O TIMES, O CONFUSED MORES

Cartoons by George Clark
for the NEA Service, Inc.



Yaur ideas are ald-fashianed mather. Girls, nawadays, want ta think af samething besides business and maney



My eldest daughter's children give me the least trauble, because I've practically reared them fram the start



That bay of mine is a wild-ane. Came tearin' by in that truck and, if I hadn't jumped quick, he'd had me sure



I'll take same mare of that patata salad. My husband always campliments me an it



WE CALL IT OVERPRODUCTION VAN LOON

THE HOUSE THAT JOHN BOUGHT



John and his wife have saved enough to buy a little home. The lot costs more than they had planned to pay but the delightful salesman says the mortgage company will help with the house



So simple! They get a house by just putting their names on paper. They note with gratitude the benign expression bent upon them from above by the guardian first- and second-mortgage birds

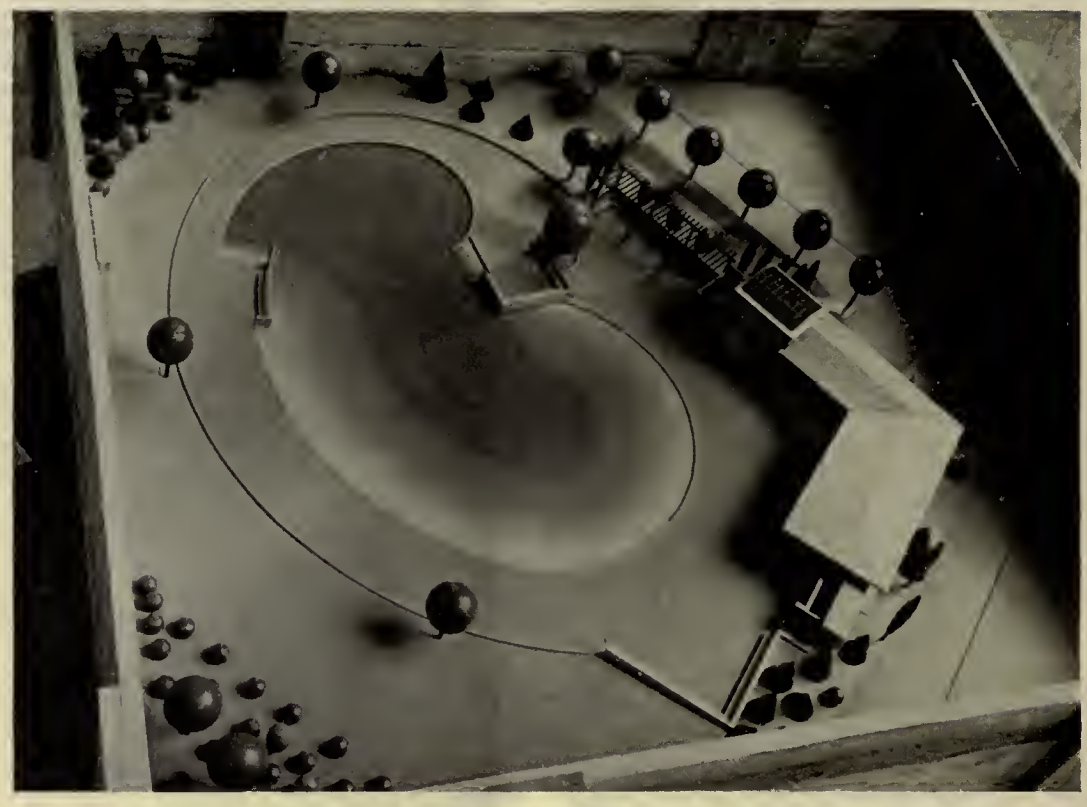


A snapshot of John and his family in proud possession of a home of their own. The mortgage birds roost contentedly on the roof, fed punctually with golden grain as John had promised



Comes the depression. And John is out of work. When the rapacious mortgage birds have been fed all the money in the bank, they make off with the house and lot—and even the family's clothes

[From an exhibition of housing and city planning organized by the Gallery of Modern Life, Chicago. Photographs by Don Loving, courtesy Millar's Housing Letter]



A stylized relief model in painted metal of a children's swimming pool in a public park

MUSEUMS OF THE FUTURE

BY OTTO NEURATH

SUPPOSING somebody came to me and said, "Build the museum of the future just as you want it." How would I answer him? "Agreed," I would say, "but that is not the way to put it. There is no such thing as *the* museum of the future. I can only talk about the museums of the future." And I would go on: "Museums of the future, anyhow, ought not to be as I should like to have them, but as the visitors and users would want them if they knew what makes a museum."

To speak of the museum of the future is like speaking of the automobile of the future. Automobiles are manufactured in series and not produced one by one in a smithy. The idea that every museum ought to contain unique exhibits has come to us from the past. Famous individual objects are collected—a Madonna by Raphael, a calf with four heads, the armor of Charles the Bold, a stranded whale, the first locomotive, and other curiosities—especially those of which only a single specimen is to be had. And for many people the enjoyment of a museum visit consists in seeing something, no matter what, that they can see only once.

It was the same at one time with books: some famous manuscript entered into a collection, a unique treasure; but today, there are ten thousand reproductions of the same manuscript. In the future, museums will be manufactured, exactly as books are today. This basic proposal to produce copies of museums in standard series has often been expounded, particularly by Paul Otlet of the Palais Mondial in Brussels. But the realization of that idea implies international agreement on a specific method of presentation. And thus we arrive at the second point, namely, the museums of the future will have to be organized by agents of the museum users and not by specialists who want to exhibit what *they* consider important. Is not that just the sad part of most exhibitions, that every exhibitor has his own special purpose? This does not mean necessarily that he wants to do business. He may, for example, only want to show how marvelous is the institution of which he is the administrator. So it may happen that in a public-health exposition six different clinics demonstrate six times what a good sick-bed ought to look like. One of these beds may, of course, be better than another, but those who visit this exposition can hardly be expected to distinguish more than

The social museum, says Dr. Neurath, is the museum for our time. In the Social and Economic Museum of Vienna he has developed ways of making social facts stand out through striking charts, models and films. Branches of his research workshop have been established in Berlin, Prague, Amsterdam and Moscow; and a committee has recently been organized in New York to promote the use of the Vienna method in this country and establish a workshop where clients can order anything from a chart to an entire exhibit and the data for it

two beds from each other and, as a rule, will be fully satisfied if they thoroughly understand how one of them works. Would it not be a better plan if the clinics concerned were together to appoint someone to