginning of Christian civilization—for this fundamental fact regarding the source of food to find its way into common understanding, if it really has advanced that far, is most difficult to understand. There is plenty of evidence in the Bible, by inference at any rate, that when productive land is damaged by erosion, the fruitfulness of our fields is undermined. The poorer yields from sowing on stony ground (Matthew 13:3-8) may have reference to land reduced to stoniness by continuing erosion. Listen to what the Apostle, St. Matthew, said:

"Some (seeds) fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth; and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth;

"And when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away.

". . . . . But others fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold."

Anyway, we remained blissfully ignorant of the full meaning of productive land down across the centuries until some 15 years ago. Until then, you seldom heard the word topsoil used. No one but a few soil specialists and excavators of earth ever made any very meaningful use of the word subsoil.

Those who talk about the effects of diet on health and those who broadcast the beneficience of vitamins seldom recognize the important part the soil plays in providing a healthful diet. Many of us probably need to stop every now and then for more thoughtful consideration of the fact that when topsoil is permitted to wash off the land, the process takes the whole soil and all it contains, including elements of nutrition—minor elements as well as major elements—along with the microscopic organisms that help make land productive. We need also to realize that what is so often left behind for the farmer to till is unprocessed raw subsoil which is far less absorbent of rainfall than was the topsoil, is more difficult to plow, is deficient in all available nutrients, and is much less productive. Subsoil can be improved, of course, but lost topsoil cannot be restored in measurable time.

A good many parts of the world have been so damaged by erosion that the people are gone and all the works of mankind have fallen into decay and ruin. The city of Antioch in Syria, for example—where the Apostle Paul had such a struggle in getting the Christian religion established—was so deeply covered in one section by erosion debris washed down from the adjacent mountains that archaeologists had to dig 18 feet in places to reach the tops of the magnificent structures that graced this once great city.

Some years ago, I visited Dr. T. L. Shear at Princeton University, on his return from the excavation of the theater at ancient Corinth, to whose inhabitants St. Paul directed some of the most famous letters ever penned on earth. I asked the famous archaeologist how deep he had to dig to reach the theater. "Forty feet," he said. Then I asked where the covering material came from. "Washed down from the adjacent hillsides where most of the vegetation had been removed by goats," he replied.

Is there any wonder we are hearing from Greece that there probably is more erosion there than in any other European country? (Several of our employees are now working on the erosion problem of Greece). There is plenty of erosion in Italy, too, but it appears not to be so bad as that in Greece. Perhaps some of the Italian people took advice from Pliny (23 to 79 A.D.) who advised farmers tending hillside fields to run their furrows across the slopes and to provide channels to "draw off the water into drains." This may have been the beginning of the modern field terrace.

We have learned, also, that various older parts of the world, as in Asia Minor, have lost so much soil that nations and even civilizations have expired as a result.

The best farmer device yet invented for dealing first-hand, effectively, and democratically with the matter of taking care of our agricultural land is the soil conservation district. These districts are subdivisions of state government for soil conservation and good land use. They are brought into existence through the vote of the farmers themselves and are operated within their locally-established boundaries by the farmers through their elected officers.

The growth of soil conservation districts is truly an American phenomenon and serves as the clearest, most significant kind of evidence to show how deeply the soil conservation movement had taken root in the agricultural life of the United States during the past several years.

Since 1937, soil conservation district laws, or laws that permit similar working arrangements, have been enacted by all 48 states and Puerto Rico. In the beginning, I had the feeling that if so many as 10 states passed such laws in 10 years that would be good progress. However, since the establishment of the first district in the United States—the Brown Creek Soil Conservation District here in Anson County, on August 4, 1937—nearly 1,650 districts have been formed throughout the country. These embrace about

900 million acres and 4 million farms—two-thirds of all the farms in the country.

In these districts, we have for the first time, I am convinced, really local farmer control of agricultural matters pertaining to the welfare of the land. Their formation, control, and operation are thoroughly democratic, from the first step of circulating a petition for a referendum, through voting in a referendum, to the election of district supervisors after a majority of the farmers have favored the establishment of a district. In these soil conservation districts, farmers are working together, especially in locality groups more or less bound together by community ties and land problems.

Proof of the popularity of soil conservation districts, it seems to me, is that now, 9 years after the establishment of your Brown Creek District, not a single district in the United States has revoked its charter, except for the one in Washington state where the farmers yielded to the request of the government for war control of their lands for materials having to do with the development of atomic energy. Further evidence of how farmers feel toward districts is shown by the enlargement of 373 districts (July 1, 1946) through 551 separate petitions by surrounding farmers (adding a total of about 118,276,764 acres), and by the fact that they are still being formed at the rate of about 25 a month. Your own district has been enlarged to include Montgomery, Richmond, Union, and Stanley Counties. A number of states have been completely covered by districts; 87 per cent of North Carolina is now covered, with petitions in from the western part of the State for the establishment of additional districts.

Back during the demonstrational period of the Service, some of us came to feel that soil conservation work could be speeded up by giving greater responsibility to farmers. It was further felt that inasmuch as farmers own and control the land needing conservation and must therefore have the final decision as to any work carried out on their own lands, they should direct the program. That is why—some of the reasons—the soil conservation district plan was conceived and developed. The soil conservation district is the most democratic organization of its kind ever devised.

But any organization must have understanding leadership and direction. To be effective—to be successful—that leadership must be from within. Soil conservation districts have that kind of leadership through their supervisors or directors, appointed or elected from among farmers themselves. Thus, the soil conservation districts owe allegiance to no power, federal or other; their supervisors are answerable only to the farmers of their own districts. They are on nobody's payroll. They receive no favors or special privileges. Their work in managing district affairs is entirely voluntary, and they spend much time at considerable personal sacrifice purely in the interest of the district program. I know, for example, of supervisors who during the war saved almost all their rationed passenger car gasoline and the thinning rubber on their tires to attend district board meetings and do other district work—for which they weren't reimbursed one penny.

All but about 5 states have 5 supervisors for each district, which means that more than 8,000 progressive farmers and ranchers, in something like two-thirds of the nation's counties, are already unselfishly discharging the responsibilities of leadership in our great soil conservation program. With new soil conservation districts being voted in at the rapid rate they are at this time, the number of supervisory farmers will steadily increase until the country is covered with districts.

In addition, there are several thousand other farmers who have accepted appointment—on the same voluntary, unpaid basis—as "assistants" to the district supervisors, in local communities. Also, there are around 300 state soil conservation committee or board members—including farmers and various state agricultural officials—who likewise serve without renumeration in performing their duties with respect to state district affairs.

Probably never before in the history of this or any other country has there existed such a large and active body of volunteer, unpaid agricultural leaders as in this force of soil conservation district supervisors, directors, and other district officials. And district supervisors are organizing with a view to increasing their knowledge of conservation matters and improving their leadership accordingly. About 30 states already have associations of supervisors, and recently the National Association of Soil Conservation District Governing Officials was formally organized.

I think that soil conservation districts and soil conservation are here to stay!

Meanwhile, experience during the 9 years' time since soil conservation districts came onto the American agricultural scene shows that almost every farmer who adopts the planned, acre-by-acre soil conservation way of farming becomes himself a missionary for soil and water conservation. What a gratifying thing this democratic, "grass roots" leadership in soil conservation has become! What a tremendous force it is for the future prosperity of our American agriculture! I hardly need tell you that, personally, I'll not be content until that farm leadership, and the applied soil conservation it represents, has reached into every county in the United States, and to every acre of cropland, pasture land, farm woodland, and idle land. I pledge my continued, undivided efforts, and those of the Soil Conservation Service which I represent, in helping to bring this about.

The Soil Conservation Service and other federal and state agencies furnish technical and other aids to the districts, on invitation. Otherwise, neither state nor federal agencies have any rights or prerogatives of any kind whatsoever in most of the districts.

We have learned here in the United States, finally, that we must have soil conservation if we are to have continuous, abundant agricultural production. And we have learned, too, that it must be efficient conservation—the kind that will keep land permanently productive. In turn, soil conservation requires intelligent use and maintenance of land resource. This may mean contour cultivation and terracing to hold soil and conserve rainfall. It may mean seeding grass or planting trees to meet the needs of bare, steep slopes or shallow soil. It may mean changing a rotation to increase soil productivity, and so on.

First of all, however, soil conservation requires a plan—a workable, practical layout of the farm, showing what the land is, what needs to be done, and what can be done in every field, pasture, woodlot, and piece of idle land on the entire farm. Such a plan is developed with a map of the farm that shows: (1) the location of the various soils, (2) the slope of the land, (3) the degree and extent of erosion, and (4) such features as fields and pastures. Planning in this way for the development of soil conservation farming is like making a blueprint to guide the building of a house. It is basic to the safety of the land.

Through its nation-wide program of work on the land in cooperation with soil conservation districts, the Soil Conservation Service has led in the technical development and application of new and improved measures for the control of erosion, conservation of rainfall, drainage, and improvement in land use. The Soil Conservation Service is essen-

tially a corps of trained, experienced specialists in land, plants, animals, and land use, organized to work cooperatively with farmers out on their land. In addition, the Service carries on, in cooperation with the states, a research program for the development of new and better methods of conservation.

If there were some standardized, simple remedy for the ills of the land that could be applied indiscriminately, the job of soil conservation would be comparatively easy. But there is about as much variety in soil, in topography, in erosion, and in the performance of water and wind and plants, as in the highly complicated landscape of the country. Control methods that work wonders in cotton country may do more harm than good on the wheatlands of the Great Plains, where dust storms sometimes create havoc during protracted drought. Even on neighboring farms, and often in the same field, land problems are almost never completely identical. The specific land treatments used and recommended by Service technicians may therefore vary from one valley to the next, from farm to farm, and even from field to field. Before any work is done, each farm is carefully analyzed, both as a piece of land and as a business enterprise, to determine productivity, needs, etc., based on the exact lay of the land, the quality of the soil, the degree of erosion damage, and the prevailing erosion hazards on every acre, and the work facilities and desires of the operator.

The next step is to work out with the farmer a plan for practical operation based on the ground information acquired and translated into 8 simple land-capability classes that nontechnical people can understand. This the soil conservation technicians do, not indoors around a table, but out in the fields, working along with the farmer himself, with all the pertinent facts at hand for full and understanding consideration on the immediate spot. They don't give the farmer a bulletin and say: "Read this and you can do the job yourself." They know the job cannot be done that way.

Drawing up a satisfactory land-use and land-protection plan for a farm is only part of the job, however. The main job is actual application of the plan to the land.

The completely coordinated and balanced farm program of the Service calls for the protection of all useful land on all the farms of the country. We fully understand that only a good beginning has been made on the whole soil- and water-conservation job. But all of us should derive much satisfaction from contrasting progress to date with what was being done before America woke up to the seriousness of the situation only a little while ago. What we pretty generally were doing previously, was to sit idly by until nearly a fifth of the original area of tillable land in the United States was ruined for further immediate practical cultivation, with about a third of the remaining tillable area badly damaged. Further, more than half of our present area of cropland even now is subject to erosion. Considering crop and grazing lands together, no less than 282 million acres have been practically ruined or very badly damaged; and something like 775 million acres of crop, grazing, forest, and other lands have been eroded to some extent. All together, more than half of the farmland in the country has been damaged in some degree by erosion.

And we still are by no means free from the curse of the red-ink entries in our soil bank balance. About half a million acres are still being practically ruined each year. Even that is a real gain over the approximately one million acres a year it is estimated we were letting get away from our farmland capital each year for the period from about 1890 to '95 to 1930 or '35. This damage to our land, which is the source of our food, most of our clothing, and much of our housing materials, has been costing us nearly $4,000,000,000 a year. What a price to pay for the senseless privilege of careless land use! That appalling cost includes loss of plant food contained in the more than 3 billion tons of farmland soil that has been washing or blowing away each year. It also includes such items as flood damage chargeable to the results of erosion; damage to roads and railroads, damage to streams, harbors, reservoirs, and ditches; and harm to wildlife, fisheries, etc. It does not take into account, however, such items as lowered purchasing power, reduced railway traffic, narrowed tax base, and the development of rural slums.

Look what we find right here in North Carolina. Surveys have shown that soil erosion has ruined for further practical cultivation some 2,800,000 acres, while serious damage has been done to 9¼ million acres more of cropland and other kinds of land. That is to say, for every 3 acres of good cropland remaining in the State, 2 acres of land have been ruined or seriously affected by erosion. But we have made a good start at control in North Carolina—and there is enough good land left to take care of us if we take care of the land.

Reporting on their operations 147 representative North Carolina farmers who kept books said they produced 28 per cent more per acre of all major crops as a result of using conservation practices. That is an increase which, if extended to all the cropland of the State, would be the practical equivalent of adding around 2 million acres to our producing area.

Most satisfying, though, is the kind of production that resulted from this soil conservation farming. I mean such essentials to better living, as an 85 per cent increase in numbers of dairy cows and a 119 per cent increase in beef cattle, 236 per cent more hogs, and 186 per cent more poultry. Why were they able to do this? It was because, instead of growing straight corn, grain, cotton, and the like, these farmers put part of their land into erosion-resistant pasture, hay, and other feed crops, under their conservation plans. That made it possible for them to feed more livestock and poultry.

At the same time, these farmers produced more cash crops on fewer acres with their conservation practices. They reported 6,000 more bushels of corn from 800 fewer acres and 179,000 more pounds of tobacco on about the same acreage. This is diversification—diversification on our North Carolina farms. All my life I have heard men plead for diversification and more livestock here in the South, even back to the time of the Farmers' Alliance. But it never came—not until right recently under the urge and momentum of the soil conservation movement.

I think something should be said as to what is being done on a state-wide basis in North Carolina. It is particularly gratifying that by the end of 1945 nearly 2 million acres had been given good conservation treatment. This work included, among other things, more than half a million acres of crop rotation, about 280,000 acres terraced, 123,000 acres of pasture seeding, nearly 100,000 acres of woodland improvement, 18,000 acres of kudzu planting, 14,000 acres of tree planting, 10,000 acres of sericea, and 334 farm ponds installed.

But the big job is still ahead of us in North Carolina, as elsewhere. We have made good progress—remarkable progress, in fact—but we have a long way to go yet. That is why we made a nation-wide conservation needs study some time back, to see just how big the job ahead really is.

We know now how big it is; we know that nearly a billion acres of the country's farm and ranch land needs complete, planned conservation treatment. It is a job that will take probably 20 years, at least, for getting the basic work done, if technical help, labor, machinery, and materials are available. Thereafter, of course, will be the continuing task of maintaining the conservation work. We also know, with dependable accuracy for all practical purposes, how much labor, machinery, and materials will be required to do the job. To my way of thinking, this is the only business-like way of going about the task, whether we are dealing with a single soil conservation district, one state, or the whole country.

Let's look at the conservation needs for North Carolina as originally estimated (some changes may have to be made in refining these estimates). You have seen them many times, probably; but there is no harm in refreshing our memory occasionally on so important a matter.

Our survey shows, for example, that out of 7¼ million acres of cropland here in North Carolina (1940 Census), rotations are needed on 6 million acres, cover crops on more than 2 million acres, and strip cropping on 2¼ million acres. We still need better than 5 million acres of terracing, 9 million acres of improved cutting in woodlands, at least 42,000 farm ponds, and nearly 2½ million acres of fertilizing and liming of pastures. These are a few representative examples of what lies ahead. The total job of conservation work needed by North Carolina is estimated to require at least a quarter of a million man-years of skilled and unskilled labor (including technical assistance), plus more than 60,000 machinery-years of work, 28,000 tons of seed, and millions of trees, shrubs, and other plants. Terracing alone calls for nearly 28,000 man-years of labor, 5,573 horse-equipment years, and 4,000 tractor-equipment years.

It is our policy as already mentioned, to work on all kinds of land. This makes it necessary to work with all kinds of people—owners, operators, and tenants, of all races and creeds.

While looking the other day at the "show window" conservation job now under way in Person County, North Carolina, where it is planned to treat for soil conservation all of the 54 farms along Highway 501 from the Virginia line down to Roxboro, I had an interesting talk with a tenant farmer, Mr. J. R. Wade. Of the many things discussed, I was struck by Mr. Wade's feeling toward his conservation farm plan, which included a colored map showing the capabilities of the land he is farming. He said:

> "When I started into this conservation program, I didn't know I was going to get any such thing as a detailed plan of every acre of the land I farm, supported as it is by a map which accurately shows the different kinds of land I am cultivating. This alone is worth entering into a cooperative agreement with the district, even if I hadn't been getting good results from the conservation measures that already have been applied to my land."

Mr. Wade expressed the opinion that many tenant farmers waste time and hurt a lot of land moving each year in search of something they seldom find—a better farm with better land.

> "If they would cooperate more with their landlords and build up the productiveness of the soil where they are, they would get along much better, and so would the land," he said. "This soil conservation work you people have started offers the best solution of the one-year tenant problem that we have."

Before closing, I want to mention what I saw along Highway 74 going from Peachland to Monroe on August 11, for the entire distance. This section, which I can remember as one of only fairly good farming operations and considerable soil erosion, has been revolutionized. That whole distance of about 15 miles is pretty largely farmed; and all of it, every acre I looked at on both sides of the road, as far as I could see, has been effectively treated for soil conservation. Fields not under cultivated crops were covered with luxuriant stands of lespedeza. It was more than a beautiful sight; it was inspiring, something I never expected to see.

There are other areas of this kind throughout the South, some of which I saw on the same trip, and others I didn't see; but here is one I can particularly recommend to your attention.

The area of good cropland is shrinking everywhere, while population grows. The day will come when the combination of productive land and water will rank second only to people as the most important of all resources. Meanwhile, conservationists must carry on unfailingly in their efforts to stop erosion. Time is getting shorter. Those who would thwart the progress of conservation, for whatever purpose, are in this day and age the enemies of mankind. They should be promptly discredited.

There is no second choice; we must maintain an adequate area of productive land. That is an area—here and throughout the nations of the earth—which will be sufficient to produce at least a minimum nutritional diet for the populations of this and other countries. This is the least that common sense—and self preservation—requires. How will this be done? Is there an alternative to the kind of soil conservation program I have described?

I know of only two: One is outright and absolute government regulation of the use and treatment of all lands; another is despicable abandonment of hope. Which of these three do you prefer?

Planning for Educational Facilities

HOW FAR SHOULD THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GO

By ARNAUD C. MARTS, *Former President of Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania*

Broadcast on the "In My Opinion" program over the Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, September 16, 1946

I PRESUME the present generation of young people is in need of better education than any previous generation in centuries. For they are the first generation in a thousand years who must live their lives under conditions which are totally new. Henry Ford and other modern inventors brought this about.

You and I were brought up in family homes where we learned almost instinctively how to meet all the problems of life.

But this generation has been spilled out onto the highways; our automatic patterns of life have been shattered into a thousand bits by the auto, the movie, the radio, the

plane, and finally by the fission of atomic matter, which is ushering in a life which scarcely a dozen men can yet comprehend.

We must give the boys and girls of the new generation our utmost educational devotion in order that they may be helped to understand these new ways of life, and to master them.

In my opinion, all three levels of Government—Federal, State, and local community—and private citizens on their own initiative, should bring all their educational zeal to bear in this unique transition era. I favor every proper effort at every level of public life to this end.

Just how far should the Federal Government go in this program? It can render important services to education in the years ahead in numerous ways—by giving strong leadership to raising the standards of teaching; by stimulating backward states and communities to provide better facilities; it can call conferences; issue publications; conduct research; instruct the people on the value of education; it can give aid to individual students, as it is doing through the G.I. Bill of Rights, and so on.

But I sincerely hope that the Federal Government will *not* appropriate huge sums of money for educational buildings, such sums to be distributed to states or communities on a matching basis.

First: Because as a matter of plain fact there are very few communities that *need* such Federal aid for school facilities. None of our States are bankrupt. Our people in their home communities have plenty of money—their only oppressive financial burden at the present time is that of Federal Income Taxes, which would become even more oppressive if the Federal Government were to launch a great school building program.

The only class of schools that *need* Federal funds are our Negro schools and colleges, for the Negro children are concentrated in those States where interest in providing comparable education for Negroes is the lowest. These Negro children are residents of one State today, but may be next-door neighbors in your or my State tomorrow, and their better education is of interest to all of us. I would favor Federal funds for Negro schools, with a plan for such appropriations in harmony with sound American procedure.

Second: Because a general Federal school building program would weaken the very core of our American strength—our local *self*-government. It was written into the basic law of our land that education was not one of the powers, of the Federal Government, but was one of the powers, "which are reserved to the States respectively or to the people," and this principle has been upheld by the Supreme Court in many decisions.

Accordingly, education in America was started by little groups of local citizens who gave their own funds—not tax money—their *own personal* money to found schools and colleges.

I can point to over 600 colleges and universities in America, beginning with the great Harvard University, with some of the greatest educational plants in the world, every brick of which represents a voluntary gift of persons who loved America more than they loved their own comfort, and who invested their own money for the education of American youth.

Our public school system, as well, grew out of similar beginnings. Nearly all education for our first 150 years was provided through private philanthropy. It was only a hundred years ago, for instance, that the Board of Education of New York City was founded.

After generous persons had pioneered with their own money, villages, counties and states began to appropriate tax money for their schools and colleges. Citizens worked with their own hands building the school houses—they argued and quarreled over who should do the teaching and what should be taught. Their local efforts to build schools and colleges were, in my opinion, the noblest expression of our American democracy. Here men did not spend "other people's money" in accordance with printed regulations—no, they built *themselves*—their ideals, their devotion, their knowledge, their own tax receipts into these educational institutions.

Education has been America's passion. Each generation has vied with the preceding one to give its children a better education than it had had. It has been well done in America, better, in my opinion, than in any other nation on earth.

But when we ratified the 16th Amendment to our Constitution in 1913, we let loose an avalanche of new Federal centralization that, unwittingly, carried us far from our original principles concerning self-government. That was the Amendment which authorized our Federal Government to levy income taxes directly upon individuals and corporations without regard to their State and local taxes. From that day to this, the amount of money which the Federal Government can spend has steadily increased, until now the Federal Government is obtaining each year income taxes greater than the income taxes which all the States were obtaining. With all this money in hand, Congress has been persuaded to appropriate more and more money for more and more functions which had previously been the sole functions of States and local communities, or of private citizens. Highways, hospitals, Social Security, WPA, public improvements, Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, subsidizing of cotton, wheat and dairy farmers, and so on almost without end. Many of these have been important to our general welfare, but, in my opinion, they should have been achieved by methods in keeping with our basic American principle of local self-government. And they could have been achieved in this manner had our leaders been truly devoted to this great principle, which was the central theme of the men who created our great system of government, men whose ideals and ideas concerning democratic government were far sounder than ours of this generation.

It is relatively easy now for the advocates of any new program of "general welfare" to put it over. It used to be that if you wished to "sell" such a program to the American people, you did it over a long period of years, through arousing the interest of the people back home. Now that the Federal Government collects its billions in taxes, the job is much simpler. You organize a pressure group which heads straight for Washington and concentrates its efforts upon the President and the members of Congress. Soon, Congress appropriates a huge sum of money and apportions it to the States on condition that the States match it, or even jumps State lines entirely and sends the appropriation directly into local communities. (During my duties at the Capitol of a great State, I have seen over-zealous Federal administrators deliberately attempt to break down State and local self-government in order to extend their Federal authority down to the local citizen.)

This offer of free money from Washington proves irresistible and soon every possible beneficiary has claimed it, and the program is established. Then another Federal Bureau is opened up at Washington with a few thousand additional Federal employees, and the hold of Washington on the people is that much tighter, and the precedent for further centralization of power that much greater, and the interest and participation of the people in their local government is lessened.

This is the pattern of many of those who now advocate Federal financing for our schools and colleges, *not* because the States and cities *need* Federal funds for school buildings, but because these persons, zealous, but not sound, desire a *Federal system of education* more easily responsive to those in power, with Federal control through Congressional appropriations of "other people's money".

Let us re-dedicate ourselves to renewed devotion to education for the rising generation, but should we not take care that we provide the educational facilities in a manner which will not weaken our nation by sapping the interest of our people in their own self-government in the communities closest to their lives?

For what shall it profit our young people if they gain new school buildings, but lose the most precious heritage of the American citizen—the capacity of local self-government?

This is more important to us and to our world than we may think. There are ways for providing greater education for our youth that will not sacrifice one of the basic principles on which our Republic was founded. Let us think out these proper ways with devotion to education, and with equal devotion to American freedom.

Diplomatic Manners

FREE DISCUSSION

By LYMAN BRYSON, *CBS Counsellor on Public Affairs*

Broadcast on the "Time for Reason" program over the Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, August 18, 1946

IN every international debate, both men and interests are in conflict. The present meetings in Paris, where men are discussing the peace treaties that will end the theoretical state of war between the Allies and a number of helpless European countries, offer us good examples—as in the persistent, stubborn, irritating arguments between Mr. Molotov and Mr. Byrnes. In previous meetings similar arguments have been carried on between American representatives and Mr. Vishinsky. In the Security Council, the same kind of argument has developed between the delegates of the United States and Mr. Gromyko. Some reporters give us accounts of these debates that lead us to think that in each case the trouble arises from the personal stubbornness of the Russian delegates. Some of them have indicated that the trouble comes from the fact that a Russian delegate must necessarily and always be wrong—just as the Communist papers in America know the Russian delegate is always right.

It is doubtless true that the Russian diplomats do get into fierce disputes with the delegates of the western democracies partly because they have certain personal characteristics. They are charming gentlemen at receptions, but when they are debating, they do not believe in fencing with rapiers; they like sledge hammers.

None of that makes much difference, or should make much difference when great issues are at stake. Who has the better manners in an international debate is not really very important. As a matter of realistic fact, it also does not matter a great deal who has the better case in the debate, or who has the better arguments. The important thing always is this: how can these interests and ideas and men and nations be brought into some kind of working harmony that will enable them to make the final adjustment of their differences by negotiation and not by force? The beginning of an adjustment of that kind lies in an effort on the part of each country, and the representatives of each country, to understand the others. For us to understand the Russians, or for them to understand us, is not easy. It has to be tried.

I would offer here a note on how to understand the Russians, beginning by saying that no American can really get very far in such an understanding under present conditions, and I would add also that, under present conditions, the Russians do not understand themselves. The Russian leaders do not understand the Russian people. This is a remark that is certain to infuriate the professional friends of Russia in this country, but that cannot be helped. It would only puzzle the leaders in Russia if they cared to pay any attention to it. But it is not a mere piece of impudence.

My assertion is that it is impossible for anybody, even the people themselves, to understand the present mood and ideas of any people in a dictatorship. In a dictatorship there is no legitimate, recognized opposition. Indeed, this is one of the most serious objections that anyone can make to a dictatorship, whether it is dictatorship by the proletariat and workers as in Russia, or by the gangsters that ran the Nazi revolution in Germany. When no opposition can express itself freely and fully, it is impossible to know what is going on; it is even impossible to know whether or not the government is a success.

In a country like ours, or in England, or in France, or Australia or Sweden—in countries where we have what we choose to call democracy, the men in power are often surprised. Even a president who had such large popular support as Mr. Roosevelt was often surprised. Winston Churchill was surprised when his government was turned out and the Labor Party came in. Leaders in democratic countries are often surprised, because it is impossible for any administration to know all that goes on or follow all the changes in the people's thinking. In a democratic country the truth comes out, however, sooner or later. The people's attitudes and reactions and desires have a possible way of expressing themselves. The opposition has a voice.

In fact, we go much further than this, because—if the Russians will pardon this as a piece of democratic pride—we have had many more years of experience in self-government than they have had. We have learned that even a dishonest opponent is important and must be allowed to have his say, that citizens in opposition, no matter how unfair or inaccurate their arguments may be, must still have freedom to speak. And the chief reason for this is that what is in the thoughts of the people can only be known if there are not restrictions on what people say. We learned that no matter how honest and able a public servant may be, it is still necessary to hear what his opponent says before you can even begin to guess at the truth.

All this the Russians deny in theory and in practice. They will not submit their political ideas or the success of their administration to free discussion at home. Why should we expect them to do so abroad. Such an attitude on their part may be necessary. It may be accomplishing the purpose toward which it is directed. As to that we certainly do not know much, we Americans.

All I am saying is that the Russians—although they know a good deal more about it than any outsider could possibly know—still do not have any such knowledge of their own people's thinking and their own administrative success as do the governments of the western democratic societies. That is simply one of the inescapable faults in dictatorship.

Having had no experience with a free opposition, the Russian diplomats have had no experience with adjustment or compromise or the reconciliation or ideas that are really in conflict. When a British or American or Norwegian diplomat goes to a meeting he goes with the expectation that there will be a real conflict between his interests and the interests represented by the men he is going to parley with. He takes that for granted.

The difference between this way of working—natural to democratically trained statesmen—and the way the Russians are used to working is shown by a remark of Mr. Molotov the other day when he expressed surprise and indignation because other delegates had admitted—by an inference in which he detected their sinister purpose—that they had interests opposed to the interests of the Soviet Union. Of course, they had interests opposed to Russia's interests! That is what they were there to talk about. But the Russian attitude was that this was an admission of guilt. To be opposed to the interests—and the opinions—of Russia was to be in opposition, and opposition is evil.

Some time ago, I remarked that the world would be safer at the present moment if the men who are leading Russsian international affairs and controlling the Russian press at home had played sandlot baseball when they were boys.

What we mean, in the western countries, by the word democracy is very closely tied to what we mean by sportsmanship. And the relation between the ideals of democracy and the ideal of sportsmanship is closer than leaders of some countries seem to realize. We know, of course, that a good many shoddy and shameful things are done hypocritically in the name of every important ideal. The name of any ideal can be used as a cloak to cover evil. But as a way of acting, a way of treating other men, as something to be tried for, even if it cannot always be achieved, the ideal has life in it. From the beginning of western history, especially among the Greeks, the nations that have arrived at anything like what we call democratic self-government or what we call liberty have believed in ideals of sportsmanship.

What the Russians believe in, and to some extent what the communist followers all over the world believe in, is something different. It may be better, although I do not think so because I believe in our system, but this discussion is not for the purpose of deciding who is right and who is wrong. It is for the purpose of examining the Russian way of acting so that we can know better what to expect and how we can act to bring about some kind of peaceful world.

By sportsmanship, I mean the ideal of playing the game according to the rules, allowing every man his fair chance of winning if he has got the stuff, and accepting defeat in good spirit if the game goes against you.

Let me make this quite specific. By the Russian understanding of the game, it is entirely right for Mr. Molotov to get up day after day and accuse the United States and Britain of not wanting peace, of seeking to exploit weak countries, of seeking only their own advantage and standing in the way of Russia itself, the only friend the weak countries have. While he is saying this, a whole row of countries, all weak, all helpless in fact, along the western border of Russia are staggering under Russian occupation armies who are living off their land and scanty resources. In the regions where American armies are in occupation we are shipping food and clothing in for the benefit of the conquered or overrun inhabitants instead of shipping it out. Even Great Britain, rationing her own food for her own people, has been shipping food into Germany for the benefit of conquered Germans.

Now it may be that we can afford to do this and the Russians cannot. It may be that they are entitled to the heavy reparations they are collecting. That is not the point. As long as we are shipping relief into countries from which the Russians are shipping resources out, it strikes us as unfair for the Russians to accuse us of robbing the poor. So Mr. Byrnes gets angry and is put at a disadvantage in the debate, and the cause of peace does not move forward. This may be good debating tactics for Mr. Molotov. It leaves in our minds, however, traces of resentment and anger, which do not help us to be friends with Russian leaders.

Another example is the difference between the way we handle the news of these debates, and the Russian method. I am not ready to argue that a free press, in our meaning of the words, is either necessary or desirable for the Russian government. If they want the Russian people to get only what the government allows to be printed and broadcast, that is up to them—and the Russian people. I am concerned only with contrasting two ideas of what is fair and honest and likely in the long run to lead to mutual trust. I say trust, because Mr. Gromyko himself, in presenting the Russian plan for the control of the atom bomb, said that peace must rest on mutual trust. But look at the two pictures.

In the American press is shown every possible attitude toward the Russian policy, praise, blame, indiscriminate dislike and blindly loyal support. In the Russian press there is one thing: steady aggressive abuse of America. As I said before, nobody, not even the Russian leaders, knows what the people under their government think about this steady stream of provocation, because the people are not permitted to defend their American allies even if they want to. How long can they be expected to think of us as allies? How soon will they begin to think of us as the representatives of a system that communism was invented to destroy? Those are questions for the Russian leaders, if they want peace, to think over carefully. But my point now is that it is not what we call fair for them to refuse to print both sides—or even an approximation of both sides—when we publish all shades of opinion, including articles from their own papers, in our papers and magazines, and on the air.

What all this amounts to is that we are foolish to expect Russians to play the game our way, or to get angry when they don't. We believe in negotiation, adjustment, compromise. They believe in pretending to the world, and especially to their own people, that they are angels of light and mercy and that we are devils. It isn't much fun to play a game that way, but this is not a game. It is the business of settling the future of the world. The important thing is still to find the way to get along, to make if possible a peaceful world; not to let a different political method and different manners get in the way of clear thinking and the honest adjustment that all the common people of the world really want.

We should welcome the opportunity to help along the most rapid possible industrialization in Latin America, China, India, and the Near East. For as the productivity of these people increases, our exports will increase.

We all remember the time, not so long ago, when the high tariff protectionists blindly opposed any aid to the industrialization of Canada. But look at our exports to Canada today. On a per capita basis our Canadian exports are seven times greater than our exports to Mexico.

I supported the British loan of almost four billion dollars because I knew that without this aid in the rehabilitation of its economy, the British government would have been forced to adopt totalitarian trade methods and economic warfare of a sort which would have closed the markets of much of the world to American exports.

For the welfare of the American people and the world it is even more important to invest $4 billion in the industrialization of undeveloped areas in the so-called backward nations, thereby promoting the long-term stability that comes from an ever-increasing standard of living. This would not only be good politics and good morals, it would be good business.

The United States is the world's great creditor nation. And low tariffs by creditor nations are a part of the price of peace. For when a great creditor demands payment, and at the same time, adopts policies which make it impossible for the debtors to pay in goods—the first result is the intensification of depression over large areas of the world; and the final result is the triumph of demagogues who speak only the language of violence and hate.

Individual Republicans may hold enlightened views—but the Republican party as a whole is irrevocably committed to tariff and trade policies which can only mean world-wide depression, ruthless economic warfare and eventual war. And if the Republicans were in power in the United States today, intelligent people all over the world would fear that once more we would be headed straight for boom, bust and world-wide chaos.

I noticed in the papers recently that Governor Dewey doesn't like my prophecies. I said weeks before the last election—and said it repeatedly—that Franklin Roosevelt would carry 36 states and have a popular majority of three million. Of course, Mr. Dewey didn't like that one. I say now—as I have said repeatedly—that Republican foreign economic policies carried into action would mean disaster for the nation and the world. Mr. Dewey won't like that one either.

The Republican party is the party of economic nationalism and political isolation—and as such is as anachronistic as the dodo and as certain to disappear. The danger is that before it disappears it may enjoy a brief period of power during which it can do irreparable damage to the United States and the cause of world peace.

Governor Dewey has expressed himself as favoring an alliance of mutual defense with Great Britain as the key to our foreign policy. This may sound attractive because we both speak the same language and many of our customs and traditions have the same historical background. Moreover, to the military men, the British Isles are our advanced air base against Europe.

Certainly we like the British people as individuals. But to make Britain the key to our foreign policy would be, in my opinion, the height of folly. We must not let the reactionary leadership of the Republican party force us into that position. We must not let British balance-of-power manipulations determine whether and when the United State gets into war.

Make no mistake about it—the British imperialistic policy in the Near East alone, combined with Russian retaliation, would lead the United States straight to war unless we have a clearly-defined and realistic policy of our own.

Neither of these two great powers wants war now, but the danger is that whatever their intentions may be, their current policies may eventually lead to war. To prevent war and insure our survival in a stable world, it is essential that we look abroad through our own American eyes and not through the eyes of either the British Foreign Office or a pro-British or anti-Russian press.

In this connection, I want one thing clearly understood. I am neither anti-British nor pro-British—neither anti-Russian nor pro-Russian. And just two days ago, when President Truman read these words, he said that they represented the policy of his administration.

I plead for an America vigorously dedicated to peace—just as I plead for opportunities for the next generation throughout the world to enjoy the abundance which now, more than ever before, is the birthright of man.

To achieve lasting peace, we must study in detail just how the Russian character was formed—by invasions of Tartars, Mongols, Germans, Poles, Swedes, and French; by the czarist rule based on ignorance, fear and force; by the intervention of the British, French and Americans in Russian affairs from 1919 to 1921; by the geography of the huge Russian land mass situated strategically between Europe and Asia; and by the vitality derived from the rich Russian soil and the strenuous Russian climate. Add to all this the tremendous emotional power which Marxism and Leninism gives to the Russian leaders—and then we can realize that we are reckoning with a force which cannot be handled successfully by a "Get tough with Russia" policy. "Getting tough" never bought anything real and lasting—whether for schoolyard bullies or businessmen or world powers. The tougher we get, the tougher the Russians will get.

Throughout the world there are numerous reactionary elements which had hoped for Axis victory—and now profess great friendship for the United States. Yet, these enemies of yesterday and false friends of today continually try to provoke war between the United States and Russia. They have no real love of the United States. They only long for the day when the United States and Russia will destroy each other.

We must not let our Russian policy be guided or influenced by those inside or outside the Untied States who want war with Russia. This does not mean appeasement.

We most earnestly want peace with Russia—but we want to be met half way. We want cooperation. And I believe that we can get cooperation once Russia understands that our primary objective is neither saving the British Empire nor purchasing oil in the Near East with the lives of American soldiers. We cannot allow national oil rivalries to force us into war. All of the nations producing oil, whether inside or outside of their own boundaries, must fulfill the provisions of the United Nations Charter and encourage the development of world petroleum reserves so as to make the maximum amount of oil available to all nations of the world on an equitable peaceful basis—and not on the basis of fighting the next war.

For her part, Russia can retain our respect by cooperating with the United Nations in a spirit of openminded and flexible give-and-take.

The real peace treaty we now need is between the United States and Russia. On our part, we should recognize that we have no more business in the *political* affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the *political* affairs of Latin

The Twenty-Sixth
National Conference

THE AMERICAN ALUMNI COUNCIL



French Lick, Indiana
June 26 to June 29, 1940

PROGRAM AND NOTES

Arnaud C. Marts

The Twenty-Sixth
National Conference

THE AMERICAN ALUMNI COUNCIL

French Lick Springs Hotel
French Lick, Indiana
Wednesday, June 26, to
Saturday, June 29, 1940

PROGRAM

TUESDAY, JUNE 25

7 p.m. Board of Directors
Dinner. Blue Room
Meeting. Radio Room

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26

9 a.m. Nominations Posted

10 a.m. Registration Begins
Main Lobby
Reception Committee, J. E. Bell, *Lafayette,* Chairman

1:15 Luncheon and Informal Gathering, All Members
Main Dining Room

2:30 Opening Session
Convention Hall
"Beginning a New Decade in Alumni Work," Gertrude V. Bruyn, *Mount Holyoke*, President of the Council
Reunion Session. Herschel Mosier, *Colgate,* presiding
"The Build-Up and Preparation for Class Reunions" George D. Vaill, *Yale*
"The Mechanics of Class Reunions." F. Hill Turner, *Vanderbilt*

5:00 Tea
Japanese Garden

6:30 Informal Dinner
West Dining Room
Speaker: President Herman B. Wells, *Indiana University*

8:30 Theme: "Responsiveness of Alumni."
Convention Hall
Ellen Ganey, *Trinity,* Director for Alumni Offices, presiding

NOTES

"Getting Response from Irregulars." Ernest E. McMahon, *Rutgers*
"The Response of Regular Alumni." Victor M. Davis, *Tennessee*

8:30 Bridge for Non-Delegates
Prizes
North Porch

THURSDAY, JUNE 27

9:30 Fund Session
E. J. Jensen, *Western Reserve,* Director for Funds, presiding
North Room
"How to Capitalize on Clubs, Classes, and Magazines in Fund Work." President Thurston J. Davies, *Colorado College*
GROUP MEETINGS:
"The Starting and Building of Funds." Bernard Taylor, *Centre College,* presiding
North Room
"Advanced Fund Work." Gertrude V. Bruyn, *Mount Holyoke,* presiding
Game Room

10:30 Trip for Non-Delegates
Bottling Works, Greenhouses, and West Baden College

12 m. Luncheon
West Dining Room
Consultation Committee, R. W. Sailor, *Cornell,* Chairman, organizes special luncheon tables according to discussion topics. (See committee page for arrangements)
"Photography in Alumni Work." Kingsley Given, *Park College*

NOTES

1:30 to 6:30 Recreational Period
Golf Tournament
Pitch and Putt
Bridge
Prizes in Each

6:30 Informal Dinner
Presentation of Prizes
Dining Room

8:30 Club Session. Mary Higley, *Mount Holyoke,* presiding. Convention Hall
"Practical Organization of Clubs" T. Hawley Tapping, *Michigan*
"Possibilities in Club Programs." John Bjelke, *Denison*

10:00 Informal Dance

FRIDAY, JUNE 28

9:30 Business Meeting. Gertrude V. Bruyn, *Mount Holyoke*, presiding
Convention Hall
Vote on By-Law No. 8
Reports of Secretary, Treasurer, Editor, Director for Offices, Director for Aims and Policies, Director for Regional Conferences
Resolutions Committee
Nominations of President, Treasurer, and Director for Alumni Offices
Election of Officers
Invitations for 1941 Conference

SESSION: Undergraduate Cultivation, Robert Sibley, *California,* presiding
GROUP MEETINGS:
"Concentrated Campus College." Joseph E. Bell, *Lafayette*, presiding
South Room

NOTES

"Decentralized University." Charles J. Miel, *Pennsylvania,* presiding
North Room

10:00 Trip for Non-Delegates
Spring Mill State Park

12:30 Luncheon. Special Tables for Consultation. (See plan of Thursday Luncheon.)
Dining Room

1:30 to 6:00 Recreation
Arrange Your Own

7:00 Formal Dinner
Gertrude V. Bruyn, *Mount Holyoke*, presiding
West Dining Room
Speaker, President Raymond Walters, *University of Cincinnati*
Speaker, President Arnaud C. Marts, *Bucknell*

9:30 Keno Game
Mezzanine

SATURDAY, JUNE 29

9:30 Magazine Session.
Charles F. Chapman, *Case*, presiding
Presentation of N. W. Ayer Magazine Awards, Mr. John H. Breiel of the N. W. Ayer Company
"If I Were Editing an Alumni Magazine" Mr. Breiel
Announcement of Editorial Awards
Symposium and critique on editorial matter. Speakers: Charlton T. Beck, *Chicago;* A. J. Berge, *Wisconsin;* Charles L. Garrettson, *Muhlenberg;* John A. McCurdy, *Texas;* Clifford Orr, *Hobart;* Datus C. Smith, *Princeton;* Douglas O. Woodruff, *Utah.*

NOTES

12:30 Luncheon. President-Elect presiding
Dining Room

2:00 Trip to the campus of Indiana University
Conducted by the Committee on Local Arrangements
Direct train connections east and west are available from Bloomington

4:00 Tea by President Wells
Indiana University

6:00 Dinner Meeting, Board of Directors
Blue Room

ARRANGEMENTS

Rates: Special Convention Rates, including tennis, badminton, pitch and putt course, and bathing from $6.00 up per day according to the accommodations and including meals. Unlimited parking

Special Entertainment Charges: Two 18-hole courses are available for golf with a special convention greens fee of $1.00 per day per person. Saddle horses available at a nominal fee. Skeet shooting $1.50 per round. Trap shooting $1.25 per round

Convention Fees: A fee of $5.00 is charged to a non-member college except when attending for the first time. This is applicable on dues for the fiscal year 1940-41

Registration Fee: For members, wives, and guests $2.00

Fee for Tips: 50c per capita per day. Children under 16 are exempt from registration and tipping fees

Train Connections. Leaving French Lick via Mitchell and Orleans the following trains are available to the four gateways — Cincinnati, St.

NOTES

Louis, Louisville, and Chicago. There will be railroad representatives at the Conference to arrange transportation

BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD

Leave French Lick by	Leave Mitchell (CST)	Arrive Cincinnati (EST)
Bus 12:55 PM	1:56 PM	5:45 PM
Taxi	5:53 PM	9:55 PM
Taxi	4:01 AM*	8:05 AM

*Sleeper to New York

Leave French Lick by	Leave Mitchell (CST)	Arrive St. Louis (CST)
Taxi	2:17 AM*	7:35 AM
Taxi	8:50 AM	1:10 PM
Bus 10:50 AM	11:45 AM	4:40 PM

*Sleeper to St. Louis

MONON

Leave French Lick by	Leave Orleans (CST)	Arrive Chicago (CST)
Bus 9:05 AM	10:00 AM	5:15 PM
Sleeper 10 PM	(11:48 PM)	7:30 AM

Leave French Lick by	Leave Orleans (CST)	Arrive Louisville (CST)
Taxi	4:00 AM	6:00 AM
Bus 4:00 PM	4:45 PM	6:45 PM

Taxi: When there is no bus connection from Mitchell or Orleans, a special taxi will meet any train. Make arrangements direct with the French Lick Springs Hotel. One dollar per passenger, five dollars minimum

Central Standard Time: French Lick Springs, Indiana, is on Central Standard Time after May 1. So is this program

Dress: All sessions are informal with the exception of the Friday dinner which is summer formal

NOTES

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS 1939–40

Gertrude V. Bruyn, *President*
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Glen O. Stewart, *Secretary*
Michigan State College

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III Katherine L. Lehman
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IV Victor M. Davis
University of Tennessee

V A. John Berge
University of Wisconsin

VI Kenney L. Ford
Kansas State College

VII Randolph P. McDonough
Denver University

VIII Cal Phillips (Resigned)
College of Washington State

IX Elizabeth Thompson
Mills College

X E. E. McQuillen
A. & M. College of Texas

NOTES

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES
FRENCH LICK 1940

GENERAL COMMITTEE

General Chairman, Robert F. Herrick
Lehigh University

Local Arrangements, George F. Heighway
Indiana University

Entertainment of Families, Mrs. Heighway
Indiana University

Reception, Joseph E. Bell
Lafayette College

Registration, Gladys Franks
Michigan State College

Recreation, James E. Armstrong
University of Notre Dame

Commercial Exhibits, William J. Pfister
University of Illinois

Photographs, Carl R. Cooper
Western State Teachers College

Publicity & CAM, John B. Fullen & Pat J. Kirwin, The Ohio State University

Railroads, B. A. Ross
New York University

Motor Transport, Elizabeth W. Durham
Rutgers University

Type A Exhibits, Ellen A. Ganey
Trinity College

Type B Exhibits, Elliot J. Jensen
Western Reserve University

Type C Exhibits, Charles F. Chapman
Case School of Applied Science

CONSULTATION COMMITTEE

R. W. Sailor, *Cornell,* Chairman

Alumni Organization

General Association and Local Clubs
T. Hawley Tapping, *Michigan*

Association Finances
B. A. Ross, *New York University*

Relations with Undergraduates
E. K. Hibshman, *Penn State*

Reunions, Committees, Medals, etc.
Herschel L. Mosier, *Colgate*

Representation on Governing Boards
David McCord, *Harvard*

Alumni Funds

Organization of a New Annual Fund
John B. Fullen, *Ohio State*

Special Campaigns
Charles J. Miel, *Pennsylvania*

Bequests Walter C. Heasley, Jr., *Cornell*

Fund Publicity P. S. Wilder, *Bowdoin*

Central Fund Raising
T. A. Gonser, *Northwestern*

Alumni Magazines

Mechanics Charles F. Chapman, *Case*

Postal Regulations
James S. Ruby, Jr., *Georgetown*

Class Notes and Obituaries
Carl Stephens, *Illinois*

Advertising
Norvell B. Samuels, *Princeton*

NOTES

Miscellaneous

Student Recruiting
Herman M. Shipps, *Ohio Wesleyan*

Biographical Records and Directories
R. W. Sailor, *Cornell*

Movies
D. W. Griffin, *Princeton*

Radio
A. J. Berge, *Wisconsin*

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Smith College

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George Washington University

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Rutgers University

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1940–42

II Herschel L. Mosier
Colgate University

IV Percy Goyne
Hendrix College

VI Anne Sorency
Stephens College

VIII Richard D. Smith
College of Puget Sound

X W. B. Cabaniss
Rice Institute

NOTES

Compliments of Cayuga Press, Inc.,
Ithaca, New York, Printers of
Alumni Magazines and Directories,
Pictorials, Text Books, Catalogs.

The Christian Century

A Journal of Religion

Liberalism and Youth

By Horace E. Orr

Philanthropy Under the New Deal

By Arnaud C. Marts

The Catholic Drive for Decency

An Editorial

15 Cents a Copy • August 15, 1934 • Four Dollars a Year

Philanthropy Under the New Deal

By Arnaud C. Marts

THERE is a vast amount of anxiety as to the future among the leaders of the scores of thousands of institutions and movements of our nation which derive their support from the voluntary gifts of the contributing public. Will the new deal dry up the sources of this support; will it kill the goose that has been laying philanthropy's golden eggs? If so, what will become of our churches, our colleges, our hospitals, and our welfare societies? Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler voiced this general anxiety in a recent message to the alumni of Columbia in which he undertook to prophesy as to the effect the new deal might have upon the future income of his university. He said:

> In the history of Columbia university we have arrived at the end of an era. That era was one during which most generous and great gifts were received from many different individuals for the endowment and enrichment of the work of the university. . . .
>
> That era has come to an end. The great fortunes and the large accumulations which made these benefactions possible are either dissipated or destroyed. The economic and financial crisis which grips the whole world has made their return quite impossible, certainly for a long time to come, if not forever. Should these great fortunes be renewed, either in whole or in part, an extravagant government stands ready to take a great proportion of their annual income in taxation.
>
> Columbia university must, therefore, depend for its prosperous continuance upon thousands of relatively small gifts. A steady flow of gifts from the alumni, moderate in amount but large in number, must be one of the university's chief sources of dependence for its continued usefulness in the years that lie just ahead of us.

Dr. Butler's views on any subject are given wide circulation, but this particular statement leaped into the headlines and was flashed almost instantly to all sections of the philanthropic world, for he was giving expression to a general fear and dread which already existed in the minds and hearts of all responsible leaders of the voluntary, non-tax-supported, cultural and spiritual institutions of the land. Many an anxious hour is being given in innumerable board meetings of religious, educational and charitable societies to the consideration of how the new deal may effect their future. Not all the conclusions are reasoned or wise.

Who Has Supported Philanthropy?

Would it not be useful, in this consideration, to know just who supports these agencies now? Let us agree for the moment that the new deal will make the great individual incomes of the past unlikely or impossible in the years ahead. But then, let us inquire if this, of necessity, bodes ill to all our philanthropic agencies. Are our churches, hospitals, welfare agencies, Boy and Girl Scouts, Y.M. and Y.W.C. and H.A.'s, and so on, supported by the rich, the great middle class, or by the poor?

Light is thrown upon this question by Mr. Robert R. Doane, author of a recently published book, "The Measurement of American Wealth." Mr. Doane analyzes the sources of the annual support of our philanthropic institutions. Let us study that analysis for the year 1929, a year in which few will question that there were some large incomes. Mr. Doane finds that during that year a total of $2,029,560,000 came from living supporters into the treasuries of our churches, cultural societies, relief associations, welfare organizations and community chests, leisure activity groups (such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., K. of C.), civic associations and clubs, foundations, hospitals and homes, fraternal orders, women's clubs, veterans and labor organizations—some by dues and fees, some by gifts.

Of this aggregate Mr. Doane estimates that persons with incomes of $25,000 and over—up to $1,000,000 and more—contributed 13½ per cent; those with incomes over $3,000 up to $25,000 gave 18½ per cent of the aggregate; and those with incomes of $3,000 and less gave 68 per cent of the aggregate! The reason, of course, that the greater share of the load of this philanthropic and welfare burden was borne by those with the minimum incomes is to be found in the vastly larger number of such persons. Of 48,000,000 income recipients, over 45,000,000 were in these lower income brackets. A table of the number in each income bracket and the amount contributed by each bracket follows:

	INCOME RECIPIENTS		FEES, DUES AND GIFTS TO PHILANTHROPIC ACTIVITIES	
Range of 1929 Income	Number	% of Total Income	Amount	% of Total
1. $1,000,000 and over..	504	1.511	$ 37,677,000	1.823
2. $100,000 to $1,000,000	13,057	4.086	106,884,000	5.175
3. $25,000 to $100,000..	88,493	5.057	130,242,000	6.357
4. $5,000 to $25,000....	866,947	10.755	210,871,000	10.351
5. $3,000 to $5,000.....	1,874,538	10.040	166,830,000	08.181
6. $2,000 to $3,000.....	4,071,261	12.966	302,608,000	14.844
7. $1,000 to $2,000.....22,799,967		36.825	803,909,000	39.581
8. $1,000 and under....18,465,951		18.760	270,540,000	13.307
	48,180,718	100.000%	$2,029,561,000	100.000%

With these figures before us let us now turn back to Dr. Butler's prophecy for a moment and paraphrase it as follows: "Those fortunate persons who have been enjoying high incomes in the upper brackets will not continue to receive such large incomes. More of the nation's income will, in the future, flow to those millions of persons in the lower income brackets." Need that cause alarm among our philanthropic agencies? Obviously not; for these millions of persons are already providing two-thirds of the annual support of our philanthropies out of their meager incomes. When they shall experience this looked-for enlargement of income, will they not support our philanthropic institutions more generously and adequately? Should not Dr. Butler's forecast of a wider distribution of income be interpreted by our humanitarian enterprises, therefore, as a harbinger of good news rather than as a foreboding of disaster?

If the new deal succeeds in leveling up the average income of the masses and in leveling down the excess

income of the few, our philanthropic institutions will probably tend to become more and more the cooperative type of endeavor for the mutual good of those participating. The element of largesse will undoubtedly tend to disappear from their financial support, that is, the pouring of libations in at the top of a disordered society, as a gesture of noblesse oblige toward those unfortunate ones at the bottom. Happily, this largesse attitude has been a minor element for many years in American philanthropy, but it should become even less important if the new deal accomplishes its social purposes.

Leveling Up Will Help

The movement toward making our cultural and philanthropic institutions more in the nature of mutually cooperative enterprises is already discernible. In the hospital field, for instance, there is a very decided swing in many sections of the nation toward group hospitalization systems under which a large number of wage earners and lower salaried persons may pay a small annual fee of $10 or $12 each to the hospital, for which they will receive three weeks hospitalization if stricken. Hospitals which are able to make use of this cooperative plan find they can get along with far less outright giving from the philanthropically minded.

There is a comparable movement among colleges, which realize that they have, in the past, often used philanthropic gifts to provide low-priced education for the children of families amply able to pay its full cost. Undoubtedly the colleges of the future will tend to expect such families to pay more adequately for the benefits received.

No such movement is yet stirring visibly among the churches, which are already quite democratic in form, but there is ample room for it even in that field, for not more than one-third of our total Protestant church adult members are in the habit of giving any money at all toward the financial support of their churches. When these other two-thirds come to think of their local church as a mutually cooperative society for the spiritual nurture of them all, rather than an institution which is there by virtue of the bounty of a few, their modest contributions will provide the church with all the money for which it has any need. It is quite apparent that if and when the new deal effects a redistribution of income, an intelligent effort to make many of our religious and philanthropic and cultural enterprises more in the nature of mutual cooperative endeavors for the common good should succeed in strengthening them in every wholesome way.

Have the Wealthy Given to the Limit?

Another deduction, apparently, drawn by Dr. Butler and by many other leaders of philanthropy, has served to add to their apprehension, but it also tends to retreat before close scrutiny. Many have assumed that our wealthy men and women have been giving to their very limit to our institutions of culture and philanthropy. If they have been squeezing out every possible dollar to give to the support of these movements, their decreased incomes will, of course, demand decreased giving on their part.

Well, have they been giving to their limit? Mr. Doane has certain factual material which is of interest in the consideration of this question also. In the years of the 1920's many of the wealthy men and women of the nation gave enormous sums to philanthropy, to be sure, but many more wealthy men and women gave little or nothing. The names of Rockefeller, Harkness, Milbank, Rosenwald, Severence, Jarvie and others became symbols of humanitarian generosity, but unfortunately the names of thousands of other wealthy persons were seldom, if ever, associated with undertakings of public beneficence. Adducible data indicate that the wealthy group as a whole were giving away each year an insignificant proportion of their group income.

Let us look at the figures for 1929, for total giving to American philanthropy reached its highest peak in that year. 1,122,650 persons made income tax returns showing incomes of $20,055,000,000. They were permitted to make certain deductions of gifts to organized philanthropic agencies up to 15 per cent of income, but they actually listed on their income tax returns gifts totaling only $380,000,000, or 1.9 per cent. At the same time they put back into savings and new investments a marginal income of $6,900,000,000, or 34 per cent of their entire year's income.

Obviously this group, as a group, did not experience the pleasurable pain which is presumed to be caused by sacrificial giving. The relatively small coins which we tossed to America's cultural gods must have been scarcely missed from our pockets. Our giving was not measured by our wealth; it was, apparently, measured by our relative disinterest in the advancement of culture. We could have given ten times what we actually gave before our giving would have taxed our ability to give.

The New-Style Sales Talk

It would appear, therefore, that it would be more to the point for our philanthropic leaders to give vigorous thought to efforts to interest these 1,122,000 persons in the services which our hospitals, churches, colleges and other agencies are rendering the nation rather than to brood over the possible shrinkage of the group's income. A more genuine zeal among a larger number of the group for the development of America's character, health and culture would undoubtedly enlarge their support of the agencies which exist to promote these essential attributes of our national life. Giving is seldom a matter of sheer ability to give; it stems fully as much from spiritual sympathy with the objects sought as it does from fat pocketbooks.

There is at hand a wealth of new material for the use of college presidents, ministers and other cultural leaders in their efforts to induce a more generous attitude toward our cultural and character advancement. Our dramatic experiences of the past five years have created many new arguments for increased interest in cultural and spiritual values which should prove irresistible if used with intelligent persuasiveness. Never in the memory of our generation has our nation been so socially minded, so receptive and responsive to sound ideas and plans for the common good.

Would it not, for instance, be entirely proper and enormously impressive for our religious and cultural leaders to say to us something like this? "If you had given a great deal more of your surplus income during the 1920's to us for use in building and operating your churches, hospitals, colleges and welfare agencies, you would probably be much richer than you now are, in plain dollars and cents. As it was, you put most of your surplus income during that decade back into savings and reinvestments, and, consequently, you increased the nation's productive plant beyond all need or wisdom, and ultimately it crashed of its own overweight. President Hoover's committee on social trends says you increased the total physical production of the nation from 1922 to 1930 in manufacturing, construction, mining and agriculture by 34 per cent.

"By saving too much and grasping for too much more, your original investments, plus your added investments, became worth far less than the value of your original investments alone. In the era ahead, will you try to remember this unpleasant experience? When surplus income begins again, may we remind you that there is only one general field of reinvestment which will not add to the productive over-capacity of the nation? It is the investment in cultural and spiritual values; the investment in schools, in churches, in libraries, in hospitals, in humanitarian enterprises. Such investments, on the contrary, will increase consumption of goods, for human wants and desires and expenditures rise proportionately with the rise of education, character and health."

Alert cultural leaders will perhaps cease to mourn the passing of enormous incomes of the fortunate few, will wrest new ideas from the current world drama, will interpret them colorfully to a responsive people, and will discover, to their amazement, that their institutions are thriving and progressing. Perhaps the day of the large individual income is over; but who can doubt that the day of America's cultural development is just dawning? Progress, achievement and hope mark the future pathway of those institutions which seek to minister to America's mind, spirit and wellbeing. For it would appear that our mad rush for material wealth is halted, and that a larger portion of our enthusiasm will be sublimated into an endeavor to develop the finer arts of living.

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MARTS & LUNDY, INC.

Financial Counsellors for Philanthropic Institutions

521 Fifth Avenue

New York City

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN FUND RAISING

Address by Arnaud C. Marts at the 3rd Annual Seminar on
Public Relations for Higher Education at Syracuse University,
August 12, 1946

Public relations has the same relation to fund-raising that planting and cultivating have to harvesting.

Fund-raising is the harvest season or process. It is the occasion for gathering in the financial support of the friends of the college.

The fund-raising season may be a short term program of intensive harvest, or it may be a continuous and prolonged process of gathering in the gifts of individuals or groups. Whichever it may be, it is a time or process of harvest.

Before there can be a generous harvest, there must have been a season of tilling the land, of planting, of cultivating; the sun must shine; rain must fall; conditions must be created and maintained which are favorable for the spouting of the seed and for the growth and development of the crop.

And so, in college fund-raising. Public relations must plant ideas in the minds and spirits of men and women, must nourish and stimulate friendly impulses and attitudes, and must create conditions and circumstances in which these ideas, impulses, and attitudes shall burgeon into the full harvest of generosity.

I think it is fair to say, therefore, in the beginning that a comprehensive program of public relations is essential to successful fund-raising and must precede fund-raising and surround it in point of time and space in every direction. Fund-raising for a college is one of the two or three supreme measures or tests of its successful public relations.

In discussing this subject, I shall divide it into two major categories: first, the long-term program of public relations which is not aimed at any specific fund-raising campaign; second, the intensive public relations program which is designed to sharpen up the giving of individuals or particular groups for an immediate, or almost immediate, fund-raising campaign.

I. First: The long term program of public relations as it related to fund-raising should be a most comprehensive and far-reaching program aimed at providing broad and deep foundations of public knowledge and public approval of the college. Such a comprehensive long term program of public relations should be directed toward all the "publics" of the college. A college has many "publics" which it should consider in its public relations program. Included in these "publics" are the alumni, the supporting Church constituency if it is a church-related college, the taxpayers if it is a state or city supported college, the students on the campus, prospective students in high schools and preparatory schools, the parents of present students and students of the past ten years, the parents of on-coming students, sister educational institutions, national and local educational, cultural and service societies, the citizens of the local communities,

lawyers and trust officers who draw up wills, philanthropic foundations, editors and publishers of newspapers and periodicals, owners and managers of radio stations, and many other important "publics".

The Director of Public Relations who aspires to do a thorough job for his college will prepare a file for each one of these "publics" and will, from day to day and week to week, run over these various groups and will say to himself, "What useful thing can I do today to increase the knowledge and interest of any or all of these 'publics' in our college?"

I want to stop a moment here and emphasize the importance of this comprehensive program of public relations. Unless the college puts proper emphasis on the many phases of public relations, it may find itself out of balance with an unevenly developed public when it needs a wider support. I will illustrate this one-sided public relations program from several angles. We all know of colleges and universities which regard the sports editors and the sports-loving public as their chief "public". We could name half-a-dozen such educational institutions, each of which believes its "public" thinks only about football. When it comes to fund-raising, their supporting public may be prepared to give money for a stadium or a gymnasium but will probably not be prepared to give generously for a library or for endowment for professors' salaries.

Other colleges have become equally out of balance in their public relations programs in other directions. One college, for instance, in its zeal to achieve a reputation in the academic world, has put all its public relations emphasis upon a public which consists of sister educational institutions and scholarly societies. This college has acquired a splendid reputation with that "public", but in doing this, forgot or neglected other equally important "publics", including its older alumni, its church constituency, and its neighboring communities. The alumni feel that they have been forgotten by Alma Mater, whom they loved very much. One of them recently commented rather plaintively, "We feel like children whose mother has taken up a career in which she has achieved fame, but who no longer loves her children. She is seldom home with us, and when she is, she has a far-away look in her eye".

It is totally unnecessary for a college to get out of balance in its cultivation of its several "publics".

A public relations program should, I want to emphasize again, be a well-rounded, well-balanced, comprehensive program which should undertake to keep Alma Mater in close and friendly contact with each of its "publics". It can do this without the slightest deviation from its main purpose or objective in the educational world if its public relations is properly conceived as an explanation and interpretation to the public of what the college's great purpose is and of the progress it is making toward its goal. Public relations is not a goal in itself. It is the interpretation of a goal. Public relations does not fix college policy. It reflects college policy to the public.

It has been a constant struggle during the past twenty years on the part of some of you and of us who have pioneered in college public relations to make that concept clear to many college administrators,

trustees and other leaders. There are still some who regard public relations as a bit sinister, as a clever and slick method of tricking the public's attention, or as a means of bringing the high ideals of the college down to a low level of public approbation.

The most successful public relations program for any college is the most sincere public relations program. There is not room for publicity tricksters in the college public relations field. The successful public relations director for a college is the man or woman who makes a sincere, intelligent and hardworking effort to understand the college's purpose and goal and to transmit such knowledge in an interesting and inspiring manner to each one of its several "publics".

It is amazing to see a comprehensive college public relations program develop, and to note its effect upon the college's fund-raising prospects. A certain college, for instance, was raising a fund for a particular building. A public spirited man was asked by an alumnus of the college to make a contribution and he said: "Why that's the college I heard on the air last fall when they broadcast their convocation exercises. I enjoyed that broadcast. It really had something to it."

In another instance under somewhat similar circumstances, a man said: "My daughter is attending Teachers' College at Columbia and she was telling me recently how that college was complimented in the class section by the teacher for what it has accomplished in its educational program."

The neglect of proper public relations shows up negatively just as often as the attention to proper public relations shows up positively. The college which neglects public relations in its admissions office unnecessarily antagonizes alumni whose children are declined admission. I know of one college whose admissions officers are extremely careless and apparently totally ignorant of proper public relations. They write curt and uncomplimentary letters to rejected candidates for admission, and they assume a detached and superior attitude in personal interviews with parents of unsuccessful applicants.

These paid employees in the college's admissions office create more ill-will for the college than any college can afford. (N.B. That college does not have a public relations department.)

No college should be expected to admit students on the basis of a future financial campaign, and any college that would lower its admissions standards for such a purpose would stultify itself, but every college should be friendly and kindly and sympathetic and helpful even towards unsuccessful applicants and their parents, and it is the duty of a wise public relations director to make sure that the admissions officers think in terms of college public relations when they write letters and interview parents, and not think just in terms of their daily personal headaches. Some admissions officers whom you and I know should put on sack cloth and ashes and ask forgiveness for their lack of insight into human feelings and lack of concern for the college which employs them.

The most striking illustration of a comprehensive public relations program in connection with a far reaching fund-raising program that

comes to my mind is that of a recent three-year development program launched by the Board of Education of one of our Protestant denominations in behalf of its several colleges situated in all sections of the country North of the Mason and Dixon Line. We were retained to direct this program, and after a thorough study of all the factors involved, the program was divided into two parts - the first year and a half for general public relations and promotion, and the second year and a half for a large number of college campaigns running simultaneously by and in behalf of the several colleges concerned.

During the first year and a half a fund-raising and public relations survey was made for each college, and the findings of our survey were made the subject of a conference and discussion with the administrations and trustees of that college.

Practical measures were recommended to each college and in almost every instance one of the recommendations was the establishment of a permanent Department of Public Relations. The interest of the Trustees and of the Presidents was centered in an entirely new manner upon the methods which they should use to bring their college to the attention of their "publics" and to put sound foundations under their whole out-reach to their "publics".

One by one each participating college was strengthened and buttressed for a year and a half before the general fund-raising program was projected.

During the second year and a half, each college was encouraged to make its well organized fund-raising appeal to its "publics" and to raise sufficient sums of money for much needed purposes. In most cases they were encouraged to engage professional help, although in some cases they were advised to make their appeals on their own.

The result was that in the three-year period over $5,000,000 was raised, and the further results cannot be reported until fifty years or more from now because many of these colleges got an entirely new understanding of public relations and how to organize it and harness it for the up-building of their resources. Many of these colleges were struggling and had lost hope. At least two of them had voted to close on a given date. Now these same institutions have increased strength for the present and increased competence for the future.

I want to reverse my subject for a moment. I have been talking about public relations in fund-raising and will resume the discussion of that after this brief interpolation. For a moment I want to speak about fund-raising in public relations.

There comes a time in a permanent public relations program of a college where a well organized fund-raising campaign is the best possible means of public relations. I recommend it most strongly to every college and university periodically. I think a college should make deliberate plans for an occasional well organized, intensive, fund-raising campaign.

I believe whole-heartedly in the annual alumni fund and I believe

in making every effort to build that up to very substantial proportions, but I have heard a great deal of talk during the past few years which comes out of college alumni and administrators' conferences which indicates that some of our college leaders are advocating putting all their eggs in the alumni fund basket. I think this is as serious a reversal of policy as it would be to put all the eggs only in an intensive fund-raising campaign and not have the alumni basket. In my opinion, every college should organize thoroughly and faithfully an annual alumni fund, but in my opinion, every college should also organize an intensive capital fund campaign every few years for the purpose of raising a specific capital fund for a building or an endowment or for some other capital purpose. Only in this manner can the large capital funds be obtained, and only in this manner can the college cultivate certain of its potential friends for really large gifts and bequests.

A few years ago, the Alumni Secretary of one college came home from a conference where the annual alumni fund had been exploited and lauded, and persuaded his college president to make a public announcement to the effect that that college would never have another campaign, but that its future needs would all be cared for by the annual fund. It was thought that the alumni would show glee and gratitude at that announcement. They didn't; they expressed discouragement for the college's future. Of course, after a period of face-saving, the college did launch a capital fund campaign and we have just turned in over a million dollars as a result of it. Meanwhile, their annual alumni fund has gone forward also.

The occasional intensive capital fund campaign is essential in my opinion to a well-rounded public relations program. Such a campaign brings the alumni, trustees and friends of the college together in a bond of intensive service to the college and enables the college to bring to a sharp focus in the minds and hearts of its friends its purposes, its needs and its on-going service to youth. Events, meetings, newspaper publicity, radio broadcasts, all can be staged during an intensive campaign in a manner which centers attention more directly on the public relations problems than through any other form of public relations.

While we are on the subject of intensive campaigns, I want also to bear testimony to the value of experienced campaign directors in charge of the intensive campaign. I want to bring this testimony not as an interested and biased witness, namely, as a member of a fund-raising firm, but I want to bring this testimony as a college president. During my ten years' term of office as President of Bucknell University, we raised about $2,000,000 for capital purposes for the University of Lewisburg and the Junior College at Wilkes-Barre. About one-half of this I raised through intensive campaigns and the balance I raised through personal cultivation and solicitation of a few trustees and other friends. During this period of ten years, we had two intensive campaigns at Bucknell and one at the Junior College. It might be supposed that the president of a college who was also president of a fund-raising firm might not need the services of a fund-raising firm for this intensive campaign, but we did engage the services of experienced fund-raising directors for all three of these capital fund intensive campaigns. (In no case, however, did I engage my own firm because I preferred not to sit on the both sides of the same contract.) I worked no less hard as President of Bucknell in these three campaigns, but the day by day campaign was run by experienced campaign directors, and my

time was free to function as a college president should, and not as a campaign director should.

To make my witness a bit stronger, in that same time I was President of Bucknell, three fraternities at Bucknell launched building campaigns for new fraternity chapter houses. I recommended that they engage professional help. Two of them did and achieved complete success. The third saved money, ran a home-made campaign which has now been dragging along painfully and unsuccessfully for six years.

The value of the professionally directed campaign is not a matter of opinion only. Rather it is susceptible to proof. We became curious a few years ago about the permanent results of our professional services to our college clients and so engaged a well-known statistician to compare the giving to the colleges which had had one or more Marts & Lundy campaigns in the past to the giving over the same period of time to all colleges in America. We made this comparison for the Depression period of the 1930's, as we thought that giving to colleges in that period would be a real test of their public relations and fund-raising programs.

Taking the gifts of 1929 as a base, we found that giving to the Marts & Lundy colleges increased each year throughout the Depression, rising to 58% higher in 1937 (the year of the latest U. S. Biennial Survey of Education), whereas gifts to all colleges in America dropped each year following 1929 until it reached a depth of minus 55% in 1934, and then rose to a minus 25% in 1937. This minus 25% for all colleges in 1937, remember, compares with the plus 58% for Marts & Lundy colleges in the same year. I have some copies of these curves for you to study if any of you are interested.

Now, the detour is over and let us come back to my main topic of "Public Relations in Fund-Raising". I want to discuss the place of the Board of Trustees of the college in its public relations and fund-raising program. There are many different kinds of Board of Trustees, some good, some bad, and some indifferent. Some Boards are made up predominantly of educators who fix and administer the educational policy. Other Boards are made up predominantly of business men who fix and administer the business and financial policy. Other Boards have mixtures of professional and business men. Some have rather a clear-cut function in the college and other Boards serve more as rubber stamps to an administration in which they have confidence.

In the average privately endowed college, it is my belief that whatever the type of Board of Trustee is, one very important function of the Board should be to serve as a seed bed for future generous giving to the college.

By seed bed, I mean that a certain substantial number of the Trustees should be selected and elected to the Board for a term of years because of their potential giving interest and ability. Of course, I do not mean that a man should be put on the Board of Trustees just because he has money. As a matter of fact, the possession of money is only a part of the qualifications a large contributor to the college must have. He must also have qualities of spirit and soul and mind by which he can understand and appreciate the significance of the college and he must have a social sensitiveness through which he may feel his responsibility to his

generation and to coming generations. He must, above all, want to do his part for God and for humanity.

It is this type of wealthy man who has money and who is also spiritually and culturally sensitive who should be put on a Board of Trustees of a college in the hope and expectation that this interest can be developed to the point of generous future support.

The importance of this seed bed can be readily understood if you will study the record of large gifts to your own college. The vast majority of large sums that have come to your college during the past several years have come, I will venture to say, from trustees and their families, for it is the universal experience of privately endowed colleges that the trustees are the most generous supporters of their college. After taking this responsibility of a trustee upon himself, a man feels the obligation for and the honor of leading the subscription list if he can. Such recognition at just the right time in the cultivation of a wealthy potential friend of the college frequently increases the sense of responsibility to a degree that results in greatly increased giving, either outright or by bequest.

The reasons for this are so logical and obvious that they hardly need more than mention. Members of a college Board of Trustees are on the "inside" of the knowledge of the college's circumstances and needs. It is they who decide what new buildings and what new endowments are needed, or at least it is they who authorize the president to make the decision. Therefore, it is they really who are doing the asking for funds, and the normal conscience of a man competent to be a trustee of a college requires him to do himself what he asks others to do. Consequently, when a campaign is organized he should feel, and a majority of trustees do feel, a sense of personal responsibility to subscribe what they can. At any rate, whether he offers his subscription or not, he is in a situation where the president can solicit him far more effectively than he can solicit a man on the outside.

Of course, not all trustees respond in this way to their duties and responsibilities as trustees. Some of them are willing to accept the honor and dodge the responsibility, but the majority accept the responsibility with the honor. In considering the Board of Trustees as a seed bed for future giving, it is well to set up a system of five-year terms of office. At the end of the five years, the "weeds" can be picked out of the seed bed, whereas, if there is no such provision of limited term of office, it may become next to impossible to get the resignation of a "weed" trustee.

I have given you one or two illustrations of constructive public relations and now I will give you an illustration of a negative public relations policy. A year or so ago we were asked to make a fund-raising survey for an institution that wanted to raise $500,000. We made the survey and discovered a rather pathetic lack of public relations. The constituency had grown indifferent and cold. The school had made no effort whatsoever to cultivate its constituency. We therefore advised against the proposed campaign and recommended instead a year's public relations program which we felt might be followed up by a campaign for a much smaller sum, - perhaps $150,000.

Our advice was rejected and the school then proceeded to hire a

man who told them that he would be glad to direct the campaign for half a million dollars. At the end of the year, they found that their campaign director was unable to raise any funds for them for the reasons which we had anticipated, and a member of the Board came to see a member of our firm and said:

"If you are willing to forgive and forget our error, we would like you now to start the year of public relations which you recommended a year ago."

This school had made the mistake a good many other institutions make, namely, it thought that gifts to colleges can be "mined" rather than "grown". It has assumed that, like coal in a vein lying 100 feet or so under the surface, one could dig down to it with a little labor and find it there ready to be mined and carried away to the college's treasury. But they learned that giving to a college is not a mining operation. Giving is a living organism which must be cultivated and grown through the processes of public relations similar to nature's processes of planting and cultivating before the harvest.

I think I have spoken long enough now on the first phase of my subject, namely, the long-term program of public relations which is not aimed at any specific fund raising campaign.

II. I shall turn now to a brief discussion of the second phase, the intensive public relations program designed to cultivate the prospective givers for an immediate, or almost immediate, fund-raising campaign.

Frequently, in our preliminary fund-raising survey for a college, we find potential giving ability amongst alumni, local citizens and trustees, but an apathy or lack of appreciation or understanding of the college's needs. This situation, of course, results from an inadequate public relations program over the preceding ten years. The college has not had a sufficiently comprehensive public relations program to develop its constituency up to adequate standards and habits of generosity. We discover this through a very carefully planned Marts & Lundy survey, during which our representative interviews a substantial cross section of trustees, alumni and local citizens, to ask their attitude towards the college's proposed fund-raising campaign. Our surveyors discuss the matter with them and rate them confidentially as to their apathy, interest, or enthusiasm. We study these ratings and through a formula which we have devised, determine the temperature of the patient. If the temperature is normal, we advise that the fund-raising campaign be organized in normal fashion, but if the temperature is several degrees below normal, we advise a special preliminary public relations service for a few months, and it is about some of these public relations techniques just prior to the fund-raising campaign that I will now speak rather hurriedly.

In one situation, we found that the public relations program amongst the alumni had been a good one and that the alumni were ready to do their part in the campaign, but that the public relations program in the home community which should, because of its size and wealth, be expected to make a very substantial gift to the college, had been neglected.

Consequently, many of the leading citizens had never been on the campus except to pass it in their autos, had never been told of the economic and cultural value of the college to their community, and were apathetic and cold just because of a lack of knowledge and a lack of personal contact. For four months, our representative lived on that campus and each day almost thought up a new contact between the college and some important group in the city. At the end of the four month's program of meetings, visits, speeches, printed matter, newspaper stories and radio talks, the leaders of the community were enthusiastic about the college and let out in a splendid, successful campaign.

In another situation, we found that the alumni had been neglected over a long period of years. There were local alumni clubs, but they had gotten into the doldrums. The same officers were reelected year after year. Only 25 or 30 alumni out of two or three hundred alumni in each community attended the alumni dinners, and there was no spirit or enthusiasm which warranted a fund-raising campaign for the amount of money the school needed. Here again we assigned our representative to the college for a term of a few months to develop enthusiasm before any effort would be made toward fund-raising. In this situation, our director built his special preparatory public relations program around an anniversary that was approaching in a few months, and planned a series of alumni meetings built around the anniversary idea. New Anniversary Committees were appointed in each city where the alumni were concentrated in order to get around the permanent weak leadership in the alumni clubs, and during the past few months, enthusiastic alumni meetings have been held with one hundred, two hundred and three hundred in attendance, in place of the handful which had previously attended these meetings.

In another community we found the Chamber of Commerce was very active in all civic affairs but had never taken any interest in the local college. We tried to convince the Chamber of Commerce that the local college was an important business asset to the community as well as a cultural asset, but we met with considerable scepticism on that point. Therefore, our Director arranged for the college to pay its faculty and staff on a certain month with silver dollars instead of by check. This was in a section of the country where silver dollars are a rarity and the newspapers were given the story and merchants and other citizens of the community were alerted to see how many of them would see silver dollars in circulation.

The results were amazing to that community. Everybody reported an influx of silver dollars into their tills and coffers. Even the merchants of the lower forms of merchandise which should not be bought by college faculties were amazed by the number of silver dollars that arrived in their tills, let us hope after second and third handling. At any rate, the citizens of that community got an impressive lesson on the money value of the local college and became supporters of the local campaign.

I could go on indefinitely telling specific stories of public relations techniques aimed at immediate fund-raising campaigns, but this is not a story hour and I know you want to get on to the next subjects which you have to discuss, so I will wind up this discussion by repeating my

opening sentence: Public relations has the same relation to fund-raising that planting and cultivating have to harvesting. As President Cunningham of Davidson College said to us recently - "Some college presidents seem to think that they can hitch the reaper right behind the plow."

Additional copies of this address may be obtained by addressing Marts & Lundy, Inc., 521 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

July 10, 1950
American Alumni Council
National Conference
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

TRENDS IN GIVING AND FUND-RAISING FOR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

By Arnaud C. Marts, President, Marts & Lundy, Inc.

I. Trends in giving are upward and climbing still higher.

Last year giving to colleges and universities probably crossed the two hundred million dollar mark, compared with the highest year in the fabulous 1920 decade of one hundred and thirty-nine million.

Giving to Protestant churches totalled over one billion dollars last year for the first time in history. This compared with a total in 1948 of eight hundred and sixty-two million, an increase of nearly thirty per-cent in the last year. I do not have the figures on the giving to Catholic churches, but I have no doubt that the trend is just as strongly upward in that great dynamic organization.

Total philanthropic giving last year went well over the three billion mark, compared with about two and one-quarter billion of ten years ago.

The trend is upward in all categories of income tax payers for which figures are available. The latest public figures of the Treasury Department are for the year 1947, and following are comparisons between that year and the average in the 1920 decade:

Comparison of contributions of Income Tax payers in the upper brackets in the 1920 decade and in 1947, the latest year for which tax figures are available:

INCOMES OF $500,000 AND OVER

Average annual figures for 1922 - 29

Number of tax payers	Total Income	Total contributions	%
747	$999,526,000	$ 34,998,000	.035
	Figures for 1947		
416	416,757,000	33,126,000	.08

In 1947 the incomes of taxpayers in this bracket were only 42% of the income in 1922-29.

But their contributions were 94.4%

INCOMES OF $150,000 to $500,000

Average annual figures for 1922 - 29

Number of tax payers	Total Income	Total contributions	%
4,158	$1,162,961,000	$ 31,533,000	.027
	Figures for 1947		
4,075	927,255,000	51,464,000	.055%

In 1947 the incomes of taxpayers in this bracket were only 80% of the income in 1922-29.

But their contributions were 163%.

INCOMES OF $50,000 to $150,000

Average annual figures for 1922 - 29

Number of tax payers	Total Income	Total contributions	%
23,918	$2,169,592,000	$ 53,240,000	.024
	Figures for 1947		
44,402	3,285,690,000	124,620,000	.038

In 1947 the incomes of taxpayers in this bracket were 151.4% of the income in 1922-29.

But their contributions were 234%

INCOMES OF $25,000 to $50,000

Average annual figures for 1922 - 29

Number of taxpayers	Total Income	Total contributions	%
53,930	$2,152,000,000	$ 43,830,000	.02

Figures for 1947

146,782	2,923,497,000	136,891,000	.027

In 1947 the incomes of taxpayers in this bracket were 228% of the income in 1922-29.

But their contributions were 312%.

INCOMES OF $25,000 to OVER $1,000,000

Average annual figures for 1922-29

Number of taxpayers	Total Income	Total contributions	%
82,753	$6,484,079,000	$ 163,601,000	.025

Figures for 1947

195,675	9,553,199,000	346,001,000	.034

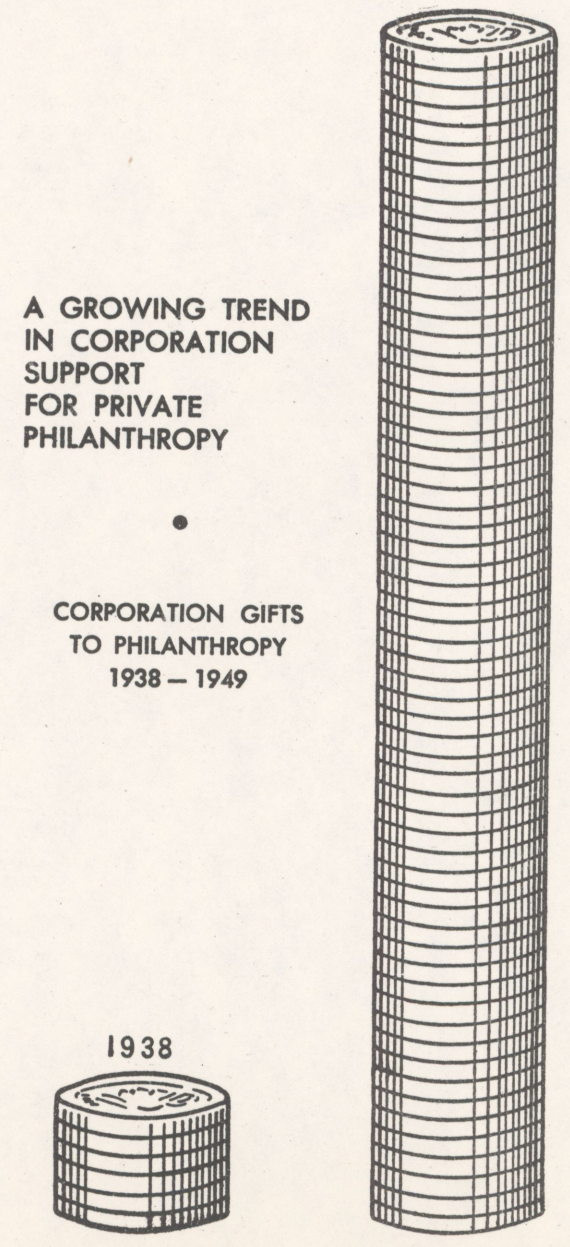
In 1947 the incomes of tax payers in this bracket were 147.3% of the income in 1922-29.

But their contributions were 205.3%.

Trends of philanthropic giving by corporations are also sharply upward. The following tables show this trend:

THE GROWTH OF CORPORATION CONTRIBUTIONS TO PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY
(From tabulations compiled by the Bureau of Internal Revenue)

Year	No. of Returns	Contributions or Gifts	Average Contribution
1938	471,032	$ 27,233,000	$ 57.82
1939	469,617	$ 30,730,000	$ 65.44
1940	473,042	$ 38,124,000	$ 80.59
1941	468,906	$ 58,498,000	$124.75
1942	442,665	$ 98,296,000	$222.06
1943	420,521	$159,221,000	$378.63
1944	412,467	$234,194,000	$567.79
1945	421,125	$265,679,000	$630.88
1946	491,152	$213,872,000	$435.45



II. TRENDS IN FUND-RAISING FOR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The major trend is toward more and better attention on the part of university administrators to fund-raising; toward the appointment of full-time administrative officers whose only duties will be fund-raising and public relations; and toward bringing fund-raising into the administrative family as a permanent respected and useful member of that family.

Before discussin these trends in more detail, I would like to mention certain errors or deficiencies in the public relations and fund-raising policies and program of colleges and universities during the past fifteen years. A brief discussion of these errors will, I hope, provide a foundation on which to make my constructive suggestions for the better administration of fund-raising in the years ahead.

College and University administrators have made three important errors in public relations during the past fifteen years, in my opinion. Two of them were errors in what they repeatedly said and published; the third is an error of omission, which may be corrected and retrieved in the years ahead.

1. The first massive public relations error was in continuously announcing to all who would listen, that "the day of large financial gifts to higher education was over". This started in 1933 in the first shock of surprise over the heavy tax laws of the early New Deal, and continued right down to 1949. It was only arrested when giving to colleges and universities surged to enormous totals after World War II which have now become 50% higher than in the highest year of the lush 1920 decade. During the past five years there have been large individual gifts and bequests to higher education that have exceeded in size anything ever previously given, except from a few families like Rockefeller, Carnegie and Duke, whose names have become world famous for their benefactions.

This public relations error put a chill on some potential philanthropy, which would, in my opinion, have greatly exceeded its present high performance had not so many highly respected college and university presidents been so insistent and persistent in their assertions that philanthropy would never be able again to match its gifts of the 1920 decade.

Following are a few quotations from educational and public leaders during the past seventeen years which illustrate what I regard as a major public relations error which our colleges and universities made in that period of time:

1933 "In the history of the University we have arrived at the end of an era during which most generous and great gifts were received from many different individuals for the endowment and enrichment of the work of the University."

1934 "It would seem that the day of large gifts may be over."

1935 "There will be fewer men giving millions of dollars to this institution; this seems to be clearly proven by the evidence of the last three or four years."

1938 "When the goose is killed, it stops laying golden eggs. When the seed corn is destroyed there can be no crop. The future solicitor will be compelled to make his appeal for dollar and dime contributions!"

1939 "I am convinced that existing tax structures will broaden the base of giving and prevent a drying up of philanthropic funds that otherwise might accompany a decline in large fortunes."

1946 "Colleges will not get large gifts any more."

1947 "High taxes have put an end to big scale private largesse. Gone is the day when a John D. Rockefeller could give $35,000,000 to the University of Chicago."

1948 "The era of big donors wanes, so professional fund-raisers must turn ever more to mass media in order to broaden the base of a multi-billion business."

The figures I gave at the outset prove how wrong these prophecies were.

2. The second major public relations error is the one which began during the war as educational administrators began to plan post-war propaganda for federal support for higher education. They used the "fear" approach. Typical of their speeches and articles were:

"The plight of the colleges."

"Higher education faces its greatest crisis."

"The nation's bogged-down educational system."

"Pity the poor college president."

and so on.

I shall not discuss the merits or demerits of the proposed plans for federal appropriations for colleges and universities. It is not my purpose in this presentation to take any position either for or against them. My point is that this "fear" propaganda was a wrongful approach, because it did not reflect the true strength and power of our great institutions of higher education.

The week before last the American Colleges Public Relations Association held its annual meeting at the University of Michigan. The educational editor of the New York "Times" published a very interesting report on the discussions at that conference. In his report he said:

"Many termed the financial situation the number one problem facing higher education today. Spokesmen for the small liberal arts institutions warned that unless help were forthcoming soon, many of the nation's smaller colleges might be forced to shut their doors or to reduce existing academic standards.

"By the end of the year large numbers of institutions will be operating in the red. Even well-established universities are having their financial troubles. Tulane University, for example, disclosed that for the first time in its 117 years of existence it is facing a deficit.

"'What hope is there for the smaller college?' asked Paul Farix of Hendrix College, Arkansas (590 students). 'Where will we get the money to continue to operate?'"

Let us compare the present "plight" of the colleges and universities with the situation of the oil industry of 25 years ago.

At that time, the rather recently developed motor and aviation industries were placing such demands upon the known petroleum supply that there was a general fear and belief that all the oil stocks of the world would be used up completely in 25 years. At that time, the total proved oil reserves totalled 23 billion barrels and the annual consumption was $1\frac{1}{4}$ billion barrels. What a sound mathematical basis that was for the prophesiers that many of us well remember that oil reserves of the world would be utterly depleted before 1950.

Well, the oil industry didn't lie down under that fear. They put their best brains and energy and courage into measuring up to the growing demand for oil, instead of complaining about their tough lot. They have spent billions of dollars in advertising to stimulate greater consumption, and billions also in research, in exploration, and in efficiency of production. They have raised consumption to $3\frac{1}{2}$ billions of barrels a year, and they have a proved reserve of 77 billions of barrels, and an estimated reserve of 545 billions of barrels. Mr. Charles F. Kettering recently announced that in his opinion there is enough reserve fuel in the ground for one thousand years.

Let me read you some of the pessimistic prophecies about oil shortages and you may enjoy comparing them mentally with some of the current prophecies about "the plight of our colleges".

In 1874, the State Geologist of Pennsylvania, where America's first oil well had been discovered fifteen years before, reported, "Everything which by general acceptance can be denominated as the oil region embraces 3115 square miles. The present yearly output is over 24 million barrels. Some day the check will come back endorsed "No Funds", and we are approaching that day very fast."

In 1908, the Director of the U. S. Geological Society estimated we might find 8 billion barrels in the United States.

And even in 1944, our leaders at Washington announced "we are running out of oil". Shades of Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas and the Continental shelf!

Do you see any parallel here? It seems to me that I do. I see a courage to face a problem, a great faith in the institution which faces the problem, and a dedication of brains and energy to find the solution. I wish our college and university administrators would give public evidence of a great faith in the American college and university, a sturdy courage to face all and any problems that beset these noble institutions, and a dedication of brains and energy to overcome those problems and carry their institutions on to greater and finer service to America and the world.

Hospitals

Fifteen years ago hospitals were the "problem child" of philanthropy. You remember the pessimistic prophesies and hopeless outlook?

There came a change in that public relations program a few years ago. Hospital administrators decided to stop advertising their headaches and to begin to display the great service they render to community health and well-being. Today, hospitals are raising a million, two million, ten million dollar funds successfully in communities where it was well nigh impossible to raise one hundred thousand dollars a few years ago.

I believe this fear approach has become a public relations error of massive proportions which will distort the public's image of our colleges and universities for a long time to come.

3. The third public relations error has been one of omission, in my opinion. College and university administrators are failing to give the public any adequate understanding or interpretation of the basic function of higher education in our whole economic, political, cultural and spiritual life as a nation. Our whole future as a people depends in a large measure upon our qualities of mind and character and spirit, and our colleges and universities are making an incomparable contribution to those qualities.

Our economic wealth of the future, for instance, will be created out of the minds of men and women. Every month, or oftener, a college-trained man is creating an idea for a new product, or is devising a better way to make an old product. Our whole expanding economy is based upon the inventiveness of our trained men and women. I would like very much to see an appraisal of thenew wealth that has been created by the present generation of college graduates. I dare say it would total many billions of dollars.

EXAMPLES OF NEW WEALTH THAT HAS BEEN CREATED
BY COLLEGE-TRAINED MEN

1. Representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture who imported 2 orange trees, in 1875, to California and created the citrus industry of that state, which is now worth about $50,000,000 a year to the state.

2. Edgar McFadden, a farm boy from the South Dakota State College, who developed "Hope" wheat with rust resistance. This wheat is said to have added $150,000,000 to the value of the annual wheat crop of the four northern wheat producing states.

3. Charles M. Hall, a college student of Oberlin College, who invented the modern method of manufacturing aluminum on a universal scale and founded the Aluminum Company of America. Aluminum has produced billions of dollars of new wealth and has made commercial flying practical.

4. Niels Hansen, an Iowa State College boy who introduced the Russian Gitniak grass to the prairie states of the west. It is now the wonder grass which has reclaimed millions of acres of eroded land in the west and has added hundreds of millions of dollars of value to their farm produce.

5. Doctors Lewis and Gilliland of M.I.T. who created the industrial process of catalytic cracking fuel oil. Three-hundred million dollars has been invested in industrial buildings for the use of their patents in the cracking of fuel oil and literally billions of dollars of new wealth are being created in these industrial buildings.

6. College trained men at Cambridge produced the frozen concentrated orange juice which has, in the last five years, added hundreds of millions of dollars to the Florida citrus fruit industry.

7. University trained men at the University of Florida thought up the plan of bringing Brahman cattle from India to cross with the native Florida cattle that could not resist Florida ticks and heat. The present prosperous cattle industry of Florida is based upon this development.

8. University trained men of Georgia and the Carolinas and Alabama experimented with new types of grass and clover fodder which grow all year round and provide pasturage for cattle. Hundreds of millions of dollars of new wealth are being developed through development of the cattle industry through the southeast and this is going to be an important factor in ending the single crop tobacco road conditions of that area.

9. University trained scientists who have developed the new chemical discoveries, such as plastics, in the industrial field, and many modern health-giving and life-saving drugs in the medical field.

These are just a few illustrations. Your alumni secretaries could prepare an exhibit that would be amazing.

Also out of the minds and spirits of men will come the solution to other complicated problems of our society, better labor-management relations, greater cooperation between groups and classes, finally a sound formula for freedom and for world peace.

Why don't our educators tell us more about the enormous values which are being created for us each year in all these fields by men and women whose minds and spirits were enlarged by their college experiences? If a manufacturing concern had comparable products to display, they would fill the air and the printed pages with their justifiable boasting.

Our colleges and universities will continue to receive generous support, on a rising level, from individuals, corporations and foundations. This support can be greatly increased in the years ahead and when our educational administrators will stop publicizing their headaches and their problems, and will begin to set before the American people a true display of the power and glory and inspiration of these institutions which have done so much to help make America become our generation's greatest example of freedom, prosperity and social well-being throughout the world.

When any industry produces an excellent product which the people want, and in spite of that product and public desire for it, the industry is unable to operate successfully, then probably its failure is to be found in its poor salesmanship.

Our colleges and universities are producing an excellent product and our people need and want that product. Why, then, do we hear all the talk about crises and problems and emergencies in higher education? Perhaps the answer is to be found in the college's doing a poor sales job. Of course, in academic circles we don't call it poor salesmanship. We call it poor public relations.

"Fortune" magazine recently commented: "To many a professor of economics serious talk about salesmanship is like serious talk about cheerleading. Most college men look down upon personal selling as something beneath them".

But whether we call a college's failure that in salesmanship, or that in public relations, is it not likely that our colleges and universities are lacking in their ability to tell their inspiring stories of service and usefulness to the public in an effective and convincing manner?

It would be worth while, in my opinion, for every college and university administrator who is concerned with developing public support for his institution, either through voluntary giving or taxation, to read the article entitled "American Salesmanship" in the September 1949 issue of "Fortune" magazine. This

is not a discussion of selling techniques, nor tricks, but is a convincing statement as to the fundamental importance of a sales or public relations attitude in the top executives of a business. If a college or university executive will, in reading that article, make a mental substitution of the word "university" for the word "industry" whenever the latter word occurs, I believe he will be greatly helped in his efforts to gain wide public appreciation and support for his institution.

Following are some quotations from the article:

Quotations from AMERICAN SALESMANSHIP

in the September 1949 Issue of FORTUNE Magazine

"The major cause of the 1949 recession is that American salesmanship fell down on the job".

"The only shortage, and the most serious shortage, is the shortage of creative salesmanship. Until this is corrected, we will be long on many goods".

"The most important educational job ahead of industry is to cultivate a new spirit of salesmanship permeating all its activities".

"Many a company still curtails or cancels advertising when sales fall off. That is just when it needs this advertising the most. And it increases advertising when it can 'afford' to do so. That is just when it needs the advertising least".

Following are a few concepts and big ideas that are typical of the constructive ones that in my opinion colleges and universities could and should be selling to the American public:

"America's Future Wealth is being
Created by the Minds of Men"

"Our Colleges and Universities are
Operating at Top Capacity and Efficiency"

"Industry and Business Prefer and Need
College-trained Men and Women"

"The Present Generation of College
Graduates Have Created Billions
in New Wealth"

"College-trained Men and Women are
Needed for Society's New
Complicated Problems"

"The Problems of Peace Need
More People Trained to Know
and to Think"

"Students in College have
tripled in number since the war"

"Higher Education is the
Cornerstone of
America's well-being"

"The University is Civilization's
Most Enduring Institution

Today's College Graduates have broader
interests and deeper understanding of public concerns"

Our colleges and universities can win ample public support, in my opinion, to meet all their operating problems, whether that support be from voluntary philanthropy, or from tax appropriations, or from business, or from corporation grants, or from all combined. There is a tremendous potential affection and appreciation in America for our colleges and universities.

Modern, proper, dignified salesmanship and public relations could readily bring this latent affection to the boiling point of ample financial support.

These public relations methods are well known to industry and business, and they could be readily adapted to serve the needs of higher education. These methods include first an attitude on the part of presidents and trustees and

administrative officers, of willing enthusiastic desire to tell their story to the American public. These methods include putting this total program under the charge of a highly placed administrative officer of the university. They include the cultivation of individuals, corporations and foundations, as well as the cultivation of tax payers and legislators. These methods include the stimulation of bequests and the planning of special interpretive public relations efforts which attract public attention, and telling a story in a colorful manner.

All of these methods of adequate total public relations or salesmanship programs should include once in every five or ten years an intensive campaign for a non-recurring capital need. This campaign should be organized on the basis of personal salesmanship of volunteer workers under skilled professional direction.

A college or university would do well, in my opinion, to have an all out <u>total fund-raising program</u> which would include the following phases:

A long-term program to utilize
all resources and sound methods.

Continuous cultivation of all "publics",-
Alumni, Parents, Local Citizens, Church Constituency,
Taxpayers, Corporations, Foundations, etc.,etc.

Special interpretive and news-making events.

Personal cultivation and solicitation
of selected individuals,foundations and corporations.

Annual Alumni Fund

Stimulation of Bequests

Corporation Liaison

Grants for Research
and Special Projects.

An intensive campaign once in 7 -- 10 years
for a non-recurring capital need.
(Professionally directed.)

Our colleges and universities are among the oldest institutions of the western world. They and certain of Europe's great churches and cathedrals are far older and more enduring than any government now extant. Bologna, Oxford, Paris, Cambridge, in Europe and England, are among the most stable institutions yet created from the mind and spirit of man.

In America we have colleges and universities that are older than our own Republic. They have had crises and emergencies all the long years of their lives, and they will continue to have them for as many centuries as they will endure, but always these problems have been minor in relation to their strength and their power.

It is true the colleges and universities of today have problems, but they are not problem children by any means, and they are our most sturdy and enduring institutions, and they are rendering service of which all Americans are proud.

Certainly today's college and university administrators will find that they have the ability, the strength, and the genius, to solve the passing problems of financial support and surely these great service institutions will grow in strength and will measure up to the new demands which our complicated modern society is placing upon them, and the new service which the very life of our republic hopes them to render.

SPECIAL ISSUE

Financing Philanthropy

PUBLISHED BY MARTS & LUNDY, INC., PUBLIC RELATIONS AND FUND RAISING COUNSEL FOR PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS
521 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, TELEPHONE, VANDERBILT 6-1342

Vol. XXIV MAY, 1950 No. 3

A GROWING TREND IN CORPORATION SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY

by

ARNAUD C. MARTS
President, Marts & Lundy, Inc.

Reprinted from Association of American Colleges Bulletin
Volume XXXVI, No. 2 MAY, 1950

THERE has been a growing trend in the past ten years on the part of corporation management to make grants and gifts out of corporation income to the support of the educational, religious, character-building, health and welfare agencies in America.

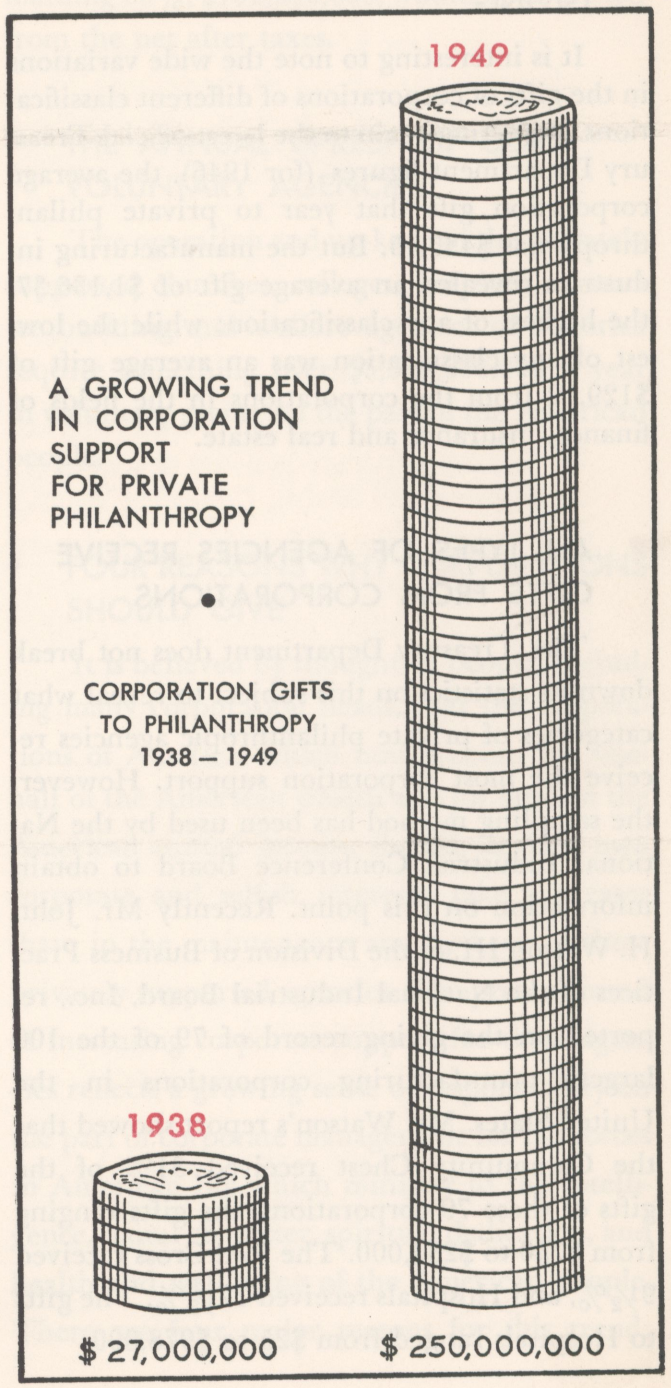
In 1938, the U. S. Treasury Department reported that approximately $27,000,000 showed up in the tax returns of corporations as gifts to such privately financed agencies. In 1946, the latest year for which Treasury Department figures are available, corporation gifts had risen to $213,872,000.

In 1949, these same gifts are estimated conservatively to have reached $250,000,000.

Last year over 750 corporations made gifts to a certain national religious agency with an inter-denominational program of service.

Last year one utility corporation announced a gift of $175,000 to the Community Fund of its city.

During the present year, 1950, one industrial corporation announced a grant of a million dollars to an institution of higher education, probably the highest single gift to education or philanthropy ever made by a corporation.



STOCKHOLDERS APPROVE

Recent studies of public opinion show that a very substantial majority of corporation stockholders approve corporation gifts to philanthropy.

WIDE VARIATION IN CORPORATION GIVING

It is interesting to note the wide variations in the gifts of corporations of different classifications. Referring again to the latest official Treasury Department figures (for 1946), the average corporation gift that year to private philanthropy was $435.45. But the manufacturing industries revealed an average gift of $1,136.37, the highest of any classification; while the lowest of any classification was an average gift of $129.12 from the corporations in the fields of finance, insurance and real estate.

ALL TYPES OF AGENCIES RECEIVE GIFTS FROM CORPORATIONS

The Treasury Department does not break down its statistics on this subject to reveal what categories of private philanthropic agencies receive the most corporation support. However, the sampling method has been used by the National Industrial Conference Board to obtain information on this point. Recently Mr. John H. Watson III, of the Division of Business Practices of the National Industrial Board, Inc., reported on the giving record of 79 of the 100 largest manufacturing corporations in the United States. Mr. Watson's report showed that the Community Chest received 31% of the gifts of these 79 corporations, the gifts ranging from $750 to $237,000. The Red Cross received 9½%, and Hospitals received 17½%. The gifts to Hospitals ranged from $25 to $978,000.

SUPPORT FOR COLLEGES IS GROWING

Mr. Watson's report stated: "Gifts to these institutions which at one time represented an exception to corporation giving, are now generally made in accordance with the direct benefit theory. These contributions are to be distinguished from corporate funds to colleges for the purpose of research. These latter are generally charged as a business expense rather than a charitable donation.

"Gifts to colleges and universities range from $100 to $235,000."

TREASURY DEPARTMENT'S ALLOWABLE 5%

Under the present Federal law, a corporation may give to philanthropic agencies 5% of its net income before taxes.

State laws vary considerably in their attitudes toward corporation giving to private philanthropy, but in many States there is no legal restriction against it when exercised for the public good.

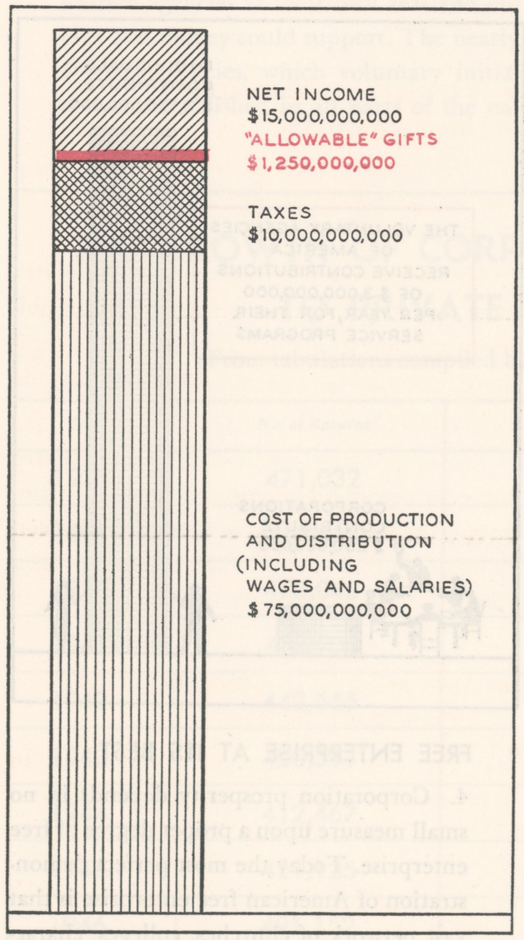
In other States, where there is a legislative brake on corporation giving to private philanthropy, the interpretation of the courts has been increasingly liberal, where the intent has been shown to be constructive.

THE ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION OF CORPORATE INCOME

The annual income of corporations in America may be put at roughly one-hundred billions of dollars. This varies up or down from year to year, but the distribution of an aggregate corporation income of $100,000,000,000 can be broken down approximately as follows:

It is quite likely that when official figures for 1949 are computed and released, the figures will be somewhat larger than these cited, but the following will suffice to give the general situation:

The national corporation income	$100,000,000,000
Production and distribution costs	75,000,000,000
Net before taxes	$ 25,000,000,000
Taxes	$ 10,000,000,000
Net	$ 15,000,000,000



THE EFFECT OF GIFTS ON TAXES

Under the ruling of the U. S. Treasury Department, 5% of the net before taxes may be given to private philanthropic agencies. This would mean $1,250,000,000 per year. Of this amount, approximately 40%, or $500,000,000, would be deducted from the tax bill and the remaining 60%, $750,000,000, would be deducted from the net after taxes.

THE ANNUAL UPKEEP OF OUR VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The operation and up-keep of the privately supported churches, colleges, hospitals, character building and welfare agencies of America require something over $3,000,000,000 a year in voluntary giving on the part of the American people.

FOUR REASONS WHY CORPORATIONS SHOULD GIVE

It is believed by thoughtful people, including many corporation heads, that the corporations of America, which now account for one-half of the American wealth and for 40% of the American annual income, should, in their own corporate and selfish interests, take a greater share in the maintenance and up-keep of these privately supported agencies. The present trend of increasing corporate support for these agencies reflects a growing sense of responsibility on the part of corporate management for the forces in American life which minister to the intelligence, moral character, spiritual dedication, and health and well-being of the American people. There are four major reasons for this trend:

OUR VOLUNTARY AGENCIES PRODUCE GOOD EMPLOYEES

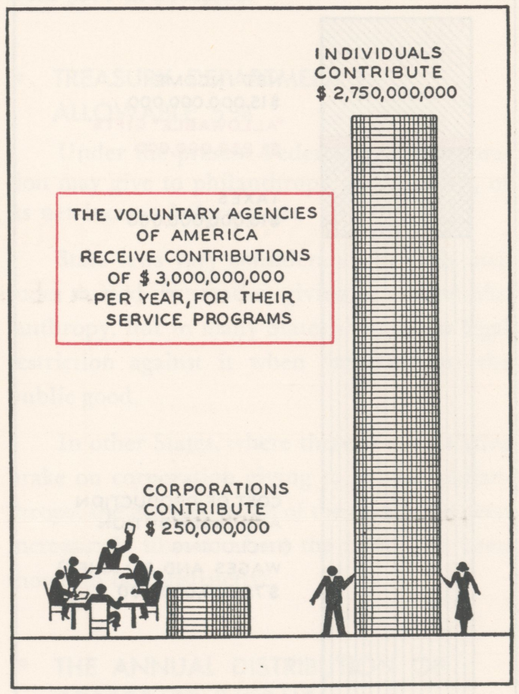
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FREE ENTERPRISE AT ITS BEST

4. Corporation prosperity depends in no small measure upon a proper degree of free enterprise. Today the most perfect demonstration of American free enterprise is that vast network of churches, colleges, character, health, and welfare agencies which are supported by the voluntary gifts of men and women who care about the spiritual and moral and educational fibre of the American people.

Ever since the earliest settlers first began to create a nation on these shores, public spirited men and women of every generation, who have longed for a better world, have been free to build as many churches and schools and character and health and welfare agencies as their own zeal and energy and money could support. The nearly 500,000 agencies, which voluntary initiative has established in all parts of the nation, are the most effective examples and centers of real democracy in action which remain to us. Here men and women work together for the public good without compulsion and without governmental control.

But, in spite of the past effectiveness of these voluntary agencies, some of our present day planners are not satisfied with the progress of our educational and health and welfare forces. These same planners who advocate more government in business are advocating more government in these cultural forces. They would use enormous new tax levies as a shortcut to the goals of private philanthropy.

THE GROWTH OF CORPORATION CONTRIBUTIONS TO PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY

(From tabulations compiled by the Bureau of Internal Revenue)

Year	*No. of Returns*	*Contributions or Gifts*	*Average Contribution*
1938	471,032	$ 27,233,000	$ 57.82
1939	469,617	$ 30,730,000	$ 65.44
1940	473,042	$ 38,124,000	$ 80.59
1941	468,906	$ 58,498,000	$124.75
1942	442,665	$ 98,296,000	$222.06
1943	420,521	$159,221,000	$378.63
1944	412,467	$234,194,000	$567.79
1945	421,125	$265,679,000	$630.88
1946	491,152	$213,872,000	$435.45

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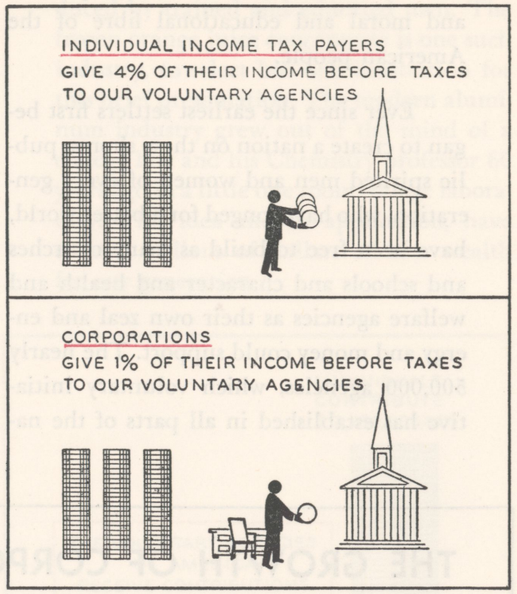
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Thoughtful persons believe that the continued operation of these free-enterprise voluntary philanthropic agencies is essential to the future vitality of the American dream. If America's private citizens cease to give expression to their freedom of action in carrying forward these service agencies in their own way and in their communities, how else will they have personal experience in free-enterprise in the land of liberty? What will be left for them to do for the public good, as citizens of a great democracy—except to vote and pay taxes?

Corporations can give these heavily burdened directors of private philanthropy a much-needed boost. Is it not to the direct interest of corporations to give their full 5% allowable to these agencies, and thus help to keep them as vigorous and enthusiastic examples and demonstrations of free enterprise? If free enterprise is abandoned by American private philanthropy, can it be saved for business?

Managers and stockholders of American corporations seem to have a growing conviction that it is desirable, for the four reasons given, for corporations to use the allowable 5% as contributions to these agencies which mean so much to the moral and economic fibre of our Republic.

• CORPORATIONS SHOULD MATCH THE GIFTS OF INDIVIDUALS?



At the present time corporations are giving to our voluntary agencies about 1% of their net before taxes, while at the same time individual income tax payers are giving about 4% of their adjustable gross income. It will be a happy day for these agencies and for America when the growing trend in corporation support will catch up percentage-wise with the generosity of the private citizens of the nation.

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Additional copies of this leaflet may be had without charge upon request to

MARTS & LUNDY, Inc.
521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TRUSTEE

A Quarterly Letter to Trustees of Church-Related Institutions of Higher Learning Published by the Division of Educational Institutions of The Methodist Church, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee

JOHN O. GROSS, *Editor* JULY, 1950 VOL. IV, NO. 4

A Growing Trend in Corporation Support for Private Philanthropy

By ARNAUD C. MARTS, *President, Marts & Lundy, Inc.*

THERE has been a growing trend in the past ten years on the part of corporation management to make grants and gifts out of corporation income to the support of the educational, religious, character-building, health and welfare agencies in America.

In 1938, the U. S. Treasury Department reported that approximately $27,000,000 showed up in the tax returns of corporations as gifts to such privately financed agencies. In 1946, the latest year for which Treasury Department figures are available, corporation gifts had risen to $213,872,000.

In 1949, these same gifts are estimated conservatively to have reached $250,000,000.

Last year over 750 corporations made gifts to a certain national religious agency with an inter-denominational program of service.

Last year one utility corporation announced a gift of $175,000 to the Community Fund of its city.

During the present year, 1950, one industrial corporation announced a grant of a million dollars to an institution of higher education, probably the highest single gift to education or philanthropy ever made by a corporation.

STOCKHOLDERS APPROVE

Recent studies of public opinion show that a very substantial majority of corporation stockholders approve corporation gifts to philanthropy.

WIDE VARIATION IN CORPORATION GIVING

It is interesting to note the wide variations in the gifts of corporations of different classifications. Referring again to the latest official Treasury Department figures (for 1946), the average corporation gift that year to private philanthropy was $435.45. But the manufacturing industries revealed an average gift of $1,136.37, the highest of any classification; while the lowest of any classification was an average gift of $129.12 from the corporations in the fields of finance, insurance and real estate.

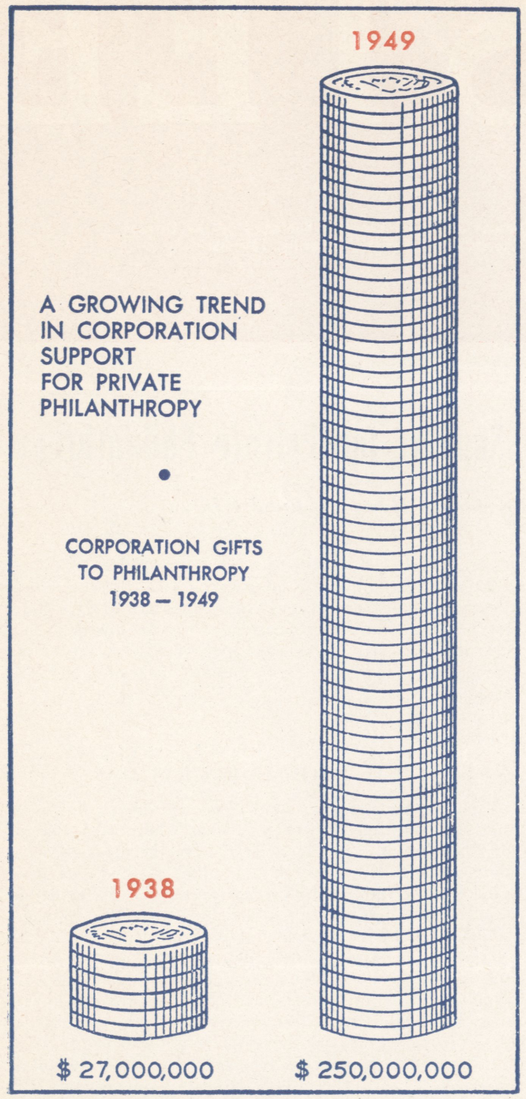
ALL TYPES OF AGENCIES RECEIVE GIFTS FROM CORPORATIONS

The Treasury Department does not break down its statistics on this subject to reveal what categories of private philanthropic agencies receive the most corporation support. However, the sampling method has been used by the National Industrial Conference Board to obtain information on this point. Recently Mr. John H. Watson III, of the Division of Business Practices of the National Industrial Board, Inc., reported on the giving record of 79 of the 100 largest manufacturing corporations in the United States. Mr. Watson's report showed that the Community Chest received 31% of the gifts of these 79 corporations, the gifts ranging from $750 to $237,000. The Red Cross received 9½% and Hospitals received 17½%. The gifts to Hospitals ranged from $25 to $978,000.

SUPPORT FOR COLLEGES IS GROWING

Mr. Watson's report stated: "Gifts to these institutions which at one time represented an exception to corporation giving, are now generally made in accordance with the direct benefit theory. These contributions are to be distinguished from corporate funds to colleges for the purpose of research. These latter are generally charged as a business expense rather than a charitable donation.

"Gifts to colleges and universities range from $100 to $235,000."



TREASURY DEPARTMENT'S ALLOWABLE 5%

Under the present Federal law, a corporation may give to philanthropic agencies 5% of its net income before taxes.

State laws vary considerably in their attitudes toward corporation giving to private philanthropy, but in many States there is no legal restriction against it when exercised for the public good.

In other States, where there is a legislative brake on corporation giving to private philanthropy, the interpretation of the courts has been increasingly liberal, where the intent has been shown to be constructive.

THE ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION OF CORPORATE INCOME

The annual income of corporations in America may be put at roughly one-hundred billions of dollars. This varies up or down from year to year, but the distribution of an aggregate corporation income of $100,000,000,000 can be broken down approximately as follows:

It is quite likely that when official figures for 1949 are computed and released, the figures will be somewhat larger than these cited, but the following will suffice to give the general situation:

The national corporation income	$100,000,000,000
Production and distribution costs	75,000,000,000
Net before taxes	$ 25,000,000,000
Taxes	$ 10,000,000,000
Net	$ 15,000,000,000

THE EFFECT OF GIFTS ON TAXES

Under the ruling of the U. S. Treasury Department, 5% of the net before taxes may be given to private philanthropic agencies. This would mean $1,250,000,000 per year. Of this amount, approximately 40%, or $500,000,000, would be deducted from the tax bill and the remaining 60%, $750,000,000, would be deducted from the net after taxes.

THE ANNUAL UPKEEP OF OUR VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

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It is believed by thoughtful people, including many corporation heads, that the corporations of America, which now account for one-half of the American wealth and for 40% of the American annual income, should, in their own corporate and selfish interests, take a greater share in the maintenance and upkeep of these privately supported agencies. The present trend of increasing corporate support for these agencies reflects a growing sense of responsibility on the part of corporate management for the forces in American life which minister to the intelligence, moral character, spiritual dedication, and health and well-being of the American people. There are four major reasons for this trend:

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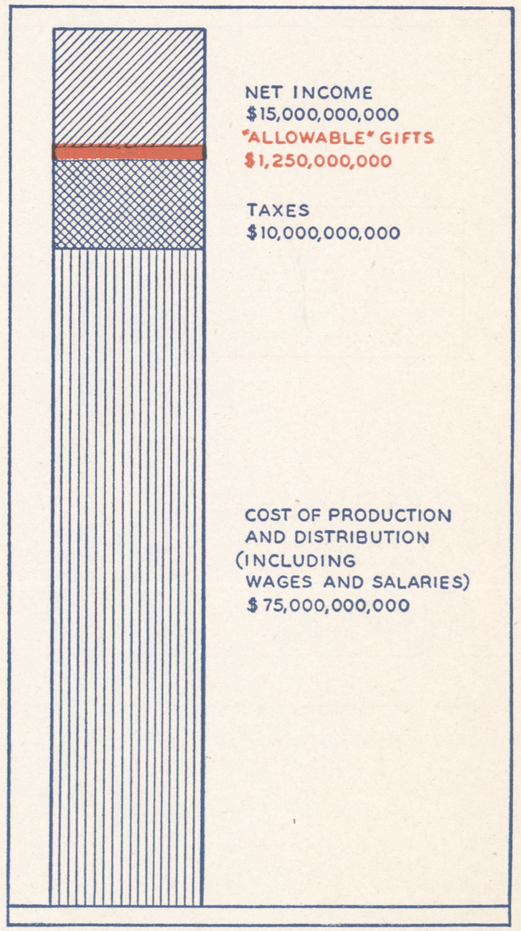
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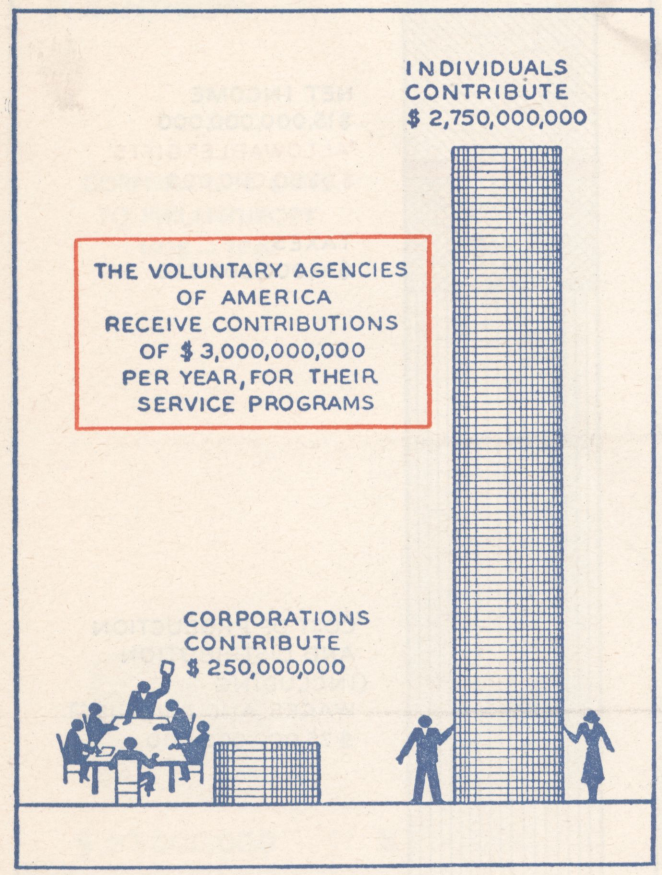


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PROTESTANTISM and HIGHER EDUCATION

Some of our universities and colleges which have become self-sustaining through the cooperation of the Church, do not look to the Church for financial help. Often those who operate them see in this the only reason for church connections. But educational institutions must realize that, like man, they do not live by bread alone. Close working relations between the university and church are essential to increase the school's opportunity for the highest sort of service. This in the present crisis is a greater need than money. Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, in his 1949 report to the Board of Trustees of Boston University, agrees with Sir Richard Livingstone of Oxford that one of the main problems of the university of the present day is to get a soul, and the mere pursuit of knowledge is only a part of a soul. Dr. Marsh further adds: "When we leave religion out of our educational program, we practically announce that life can be explained without God, which is the same as saying that either God does not exist or is of no consequence. The natural result is to rear a generation of practical atheists who live in an atmospheric pressure of secularism, and whose philosophy of life is crass materialism."

DECLINE IN PROTESTANT COLLEGES

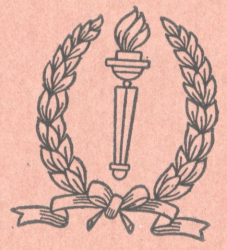
Attention has been called to the decline in the number of Protestant colleges in the United States. The developments in transportation, etc., during the past fifty years obviously preclude the necessity of some schools or require a change in the classification. Most of the new institutions being founded are located in the cities, and this is particularly true in the development of Catholic institutions. In seven of the most populous states with a combined population of 65,000,000 and having combined higher education enrollments of 1,168,-266 students, 19.6% were in church schools as compared with 21.2% for all 48 states. Of this number 9.9% were in Catholic schools and 2.2% in Methodist schools. (In one of these seven states where pioneer Protestants founded many schools, ten Protestant schools have gone out of existence, leaving only one of strength in a great region. During the same period six Roman Catholic schools of college grade have developed into comparatively strong schools. Unfortunately, at the same time most of the Protestant schools in the state have come to have very fragile connections with the Church.)

THE URBAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE

College and university life, it has been noted, rapidly is becoming urbanized but it is not becoming Christianized. This is critical since from the cities today emanate the attitudes that form our culture, and currently they are hastening the complete secularization of our society. In view of this Protestant forces should join together to study the responsibility of Protestant groups in meeting the challenge that comes from the city. The development of new institutions in cities, such as Roosevelt College in Chicago, and the prospects offered for community colleges, point to possibilities for Protestants. The strengthening of our Protestant schools located within cities and the increasing of the number in time properly can be considered as a part of our overall strategy. For Protestants to leave the expansion of higher education in the cities to the municipalities and the Roman Catholic Church means a weakened and anemic Protestantism. Here is a challenge that may be the most important one that Protestants will face in this generation.

—John O. Gross
Annual Report

Educational Philanthropy



by

ARNAUD C. MARTS

1949

Educational Philanthropy

A Discussion of the Four Major Methods for Raising Funds for Colleges



An address delivered to
District II of the American Alumni Council
at
Pocono Manor, Pennsylvania
January 26, 1949

by

ARNAUD C. MARTS
President, Marts & Lundy, Inc.



ARNAUD C. MARTS

EDUCATIONAL PHILANTHROPY

HIGHER education in America has followed, to a large degree, the patterns of higher education in the mother country—England. Certain variations and extensions have taken place here in our republic, reflecting the vigor of our dynamic national life; but students of education who have taken some pains to compare English and American institutions of higher education report that we, in America, have created very few basically new features which were not inherent in the British system. They do name, however, three or four innovations which are typically American. One of these American contributions is the Alumni Association. Apparently, our British forebears and cousins did not, and do not, endeavor to keep alive the alumni spirit as do we in America.

You ladies and gentlemen here today, therefore, have the honor of representing one of the few distinctly creative American contributions to the ongoing of higher education.

You also have the further honor and fun of being in the relatively early stage of the organization of alumni associations. It has been only within the past thirty years that college and university alumni associations have made any wide use of the full time professional alumni secretaries. Previous to World War I, the Alumni Secretary on the average college campus was usually a member of the college faculty or administrative staff, whose major duties were either teaching or administration, and his or her original duties as Alumni

Secretary were usually simply the editing of the alumni magazine.

I was a college alumnus thirty years ago, when colleges were first turning, in large number, to the appointment of full time secretaries of alumni associations, and, as I recall, the urge back of the creation of this full time officer was the necessity of the American college to expand in enrollments, and to grow in curricula, and to increase its plant and income This of course, required vastly increased financial support. Private colleges and universities without tax support turned to the intensive cultivation and organization of alumni, in order to stimulate their financial contributions to their respective alma maters.

Inasmuch as you ladies and gentlemen represent a quite new profession, that of Alumni Secretaries, and inasmuch as there is no planned course of instruction through which you have been trained for the profession in which you now find yourselves, it might be useful if I were to review, briefly, for you today some of the historical background of fund raising for America's independent colleges. It is for this reason that those in charge of the 1949 program for District II have given me the subject of my discourse today, and have suggested that I try to give you a broad view of fund raising as related to America's independent colleges.

Record of Giving Broken in 1948

Before I do so, however, I should like the privilege of making a report to you on the amazing record of giving to independent colleges, which was hung up in the year 1948. Philanthropic gifts to colleges reached a high of $139,000,000 in 1929-30 and then cut back sharply in the depression to only $58,000,000. At that time, our Cassandras began to prophecy that private giving to colleges would never, never return. However, it worked its way back with returning general prosperity and now I'm happy to say that, in 1948, the

record of the fabulous 1920s has been shattered. Gifts to colleges in 1948, totalled over $150,000,000, an all time high record. This is not, of course, an official total, for the reports of the U. S. Office of Education have a two year lag, but it is my own estimate, based upon a fairly accurate study, and my guess is that if I have erred, it has been on the conservative side. One of my partners believes that 1948 giving to colleges was closer to $200,000,000 than to $150,000,000.

I should also like to report that, in 1948, large gifts and bequests by wealthy men and women also reached astounding proportions. You will recall the many prophetic voices that have assured us in recent years that "the day of large gifts is over, and that future gifts will be small in size from the many."

I, for one, have never believed for a moment that the day of big gifts is over. You have heard my voice crying that in the wilderness for the past fifteen pessimistic years.

Large Individual Giving

Today, I can report to you that in 1948 there were gifts and bequests from only 46 different individuals to educational institutions that totalled $75,363,000 in individual amounts which ranged from $25,000 to $40,000,000 each! These gifts were from individuals, not foundations, nor corporations. These were publicly announced in the newspapers. Of course, there were many more which were not made public.

The day of large gifts is not over; I predict that the independent college of America will continue to receive generous gifts from the many and from the few, in small, medium and enormous sizes.

Four Major Methods

There are four major ways by which philanthropic funds are raised for colleges, as follows:

I. The financial agent
II. The intensive campaign
III. The Alumni Fund
IV. Bequests

and I will try to interpret the background and the values of each of these major methods.

I. THE FINANCIAL AGENT

The employment of a financial agent to go about soliciting funds is the oldest of our techniques for raising funds for philanthropic institutions. Long before the printing press was invented and the postal system created, out of which two developments has grown the more recent mail appeal, the financial agent was a recognized officer of the philanthropic institution. A thousand years ago, a permanent officer of such medieval charitable institution was designated financial agent or proctor. It was his duty to travel over the domain pleading for gifts and bequests for the charity work of his institution, and the success of this method of personal solicitation is evidenced by the enormous endowments and properties which many of the medieval universities and hospitals and monasteries accumulated.

JOHN WITHERSPOON

Our own early voluntary institutions invariably employed a financial agent to call personally upon men and women of means, to preach in the pulpits on Sundays, for all philanthropic giving was rooted in religion, and to search diligently wherever there was an prospect of finding contributors to the cause which he represented. In the early history of our colonial colleges, the president himself was the most effective financial agent, a precedent which has obtained in the college down to the present day in many instances. The matter of going about to solicit money was as distasteful in those days to most persons as it is now, and it was not always easy for the early American colleges to get the men they wanted for president because of this unpleasant duty that devolved upon that officer. Yale was at one time without a president for four years because of the college's inability to persuade a man

of parts to accept the election. It required a fearless type of man in those days, as well as in our day, to be a college president and to act as the financial soliciting agent of his institution. Dr. John Witherspoon was such a man, and when he became president of Princeton, he took to the road with enthusiasm and became the great fund raiser of Princeton's early days. He went up and down the land, preached in the principal Presbyterian pulpits on Sunday and called upon the laymen during the week, and succeeded in strengthening Princeton's financial position as fully as he enlarged her prestige and enriched her intellectual life. Witherspoon was so aggressive as a solicitor and a propagandizer that he even addressed a vigorous appeal for funds for Princeton "to the inhabitants and others of the West India Islands."

Benjamin Franklin

Benjamin Franklin tells, with his own particular zest, numerous stories of his experiences in soliciting his fellow citizens of Philadelphia for various philanthropic enterprises, including the forerunner of the University of Pennsylvania. When the Rev. Gilbert Tennent came to him to ask his help in raising a fund to build a Presbyterian Church, Franklin was unwilling to solicit his fellow citizens for that purpose, but tried to be as helpful as possible to Mr. Tennent without taking part in the active solicitation himself. The advice which he gave to Mr. Tennent, although now nearly 200 years old, is as fresh and useful as it was the day that he gave it. He said, " 'In the first place, I advise you to apply to all those whom you know will give something; next to those whom you are uncertain whether they will give anything or not, and show them the list of those who have given; and lastly, do not neglect those whom you are sure will give nothing for in some of them you may be mistaken.' He laughed and thanked me, and said he would take my advice. He did so, for he asked *everybody,* and he obtained a much

larger sum than he expected, with which he erected the capacious and very elegent meeting-house that stands in Arch Street."

Help from England

An interesting thing about the financial agents representing America's philanthropic institutions is that, for the most part, they moved eastward. It was so in colonial days. The early history of our pre-Revolutionary colleges contains a record of an action something like this which each board of trustees took upon more than one occasion, "And so, the trustees having exhausted their own resources, called upon Mr. Blank to make a journey to England and Scotland to ask our friends there to send us more financial aid." Harvard more than once sent her financial agents to solicit funds in England. In several of its first 150 years, financial agents obtained more money in England for Harvard than the college received from its friends in this country. The Rev. John Blair was sent to England as the financial agent for William and Mary, and he succeeded there in raising substantial sums. Benjamin Franklin and his fellow founders of the University of Pennsylvania sent their agents to England and to France as well, where Mr. Franklin had friends. Eleazer Wheelock sent his financial agent to England and obtained a handsome gift from Lord Dartmouth, for whom Dartmouth College is named. In a dark day of Princeton's history, the trustees sent two of their number to England, Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies. Tennent had already shown his capacity to solicit funds, but Davies undertook the unpleasant task with heavy heart. He started the trip with "very gloomy prospects." How often have other financial agents gone about their rather unwelcome job of soliciting money in the same cheerless frame of mind! In this case, however, their forebodings were not realized for Messrs. Tennent and Davies raised £3,200 in Scotland, England and

Ireland, and this money which they brought back was used to build Old Nassau Hall. Dr. John Jones was sent to England in 1771 by "the Society of the Hospital in this City of New York in America" to solicit funds there for the establishment of New York's first general hospital—the present New York Hospital at the Cornell University Medical Center. With the help of the ubiquitous Benjamin Franklin, who chanced to be in London at that time, he succeeded in obtaining some generous gifts.

After the American Revolution, however, financial agents ceased to find support in England for the institutions here. President Witherspoon had the temerity to try it in 1783, but he found the feeling so strong in the mother country against America, and specifically against herself for his active part in the Revolution, that he did not raise enough money to pay for the trip. Mr. Edwin Norris in his book, "The Story of Princeton," says, "At that time Dr. Witherspoon was about as popular in England as a Hessian soldier would have been at an American Fourth of July celebration."

Frontier Colleges in America

After the Revolutionary War, and American civilization started to creep westward, the pioneering and colonizing leaders proceeded to establish all types of philanthropic institutions on the advancing frontier, and began to send their financial agents eastward to the settled and wealthy centers of population for the funds with which to build and maintain these civilizing agencies. These financial agents were almost always ministers whose technique was to preach in the churches, which were open to them on Sunday, perhaps take a collection at the services, but certainly to follow through during the week by endeavoring to solicit, personally, individuals of wealth in the community. This custom is followed by many of our institutions, located in the less settled portion of the nation, to this day, although the pulpits

of the churches are not open as they once were for that phase of the solicitation program. Until very recently, a score or more financial agents of out of town institutions were to be found on any given day in New York and other large eastern cities, endeavoring to call personally, at office or home, upon men and women of wealth who had shown an interest in cultural and religious undertakings.

Today, the western colleges do not turn to New York and Boston as they used to, because the south and the west have their own indigenous wealth in our generation, and are well able to support their own educational institutions. As a matter of fact, I could tell you of college presidents from the great Empire State of New York and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as well as from New England, who have made pilgrimages to Texas in recent months to get funds for their eastern institutions. However, their success has not been such as to inspire emulation, for the new wealth of Texas seems reluctant to do philanthropic duty outside of that state.

Hearts Open to the Financial Agent

It is not an easy life. The financial agent meets a rebuff here and an insult there, discouragement and lack of sympathy on every side, but occasionally the door of an office opens, and the gateway of a heart opens, and he is given a subscription for his beloved institution which heartens him for further days of unrequited effort. There are some amazing and true stories which can be told of the successes of financial agents. A few years ago, the president of a midwestern college was in New England on a wintry night trying to find the address of a man who had previously given funds to his prairie institution. He got lost in the blizzard and finally knocked at a door to ask directions to the home which he was seeking. He must have presented a rather pitiable appearance for the man who opened the door insisted upon his coming in and warming himself by the open fire. They

introduced themselves and the conversation led to a mutual friendship. Before the college president left that night, he had told the purpose of his visit to that town, and the gentleman of the house had been deeply impressed by the devotion of this man to the cause of youth and culture. Soon he, too, was a contributing friend of the western college, and before long made a gift of $200,000 to establish a professorship at the institution.

Dwight L. Moody

Dwight L. Moody was the same indefatigable money raiser for humanitarian enterprises of his day that Benjamin Franklin had been a hundred odd years earlier. Moody, who would have been one of the half dozen captains of industry of the 19th century had he pursued a business career, would start out with breathless energy to solicit funds for a cause in which he had become interested. He went to men's offices and homes and begged for their money as directly as he "begged for their conversion" in his religious meetings. When he was a rising business man in Chicago, the Y.M.C.A., of which he was an official, caught fire in 1867. He saw that the building was doomed and dashed out at once to solicit the funds to rebuild it. He rallied other directors also, and he and they went to the merchants with this appeal, "Our hall is burning, sir; the engines are at work, but there is no hope. We shall need a new one. Let us have money to begin at once." Many thousands of dollars were subscribed immediately, and it is said that Moody and his fellows raised enough to build a larger Y.M.C.A. before the fire was out. It was Dr. Moody who raised the funds with which to build the great Mt. Hermon and Northfield Schools in Massachusetts.

Modern Aids for Opening Hearts

The increasing complexity of our life makes it more and more difficult for the financial agent to function effectively, at least without the cultivation of modern public relations techniques. It is impossible now for them to get into the offices or homes of many of those whom they wish to visit, and if they do succeed in getting in, they are apt to find the cause which they plead in competition with a great array of other humanitarian appeals. Because so much of the time and effort of the financial agent is consumed in trying unsuccessfully to make interviews, this method of raising philanthropic funds has become quite costly. The salary and expenses of the average financial agent usually equals about one-half of what he brings in.

However, there are modern methods of public relations and cultivation which open doors for the college president in his duties as a financial agent, and either he or his special assistant still has a very important function in the endless process of soliciting funds for his college or university.

It has become necessary, in recent years, for many colleges to appoint full time assistants, with the sole duties of raising funds. They are no longer called "financial agents." Their present titles are "Vice President," "Assistant to President," "Public Relations Director," or "Development Director." If they are wise, they spend much energy and effort in cultivation and preparation before visiting the prospects, but eventually, when the way is prepared, they find themselves in the function of the old "financial agent," pleading for generous gifts to the great cause of higher education.



LYMAN L. PIERCE
(1868-1940)

II. THE INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN

The American people learned habits of giving in the twentieth century which resulted in a perfectly phenomenal rise in the volume and the number of their voluntary gifts to all types of philanthropic endeavor. They gave, for instance, to all the colleges in the land, in 1900, a total of $11,995,-000, but currently their private gifts to our independent colleges is about $150,000,000 per year, an increase in this century of 1,200%! The philanthropic gifts of the American people to all causes totalled about $500,000,000 in 1900, while this last year they were probably over $3,000,000,000. It was an increase out of all proportion to the increase in population. The factors of increased population and wealth, of course, enter into any normal increase in giving, but giving has increased abnormally and other explanations must be found for the newly acquired habits of more widespread and more generous benefactions.

The most important single factor in the amazing increase in giving in the twentieth century was the creation of a new technique for inducing people to give. It was called the "financial campaign" and it was created by two young men, Lyman L. Pierce and Charles S. Ward, thinking and working independently at first, but later joining their efforts to evolve what is known as the "campaign."

LYMAN L. PIERCE

These two young men were both secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association. Lyman L. Pierce, a native of western New York State, had graduated from the University of Minnesota, and then had gone into Y.M.C.A. work, his first job being Financial and Membership Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. of Omaha, Nebraska. He was a young man of superior mental and cultural capacities, and he was disturbed because the life which he had thought he was to devote to



CHARLES S. WARD
(1858-1929)

the service of young men was being devoted, as a matter of fact, almost entirely to raising the funds necessary to keep his work alive. He, therefore, began to think and plan as to how he could concentrate all his fund raising efforts in a brief space of time so as to free himself during the balance of the year for the character building efforts which he felt would yield rich human dividends amongst the young men of his community. So, in 1890 he organized 100 of the leading men of Omaha in a membership campaign, each man to get a new Y.M.C.A. member per month until the membership should reach 1,500. These 100 men were divided into 20 teams. Printed matter was prepared and regular report meetings were held. It was a great success, and lots of fun, as well. News of this new method of campaign spread quickly throughout the whole Y.M.C.A., and thus was born the modern fund raising campaign which has brought hundreds of billions of dollars of increased giving to the upbuilding of America's educational and religious and humanitarian institutions.

CHARLES S. WARD

Charles S. Ward, born in Vermont and educated at Dartmouth, also gave his life to the service of the Y.M.C.A. when he came out of college, and, in 1897, was General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. at Grand Rapids, Michigan. He was disturbed and annoyed, in analyzing the use of his time, to discover that he was giving practically all of it, day and night, to efforts to raise money just to keep the Y.M.C.A. open. This was not what he thought he had given his life to, and he began to consider ways by which he could limit all his money raising efforts to one month of the year, and release his full energy and enthusiasm in the other eleven months to the work of winning the boys and young men of his city to wholesome, upright living.

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ERRATUM—p. 17; 2nd ¶; 15th line—should read:

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Ed.

which echoed and reechoed throughout the ranks of the Young Men's Christian Association, and which centered the attention of the whole Y.M.C.A. world upon Grand Rapids. He persuaded his directors to close down their own business desks for a month and to agree to see so many people per day for that month in the solicitation of subscriptions for the work of the Y.M.C.A. He promised that if they would give the major part of their time and energy to fund raising for a month, there would need to be nothing said or done about finances for the following eleven months. The newspapers told of this novel undertaking—spectacular, it was called in those days—and the whole city watched with intense interest the concentrated efforts of the directors of their Y.M.C.A. The eleven months' recess from financial solicitation, which followed the success of the effort, proved a very happy experience to the directors, and proved so interesting to the rest of the Association brotherhood that soon Mr. Ward was called to New York as the Financial Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, and was sent from city to city to tell other local Associations of his experience at Grand Rapids and to help them also concentrate their fund raising efforts into a month's time.

The First Intensive Campaign

Meanwhile, in 1900, Mr. Pierce had been called to the general secretaryship of the Y.M.C.A. in Washington, D. C. With his restless energy, he enterprised an extension of the work there and began to lead his directors towards the erection of a fine new building. It was agreed that they should undertake to erect at the nation's capital a Y.M.C.A. building to cost the unprecedented sum of $300,000, and Mr. Pierce sent to the International Committee to obtain the help of Mr. Ward in the direction of a campaign for that amount in 1903. Here the paths of these two men came together,

and, merging their experience and ideas, they evolved the modern "whirlwind" campaign. It was Mr. Pierce who made the bold suggestion that the campaign be cut down to a week's time, and in order to accomplish this result in short time, a larger number of volunteer solicitors should be enlisted. The present Y.M.C.A. building in Washington was built with the funds from that first "week's whirlwind campaign."

Following the Washington experience, Mr. Ward adopted the plans worked out there as his standard practice from that time forth, and he went about the whole nation directing similar campaigns in scores of cities for Y.M.C.A. buildings. The greatest of these Y.M.CA. campaigns he directed in New York City in 1913, when the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. jointly determined to raise $4,000,000 for new buildings which they desired to erect. This announcement took away the breath of the nation and it is not an exaggeration to say that no single event in the philanthropic field up to that time was of such a spectacular nature as that unbelievably bold endeavor to persuade the people of New York to give this sum in ten days' time. The campaign was a success, for 17,400 people contributed a total of $4,095,000—400 of the contributors giving $3,600, in large amounts, while 17,000 others followed their lead with smaller subscriptions totalling $495,000.

This, and other similar achievements of the campaign method, began to attract the attention not only of local Y.M.C.A.s, but of hospitals, colleges and welfare societies. Mr. Ward was in much demand, and almost everywhere he went, a breath-taking success resulted. Mr. Pierce, meanwhile, had been called to Australia and New Zealand as the national secretary of the Y.M.C.A. there, and for three years he went from one city to another in "the land down under," using the American method of financing Y.M.C.A. buildings. On

his return, he spent a year traveling over the United States as a field secretary of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, and, in this capacity, gave instruction and inspiration to the leaders of the Protestant denominations in the new technique of raising philanthropic funds. The campaign method was adopted by the churches in what was called the Every Member Canvass and, as a consequence, giving to Protestant churches experienced a sharp rise. This new technique for raising funds, which Messrs. Ward and Pierce had created, was soon adopted also by colleges, hospitals, and welfare societies.

The First College Campaign

It was in 1913, I believe, that the first college used the new campaign method as a means of raising capital funds. This was the University of Pittsburgh, which was in transition from the old W.U.P., and whose campus was being moved from old Allegheny to the Schenley Park region of Pittsburgh. Charles S. Ward was loaned by the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. to the University of Pittsburgh to direct their campaign. Strangely enough, Mr. Lyman Pierce was at that time the General Secretary of the Pittsburgh Y. M.C.A., so he also sat in on the plans for this first college campaign. It happened that I was a citizen of Pittsburgh at that time and so was an interested spectator of that first college campaign. Messrs. Carlton & George Ketchum got their introduction into the fund raising profession in that campaign, as they were assigned by the University to assist in the publicity in connection with the campaign.

Immediately after World War I, numerous colleges adopted the campaign method and, as you know, during the 1920 decade, literally hundreds of colleges organized campaigns along the lines of the method which had been created in the years previously by the Y.M.C.A.

The Fund Raising Profession

Immediately following World War I, not only did hundreds of colleges begin to plan for intensive fund raising campaigns, but also thousands of hospitals, welfare and religious organizations began to plan to raise capital funds in this manner. The Community Chest idea had grown out of the experience in World War I, and hundreds of Community Chests were established throughout America in that same period, and they, too, used the Y.M.C.A. intensive campaign technique. As a consequence, there was a great demand for experienced campaign directors; and immediately after the war, several of the firms of professional fund raising counsel, with which you are now familiar, had their beginnings. Mr. Pierce and Mr. Ward, who had directed the great war fund campaigns in 1917 and '18, such as the Red Cross, Y.M.C.A., United War Work, etc., together with five associates, of whom I was one, formed one of the early firms in 1919. Five of the present outstanding firms in this business, which are members of the American Association of Fund Raising Counsel, proliferated from this original firm, which was called Ward, Hill, Pierce & Wells.

The American Association of Fund Raising Counsel

A dozen years ago, several of the fund raising firms joined in forming a professional organization for the purpose of establishing and maintaining high standards of professional practice and ethics in this newly created business of fund raising counsel. This is called The American Association of Fund Raising Counsel. There are ten firms presently members of the Association and it is proving to be a real factor in lifting this new business to a level of social usefulness, rather than permitting it to be commercialized, which it could have easily been had selfish and reckless men been able to get control of it.

On the staffs of these ten firms are about 250 men, and a

few women, many of whom are giving intelligent and devoted efforts to becoming effective engineers of fund raising for philanthropic causes.

III. THE ANNUAL ALUMNI FUND

The history of the annual alumni fund, as used by American colleges and universities, goes back to 1890. In that year, the Yale Corporation established the Alumni University Fund in response to resolutions of the New York alumni. The idea didn't spread immediately, but, about fifteen years later, similar funds were to be found at Princeton, Amherst, Dartmouth, Cornell, and a few other colleges. The real spread of the annual alumni fund to hundreds of colleges and universities took place after World War I, during the 1920 decade.

The basic technique in the alumni fund is letter writing. I shall not describe the method of committees and class agents, etc., to you because you are thoroughly familiar with it.

The alumni fund is extremely useful as a means of giving the alumni a well organized manner by which they can serve their alma mater and express their affection for their alma mater, year by year, voluntarily. It is an excellent plan for increasing somewhat the annual income of the college.

On the other hand, the campaign method is based on personal salesmanship, the visitation by two enthusiastic alumni upon a fellow alumnus. The campaign method is the method by which to get subscriptions from alumni and other friends for a non-recurring large capital fund. The annual alumni fund is the method by which to get continuous support for the recurring annual needs of the institution.

In the 1920 decade, practically every independent college and university in America had at least one intensive fund raising campaign, which was directed, primarily, at the alumni, and which was based largely upon the appeal to repay to alma mater the investment which she had made in their education, over and above the tuitions which they had paid as students.

As a consequence of these campaigns in the 1920s, the independent colleges of America were given more money in that decade than they had received previously in the nearly 300 years of collegiate education in America. Reports of the U. S. Office of Education list approximately $1,000,000,000 in gifts to private colleges during the 1920 decade.

In spite of the economic depression throughout most of the 1930 decade, this voluntary giving to the colleges carried over on a very substantial scale even through the depression years. The U. S. Department of Commerce lists gifts and bequests to private colleges, during the 1930 decade, of 746 millions of dollars.

There came rather an unfortunate reaction in college alumni circles to the intensive campaign method at the close of the 1920 decade, and many alumni began to complain that the appeal of paying their college debt to alma mater was being overworked, and they were getting tired of paying those same debts over and over. As a matter of fact, of course, the people who complain about getting tired of appeals are usually the people who do not give much anyway, and who are inclined to belittle and oppose such appeals in order to rationalize their own lack of philanthropic zeal.

Whether this reaction against the 1920 intensive campaign for colleges was justified or not, a good many colleges were sensitive to the criticism and began to develop, as a defense, the annual alumni fund as a much more palatable method by which loyal alumni could, if they so desired, give a little support to their alma maters each year, without the pressure or bother of personal solicitation. The organization and promotion of the annual alumni fund has now become one of the important operations of the average independent college and university alumni office. These annual funds now total probably somewhere approaching $10,000,000. This sum of money is important, and, therefore, the annual alumni funds are important. But this source of gifts to independent colleges provides only a small proportion of the annual giving to our colleges. This annual giving to colleges is now at the rate of at least $150,000,000 a year, which indicates that the giving through the annual alumni fund represents about 7% of the total.

So, while the annual alumni funds are important and deserve the very best attention of alumni officers, other methods of raising funds are also important, and should not be shelved by exclusive allegiance to the annual funds. Indeed, some wit has said that those colleges and alumni associations which devote their major fund raising efforts just to annual alumni funds will soon find themselves raising less and less money from more and more people.

Those who clearly understand the functions and the values and the limitations of the Annual Alumni Fund will never be disappointed by it. But those who do not clearly understand these attributes may be.

The function of the alumni fund is to keep the mass of the alumni tied to the college in a constructive way, and to raise from them, year by year, modest sums for continuous needs. In this function the alumni fund is successful.

The alumni fund does not function successfully when it is expected to raise large capital funds—for a building or endowment, or some other specific nonrecurring need. When such a need arises, then letter writing will not suffice. There must be personal salesmanship—by either the president or his financial agent, or by an intensive campaign, or by both.

To ask the alumni fund to carry such an unusual, heavy capital load is like asking a bridge with a 2 ton capacity to carry a 10 ton truck load.

The same distinction needs to be used in defining and limiting the function of the campaign. It should not be used annually to provide gifts for recurring needs It is just as inadequate for that continuous usage as the alumni fund is

for nonrecurring capital needs. The campaign can be used once in five years, or seven years, or ten years, when a special effort must be made for a new building or a new professorship, which will require personal selling methods, but, in the interim, it should not be used as a substitute for the Annual Alumni Fund.

IV. BEQUESTS

The fourth major source of philanthropy of independent colleges and universities is that of bequests. During the year just closed, indeed, there was one single bequest of $40,000,000 with four universities as the equal beneficiaries. And, there were numerous other bequests to colleges and universities valued at $5,000,000, $3,000,000, and $1,000,000 each.

Bequests can be stimulated and encouraged, but only to meet long range capital needs, seldom to provide for present emergencies. Many bequests seem to mature from ten to twenty years after the particular stimulus which put them in the wills.

Each of the three major methods which I have described —the financial agent, the campaign, and the alumni fund— has proved successful in stimulating bequests. Almost invariably such stimulation must be indirect, subtle and exceedingly skillful, for the average man and woman with an estate to devise and bequeath is singularly reluctant to discuss death and related responsibilities with any one, particularly with one who may appear to be an advocate.

The best techniques seem to be to appoint a Bequest Committee of laymen and trust officers who are familiar with will making, to prepare special informational material for those lawyers who may be consulted by men and women in a will making mood, and to carry in the college literature references to certain needs that can be met, and memorials that can be created by future bequests.

Endowments are built up almost entirely by bequests. It is quite a difficult "sales" job to persuade a living donor to give substantial sums to endowment. We have found that the amount of effort required in a campaign for a given college to raise a million dollars for building and equipment, will raise only $500,000 to $600,000 for endowment. Those

colleges which hope to build future endowments will do well to give earnest attention to stimulating bequests.

The 1949 Pattern of Raising Funds for a College

I have described the four major methods of raising funds for a college—the financial agent, the campaign, the annual alumni fund, and bequests—from somewhat of an historical point of view. What is the recommended method for the independent college to use in the years ahead?

I suggest that all four of these methods are still the basic, major techniques. But, today, they need to be woven skillfully together into a pattern or fund raising program, which gives the proper value and relationship to each of them. And I suggest that to this program be introduced modern methods of publicity and public relations and cultivation and salesmanship which are far more essential in our present complicated society than they were in the simpler and more leisurely days when these basic techniques were created.

A college which wants additional capital and operating funds in the years ahead should, in my opinion, create, or have created for it, a five or ten year program of public relations and fund raising which will incorporate all of these four major methods of fund raising, and which will weave them together with the necessary strands of planning, publicity, salesmanship and continuous administration. The personal solicitation, the Annual Alumni Fund, and the bequest stimulation should be in operation each year, while the intensive campaign should be used once in every five or ten years for a specific capital need.

The American people are giving more money to higher education now, in the 1940 decade, than they did in the 1920 decade, which had, up to that time, established an almost unbelievable record for generosity. It is quite probable that well over $1,500,000,000 is being given to educational institutions during the present 1940 decade.

The year 1949 will see, in my opinion, a very generous volume of voluntary giving to higher education.

The private college or university which has the will and the energy, and the brains and spirit equal to this day can make plans which will bring to its support unbelievably generous gifts and bequests. A given college which will make a five or ten year fund raising plan, and which will utilize fully the techniques of which I have spoken, will probably raise its money through these four major techniques on about the following pattern:

- 20% from the personal solicitation of the president or vice president (apart from the intensive campaigns)
- 50% as the result of a thoroughly organized intensive campaign for specific capital purposes
- 20% from bequests
- 10% from the results of the Annual Alumni Fund.

Why Do Men Give?

In closing, I will take just a moment to answer another question on which those in charge of your program asked me to express an opinion—"What impels people to give to any cause?" My answer would, of course, vary in detail with the various causes,—whether they be in the field of education or health or religion or welfare, and so on. But, basically, the reason is to be found in the Greek origin of the word "philanthropy"—Philo Anthropos—Love of Mankind.

Men and women give, voluntarily, to colleges and other philanthropic institutions money which they could, if they chose, use selfishly for luxuries or comforts for themselves. But, instead, they give it away because they wish to help mankind climb the long winding trail out of the slough of ignorance, superstition, poverty and disease, up to the higher levels of human dignity and well being. Philanthropists are

they—lovers of mankind, members of the brotherhood of man, under the fatherhood of God.

It has been a pleasure to take part in your program, and I wish each of you great success and fun in your efforts this coming year, to help make your college or university a finer and nobler agency of service in this great brotherhood of men and women with educated minds, and noble spirits.

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TO

COLLEGES AND PHILANTHROPY

by

ARNAUD C. MARTS

1948

The Outlook for Gifts

TO

COLLEGES AND PHILANTHROPY

"The goose that lays the golden eggs hasn't died . . ."

by

ARNAUD C. MARTS

From an address delivered to
The American Alumni Council, District III
at Tampa, Florida, February 2, 1948

I have prepared for your information some charts and tables which show the rise of gifts to education and religion, and the rise of contributions as listed in the returns of federal income tax payers.

Some of the reasons for this increase in contributions are revealed in these tables and charts, which indicate the increase of national income, the rise in disposable personal income, and the vastly increased number of income recipients in all income groups.

THE DAY OF LARGE GIFTS IS NOT OVER

I want to speak, especially, today of the recent giving record of the men and women of substantial means of our generation, for it has been generally believed in recent years that the era of large giving in America is over, and that our churches and private colleges and hospitals, which used to expect large benefactions from the wealthy, must hereafter look for their support to the masses of people who can give but a few dollars apiece.

This prophecy was first uttered in 1933, at the depth of the late depression, and in despair lest traditional prosperity could ever return in America. It has been repeated so many times since, by so many people, that it has almost become one of our folkways of the 1940s. Though the prophecy has proved to have been a completely fallacious one, the majority of our educational and religious and philanthropic leaders actually believe it, and many of them are repeating it to this day.

SOME PAST PESSIMISTIC PROPHECIES

Let me recall to you a few of the prophecies of this vein. I quote:

1933 "In the history of the University we have arrived at the end of an era during which most generous and great gifts were received from many different individuals for the endowment and enrichment of the work of the University . . . The great fortunes and the large accumulations which made these bene-

factions possible are either dissipated or destroyed . . . Should these great fortunes be renewed, either in whole or in part, an extravagant government stands ready to take a great proportion of their annual income in taxation . . . A steady flow of gifts from the alumni, moderate in amount but large in number, must be one of the University's chief sources of dependence for its continued usefulness in the years that lie just ahead of us."

1934 "It would seem that the day of large gifts may be over. If income and inheritance taxes absorb the wealth which has been available in the past, then the loss must be made up by the larger number of small givers."

1935 "There will be fewer men giving millions of dollars to this or that institution; this seems to be clearly proven by the evidence of the last three or four years, so the college which is going to grow and develop in answering the social needs of the future must look about for new means of support . . . Certainly one solution will be found in the building up of a number of small contributors."

1938 "When the goose is killed, it stops laying golden eggs. When the seed corn is destroyed there can be no crop . . . Therefore, unless men like you, who head educational institutions, in conjunction with those interested in hospitals, the Y. M. C. A., and the Red Cross, sponsor a movement and make it a successful movement to prevent a continuation of the improper use of the power of taxation, and substitute reasonable taxation, equitable taxation, general taxation in place of punitive taxation, then let me tell you that you are on your last round-up. The future solicitor will be compelled to make his appeal for dollar and dime contributions!"

1939 "I am convinced that existing tax structures will broaden the base of giving and prevent a drying up of philanthropic funds that otherwise might accompany a decline in large fortunes."

1944 "Many institutions will find it desirable to broaden their base of support so as to reach a larger number of small contributors."

1946 "Colleges will not get large gifts any more. Their support must come from many small givers."

1947 "High taxes have put an end to big scale private largesse. Gone is the day when a John D. Rockefeller could give $35,000,000 to the University of Chicago."

1948 "The era of big donors waves, so professed fund raisers must turn ever more to mass media in order to broaden the base of a multi-billion business."

Enough of these quotations. You could supply me with an equal number of them all in the same trend. The record that was pressed back in 1933 is being played over and over and over again, without any very careful inquiry as to the validity of its prophecy or judgment.

Now we know that the prophecy was ill-advised, for the years have passed and we can match the forecast with the facts that are now observable.

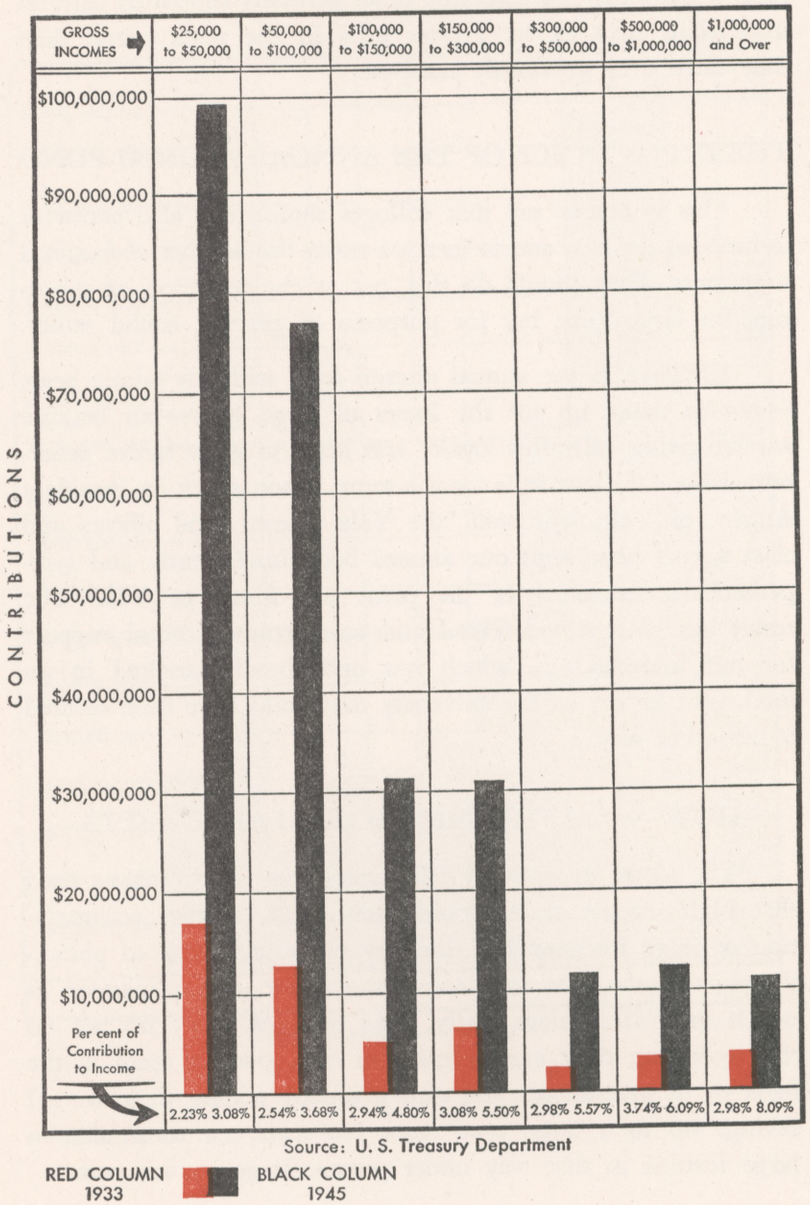
These facts are found in the annual reports of the Collector of Internal Revenue, who publishes the figures as to the incomes and contributions of our citizens in different income groups. Let us look at those figures and see if the incomes and contributions of our citizens in the upper brackets have dried up. Here are the figures for 1933 when the prophecy was first made and 1945, the latest year for which data are available:

	1933	1945
Incomes of $1,000,000 and over		
Number	50	71
Gross adjusted income	$104,458,000	$123,384,000
Contributions	3,108,000	11,002,000
Incomes of $300,000 and over		
Number	272	857
Gross adjusted income	$241,594,000	$492,334,000
Contributions	7,730,000	33,869,000
Incomes of $100,000 and over		
Number	2,051	9,259
Gross adjusted income	$572,663,000	$1,697,093,000
Contributions	13,064,000	64,562,000
Incomes of $25,000 and over		
Number	26,472	162,924
Gross adjusted income	$1,810,663,000	$7,341,921,000
Contributions	44,815,000	281,892,000

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PHILANTHROPY

As Shown on Federal Income Tax Returns

By Income Groups of $25,000 and Over



Obviously, the goose that laid the golden egg wasn't killed, hasn't died, and is laying larger and shinier eggs than ever before. Obviously, colleges and other privately supported cultural institutions may expect greater gifts in the years ahead than they have ever previously received.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ANNUAL ALUMNI FUND

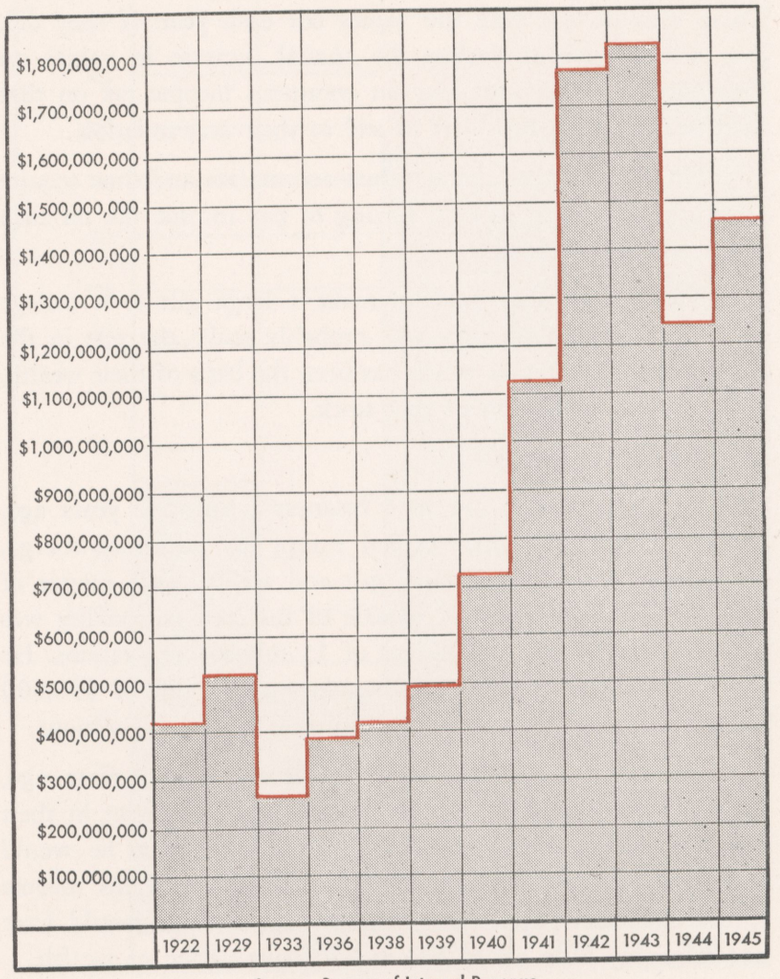
This is not to say that colleges should not also endeavor to broaden the base and to increase vastly the number of financial supporters. They should do this, not as compensation or substitute for large gifts, but for purposes of general, sound policy.

I believe in the annual alumni fund with my whole heart —not to make up for the losses of large gifts—but because annual giving cultivates loyalty and helps to grow future generous givers. I believe in it for the same reason given by President Angell, of Yale, who said "the Yale alumni fund officers and class agents have kept our alumni body intelligently and sympathetically informed of the plans and ideals of Yale. The result has been a widespread and uninterrupted moral support for our undertakings, which has undoubtedly resulted in an intelligent loyalty to the university that could have been secured in no other way."

HOW WEALTHY MEN MAKE LARGE GIFTS

The alarm expressed in the quotations which I have cited that high income taxes would prevent the further accumulation of large fortunes and thus dry up large giving to philanthropy did not take into consideration the actual manner in which men accumulate really large fortunes. They do not do this by taking their annual gains in cash, putting them in the bank or in investments and thus gradually adding their annual savings up to a large total sum. No man can accumulate a large fortune in that way under present large income taxes.

CONTRIBUTIONS
By Federal Income Tax Payers
1922-1945



Source: Bureau of Internal Revenue

But that is not the way really large fortunes are accumulated, not now, nor in the past. They are accumulated by men who build a new idea or skill into an enlarging business, or who own a property which, for some reason pyramids in value. These men do not take the values out each year. If they did, they would have to declare the annual increase in values on their income tax returns, pay an enormous income tax on that increase, and have little left to add to their accumulation.

No, they let the capital values accumulate and thus acquire large capital wealth without having to pay income tax on each year's addition thereto.

Then, when they wish to make a large gift to a college or church or hospital, they will probably make the gift in the stock of the corporation which has been the basis of their wealth, at the present valuation of that stock.

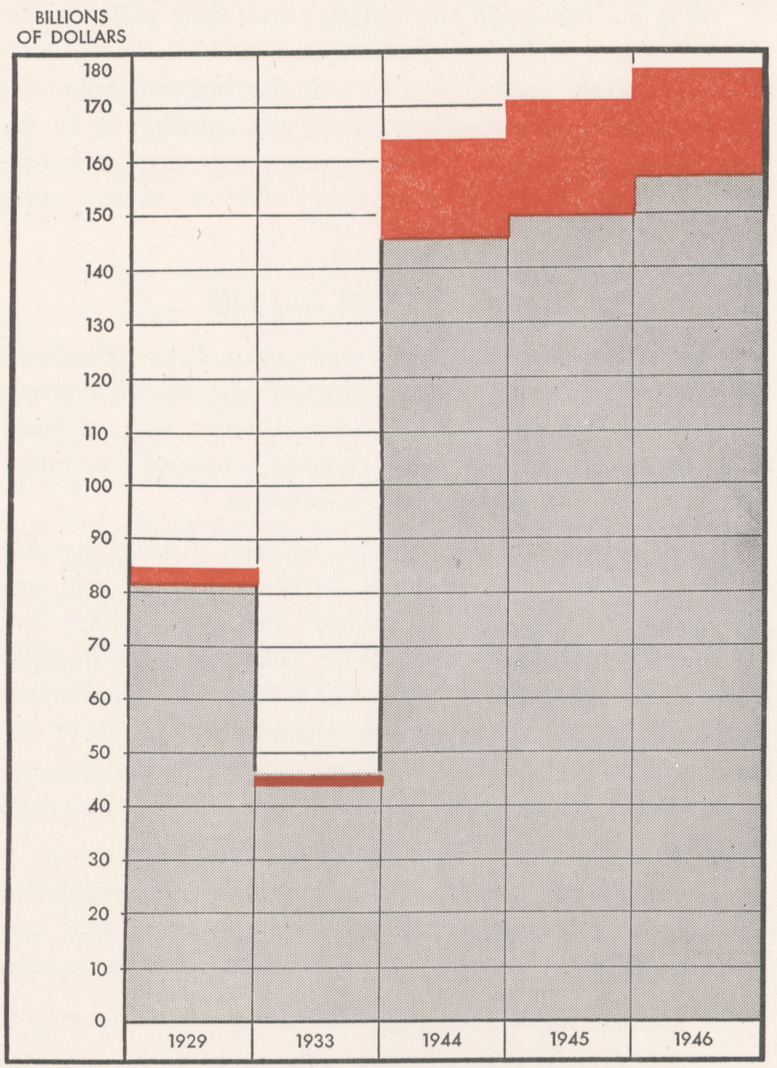
Two illustrations:

One man started out in a business twenty-five years ago, which required very little capital except his own rare energy, intelligence, honesty and sheer grit and ability. As a matter of fact, his capital investment, outside of his own personality was $150. Today he is the president of 15 related corporations. He is worth over $10,000,000. When he made a gift of $50,000 the other day, it was in the stock of one of his corporations.

Another man bought some oil leases several years ago, showing his great skill and daring and good judgment in their selection. Now, if he had taken oil out each year, he would have been obliged to declare his annual profit in his income tax returns, and pay a heavy income tax, and he would have had relatively little net to add to his accumulation of wealth.

But, he didn't do it that way. On the contrary, he held his leases. Most of the oil is still underground. It has an estimated value now of $100,000,000. The other day, when he made a gift of $100,000, he made it in the form of an oil lease.

PERSONAL DISPOSABLE INCOME



Source: Supplement to Survey of Current Business, July 1947
U. S. Department of Commerce

Total Columns: Income Payments to Individuals
Red Shading: Personal Taxes
Gray Shading: Disposable Income

PROSPECTS OF GIVING BY INDIVIDUALS

It is my conviction that colleges and other philanthropic institutions can and should make plans to raise funds, large and small, from individual givers in the high, medium and low brackets of income. These givers will continue to be the main source of support of our private philanthropic institutions, and their giving will, in my opinion, increase in the months and years ahead.

CORPORATION GIVING

In addition to the cultivation of giving from individuals, there are two other important sources of gifts to philanthropic institutions which should be understood better and cultivated better by our colleges and other privately supported enterprises, —corporations and philanthropic foundations.

Today, we live in a corporation economy. I doubt that few of us realize the extent to which corporations in the past two generations have increased in number and grown in size and importance in the American economy. Today, there are 461,000 incorporated businesses in the United States. Their total annual product is 89 billions of dollars, which is over 40% of the entire product of the United States. Outside of the field of agriculture, the corporation is at the very heart of American economy.

Yet, colleges have not yet begun in any organized and constructive way to enlist the financial support of local corporations for their programs for higher education. To be sure,

There are 461,296 corporations in the U. S. A.
They own half of America's wealth.

in a campaign, we solicit all the officers and the directors of every corporation as individuals, but their income and wealth under present conditions is minor in comparison with that of the corporations themselves, and colleges have not yet thought out clearly the responsibility which these corporations have to the maintenance and extension of our institutions of higher education.

The first step in launching any business now is to incorporate. These corporations, which have practically taken over the business of our day, owe almost all their prosperity and their activity to higher education, in one way or another. Without men and women trained in mind, there would be no officers competent to direct their far-flung affairs. Without the research of trained scientists, done in cooperation with our universities, our corporations would be limited to a very much lesser range of business than they now enjoy. I know of one corporation which employs 600 Ph.Ds. in its Research Department. Higher education and the corporation progress, hand in hand, but I have never yet read or heard this responsibility of the modern corporation to colleges and universities set forth in any convincing form. It is a job which awaits some college thinkers—perhaps some of you here today—and if you can get the facts before our modern corporations, it may be that they will assume their share of responsibility for the extension of higher education, which is their just debt to our colleges and universities. Corporations do help our tax-supported colleges through their taxes, but few of them have assumed comparable help for our privately supported colleges.

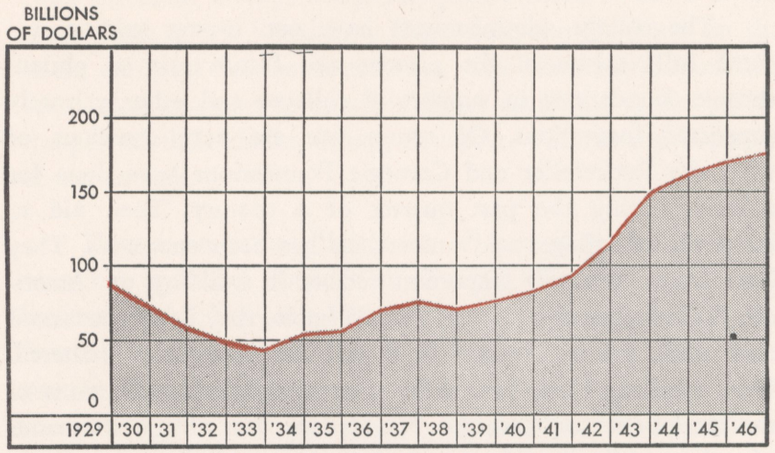
The prosperity of the American corporation is based upon the high educational standards of this nation. An end-

less roster could be prepared of college men whose discoveries have added fabulous sums to the wealth of our corporations—James Watt, University of Glasgow, steam engine; Michael Faraday, Royal Institute of Great Britain, studies of electric current; S. F. B. Morse, New York University, telegraph; Alexander Graham Bell, Boston University, telephone; Charles M. Hall, Oberlin, aluminum; Dr. William C. Gorgas, Suwanee, control of yellow fever; Charles F. Kettering, O.S.U., automotive development; William Von Roentgen, Wurzburg, X-rays; Michael I. Pupin, Columbia, transmission of electricity, are but a few names on such a roster. In our own generation, we have seen California's billion dollar citrus fruit industry grow from the thought of a few college-trained scientists of the Department of Agriculture, who imported the first navel oranges from Brazil. This citrus fruit industry is worth more than all the gold taken out of California.

It's a romantic story when you start to assemble it, the story of education's Midas touch upon American industry and business. It needs to be told, and the proper telling of it should arouse new support by corporations for higher education.

Corporations are beginning to assume their responsibilities in the fields of social and recreational, and character-building and especially for hospitals. During the war, corporations gave about forty per cent of the Community Chest and War Fund totals. Of course, the excess profits tax helped to stimulate that generosity, but, aside from that, there is evidence that they are learning their community duty in certain fields. They have not yet learned it in the field of higher education, but I think that is partly your fault, for you have made no adequate effort to instruct them.

PERSONAL INCOME



Source: Survey of Current Business, July 1947
U. S. Department of Commerce

THE NUMBER OF PERSONS PAYING FEDERAL INCOME TAXES

By Income Groups

	1933	1945
$1,000,000 AND OVER	50	71
$500,000 TO $1,000,000	81	258
$300,000 TO $500,000	141	528
$150,000 TO $300,000	695	2,871
$100,000 TO $150,000	1,084	5,530
$50,000 TO $100,000	6,021	33,495
$25,000 TO $50,000	18,400	120,220
$10,000 TO $25,000	75,600	591,883
$5,000 TO $10,000	229,000	1,885,000

The statistics of returns with incomes of less than $5,000, is of questionable comparable value from 1941 on, due to the lowering of exemptions down to $500, thus adding millions of new taxpayers in the lowest bracket.

Source: Bureau of Internal Revenue

PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS

The college administrators have not, in my opinion, become fully aware of the present and future role of philanthropic foundations in support of colleges and other privately supported institutions. Of course, we are very conscious of what the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations have done for colleges during the past quarter of a century. Their aid to hundreds of colleges and universities has been enormous. They have been extremely important factors in building up American higher education, but, as you all know, they have announced that their future in this field will be considerably altered. I am speaking today not of the past or future contributions of the Rockefeller or Carnegie Foundations, but of the thousands of other philanthropic foundations less well known, whose support for your colleges will be undoubtedly enormously high in the next few years.

The Treasury Department estimates that there are 10,000 foundations at the present time created for philanthropic purposes. How many of their names do you know? I have already referred by name to three such foundations which have been created within the past few months. I predict that there will be more, month by month, and year by year. These foundations will probably be somewhat localized in their service. Many of them will not operate on a national scale, but will prove to be very generous within their own community, within their own state, or within the area of their own interest or policy.

This is how the modern philanthropic foundation is set up and operates:

A wealthy man finds that he would like to give away each year a large surplus of his income which he does not need for his personal enjoyment. He, therefore, creates a philanthropic foundation under the laws of his state. He makes a

large capital gift to that foundation. Let us say that he is the chief owner in a corporation. He gives a block of stock of that corporation to the foundation. Thereafter, the dividends on that stock are paid to the foundation, and the directors of that foundation can give away all of those dividends to the philanthropies of their choice, during that year, without any deduction of income tax.

Here is an actual illustration of how it works: A certain man has created a foundation. He was also the creator of a business which has prospered enormously. He has given to that foundation $25,000,000 of that business' stock. That stock pays a dividend of approximately $1,000,000 a year to the foundation. The directors of the foundation give that million dollars away *in toto,* year by year, to philanthropy.

Had this man not established the foundation, he would have received the dividends himself, but he would have had to pay federal income tax on these dividends of over $900,000, which would have left only $100,000 or so available for philanthropy. Thus, the establishment of his foundation has meant the annual gift of over $900,000 more to philanthropy than would have been possible without the foundation.

You will be well advised to keep posted on these foundations, especially in your territory, and to establish close relationships with those within your orbit. Their giving potential is very great now, and is gong to be greater, year by year, in my opinion.



The Treasury Department estimates that there are 10,000 foundations in the U. S. A. which have philanthropic purposes.

THE FACTORS THAT CREATE LARGE GIVING

There are four factors in the situation of an individual which create large giving:

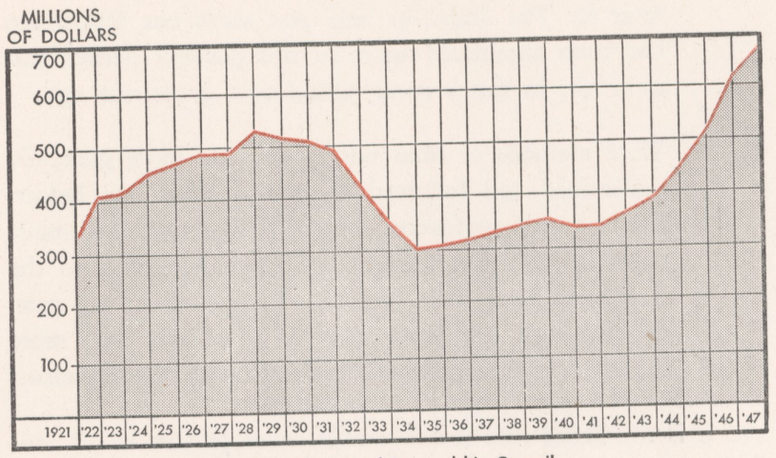
1. Large means, of course;
2. An enlarged understanding of society and of the world;
3. A sense of duty to his fellowmen;
4. Wise fund raising methods brought to bear on him.

These four factors are operating today in a favorable manner to bring about large, and still larger giving.

1. I have already discussed, previously, the large means which many men and women possess.
2. More and more men and women are coming to an enlarged understanding of society and of the world. How could it be otherwise, in view of the enormous development in the past generation of higher education? Higher education will undoubtedly increase the knowledge of the coming generation of men and women concerning the society in which we live, and will give them wider horizons of understanding and appreciation of their world.
3. The third factor—that of the sense of duty to our fellowmen — is also growing and intensifying. Mr. Lundy and I have been in this business of laying the cause of our philanthropic enterprises before the hearts of the American people for thirty years. We were conscious, following World War I, of the postwar rise of social sensitiveness and of a desire to do what was possible to further the brotherhood of man throughout the world.

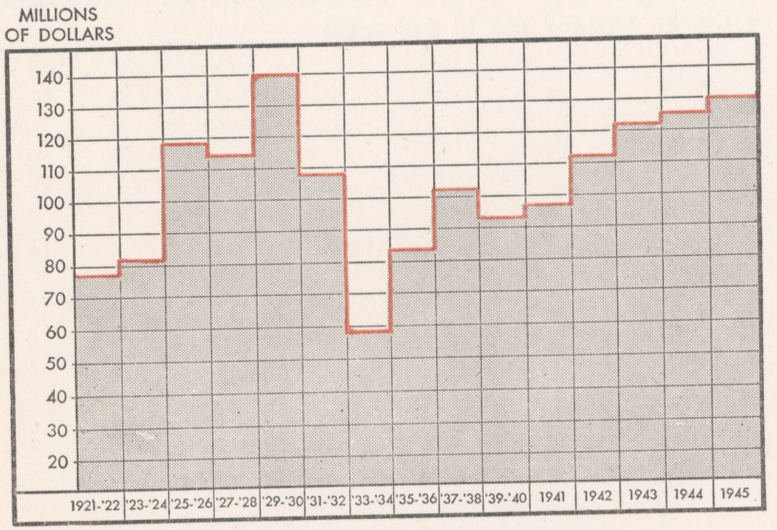
ANNUAL GIFTS TO CHURCHES

[26 Denominations]



Source: The United Stewardship Council

GIFTS TO HIGHER EDUCATION



SOURCES: 1921-1940 Biennial Reports of the U. S. Office of Education
1941-1945 The U. S. Department of Commerce
Survey of Current Business

PHILANTHROPY'S ROLE IN CIVILIZATION

By ARNAUD C. MARTS

1953

An Introduction to a book by Dr. Arnaud C. Marts, president of Marts and Lundy, Inc.

The following introduction to "Philanthropy's Role in Civilization" by Arnaud C. Marts has met with high praise. It has therefore been reprinted with the permission of Harper and Bros., publishers.
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Philanthropy's Role in Civilization

THIS book tries to gather together the experiences of more than thirty years in the field of organization and fund raising for a wide range of independent agencies. If it seems to glorify philanthropy, that is what it has set out to do — for I doubt whether it is possible to overestimate its creative role in the development of western civilization.

It has seemed to be an appropriate time to discuss the subject because of greatly increased governmental participation, during the last two decades, in many forms of welfare and education. To many, these changes appear to be "trends" and "inevitable." They accept the doctrine that there is only one way for the pendulum to swing. They have momentarily lost sight of the large part that philanthropy is still playing in those countries where freedom lives. We shall try to paint that view into the vast and complex picture of our national life. To provide the basis for a vital, balanced life in a modern society both poles are equally necessary — laws and freedom, taxation and voluntary giving.

The backbone of modern social structure is

our body of civil laws. We have created for ourselves an elaborate framework of regulations which prescribe our public conduct, collect taxes for the support of the institutions the laws have founded, and provide the penalties, police, and courts to coerce those reluctant to observe the laws. Thus, much of our life becomes involuntary.

Law, however, falls short of defining the limits of personal life in America. While we depend upon it to give stability to our society, we make use of countless spontaneous undertakings to give life fullness, character, and meaning. It is of these voluntary efforts which this book speaks, of the overflow of mankind's instinctive longing for improvement, of his ardent efforts — far beyond the law's *thou shalt* — to minister to the well-being and culture of his fellows.

There are at least 500,000 organized units of such voluntary endeavor in America. There are no less than thirty million persons of social sensitiveness who give energy and money to one or more such organizations. An astonishing amount of our cultural and spiritual advance has been achieved by these self-directed agencies. Men and women thus give their efforts and their resources, not because they can ever be repaid financially, but because such efforts

make life richer, more kindly, and more noble.

The total annual volume of taxation for the support of all compulsory public functions and institutions is approximately eighty-six billions of dollars. These compulsory assessments we cannot avoid; they are onerous — the object of instinctive and mounting complaint. But, complain as we do over taxation, we then proceed cheerfully enough, and without the slightest compulsion, to give an additional four and a half billions voluntarily to other social agencies which we have created.

What and where are these 500,000 voluntary agencies? What techniques are used to induce the American people to build and maintain them with freely given annual gifts of well over four billion dollars? This book endeavors to describe, explain, and appraise some of the major enterprises, and the manner of their support. Historians have been curiously silent in regard to these unofficial benevolent activities which have taken the lead in the development of so many important phases of our national culture.

If a history of the American people were ever written from a human, personal point of view, it would tell a new story. It would largely be given over to a study of how we have used our

political freedom to found and maintain our great network of private agencies – instrumentalities of education, health, religion, culture, reform, character building, social welfare, and humanitarian aspiration. But our histories are written by students of politics, of government, of militarism, of economics, of commerce. Little is said about the generous efforts of private citizens to establish voluntary institutions for the service of their fellows.

Yet these self-directed private citizens – acting of their own free will – have been the real artificers of our Republic. The self-sustaining agencies which they have created have been constantly pumping into the body politic transfusions of the vital lifeblood of morality – true liberalism and enlightened humanitarianism – without which the body would inevitably deteriorate.

It has been my privilege to work closely with thousands of men and women across the nation in behalf of most types of voluntary activity mentioned in this book. I have seen them give energy when they were weary and needed rest; I have seen them give time when their own affairs urgently called; I have seen them give money when they were obliged to let their own wants go unsatisfied; and I have seen them made

happier because of these voluntary choices and efforts. In this portrayal of philanthrophy I have attempted to reflect something of the mind and spirit which animates these "lovers of mankind" who derive deep satisfactions from their unselfish service to their fellow men.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself" is no modern concept. It is as old as the oldest ethical religions. Wherever men have lived under that warmhearted impulse they have created – without any suggestion from rulers, lords, governors, or selectmen – voluntary agencies to serve their communities.

Our American society is so rich, so resourceful, so complicated that it could never have been planned from above, by any central authority. It was conceived and brought into being in the hearts, the minds, and the free wills of the people themselves.

To those of us who have spent most of our professional lives in its service, American philanthropy is a tangible and inspiring thing. It is one of the most heartening forces in our national life. Its beneficent power is being evoked every day. The study of its motives, its ideals, and its operations should repay all who have the spiritual welfare, as well as the material welfare, of our people at heart. This is humanity's best hope for the future.

Reprinted by
MARTS & LUNDY, Inc.
521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Directors of fund-raising programs
for colleges, churches and other
philanthropic institutions.

Additional copies of this booklet
may be obtained, without cost, upon request.

Reprinted from Association of American Colleges Bulletin,
Volume XL, Number 3, October, 1954, pages 409–411.

THE PLACE OF TRUSTEES IN "TESTED METHODS OF ORGANIZING SOLICITATION ASSISTANCE"

ARNAUD C. MARTS
President, Marts & Lundy, Incorporated

MY REMARKS on this general topic relate to the trustees of a college. I trust you will understand that the organized solicitation which I have in mind is primarily that in behalf of a capital fund, rather than in behalf of the annual alumni fund.

I will make six major points briefly as follows:

1. The trustees of a typical college are the top leaders in such an organized effort. Very rarely does a college launch such a program without a trustee serving as the general chairman, and without other trustees serving in other high posts of active leadership.

2. The trustees of a college generally set the scale of generous giving in an organized solicitation program. In a typical college capital fund-raising endeavor the trustees, and their families and other associates whom they can influence, subscribe from one third to one half of the total.

Test the experience of your own college in this regard. Most of the colleges represented here will discover in such a test, I daresay, that whether your recent capital gifts have been large or small in the aggregate, a goodly proportion of them came from and via your trustees. The reasons for this are so logical and obvious that they need hardly more than mention. Members of a college board of trustees are on the "inside" of the knowledge of the college's circumstances and needs. It is they who decide what new buildings and what new endowments are needed, or at least it is they who authorize the president to make the decision. Therefore, it is they really who are asking for funds, and the normal conscience of a man competent to be a trustee of a college requires him to do himself what he asks others to do. Consequently, when a campaign is organized he should feel, and a majority of trustees do feel, a sense of personal re-

Note: Remarks made at a panel discussion on Fund Raising at the 38th Annual Convention of the American College Public Relations Association, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, June 22, 1954.

sponsibility to subscribe and work all they can. At any rate, even if he should not volunteer his subscription, he is in a situation where the president can solicit him far more effectively than he can solicit a man on the outside.

3. A well-balanced board of trustees should, in my opinion, be comprised of three major kinds of persons: *Thinkers,* those who can help plan the college's educational program; *Doers,* those who can give time and energy to innumerable activities which are a necessary adjunct to the educational operations, e.g., aid in the enrolment of qualified freshmen, alumni relations, public relations, academic relations, etc.; *Givers,* those who can set the pace of generous gifts and bequests to the college so that the "Thinkers" and the "Doers" can carry out their dreams and hopes and plans.

Frequently, in fortunate instances, trustees may be discovered who combine two or even three of these qualities.

4. The board of trustees of a typical college may be regarded as the "seedbed" for future leaders and generous givers to the college. By "seedbed," I mean that a certain substantial number of the trustees should be selected and elected to the board for a term of years because of their potential giving-interest and ability. Of course, I do not mean that a man should be put on the board of trustees just because he has money. No mere fat cats! As a matter of fact, the possession of money is only a part of the qualifications a large contributor to a college should have. He must also have qualities of spirit and soul and mind by which he can understand and appreciate the significance of the college, and he must have a social sensitiveness through which he may feel his responsibility to his generation and to coming generations. He must, above all, want to do his part for God and for humanity.

It is this type of wealthy man, who has money and who is also spiritually and culturally sensitive, who should be considered for election to a board of trustees of a college in the hope and expectation that this interest can be developed to the point of generous future support.

Of course, not all trustees respond in this way to their duties and responsibilities as trustees. Some of them are willing to accept the honor and dodge the responsibility, but the majority

accept the responsibility with the honor. In considering the board of trustees as a "seedbed" for future giving, it is well to set up a system of a five-year term of office. At the end of the five years, the "weeds" can be picked out of the "seedbed," whereas, if there is no such provision of limited term of office, it may become next to impossible to get the resignation of a "weed" trustee.

5. Giving to a college is not a "mining" operation. An inexperienced person might assume, erroneously, that since the American people are accustomed to give over $300,000,000 per year to education, the college which digs energetically and persistently at this rich vein of free money will get its share of it. Not so; giving to a college is *not* a "mining" operation. Giving is a spiritual exercise, the end result of a growing interest in an unselfish endeavor to assist mankind to higher and nobler levels of life.

Giving is a living, vibrant experience.

Givers are grown, not discovered by surprise or magic.

A college may grow its own givers. The board of trustees provides the best known "seedbed" for growing its top leaders and workers, and givers.

6. A college which accepts this philosophy in regard to "growing its own" large givers through use of the board of trustees as a "seedbed" will realize, of course, that this process must be started several years before the harvesting necessities. President Cunningham of Davidson College, recently also President of the Association of American Colleges, put it in these words: "You can't hitch the reaper right on behind the plow."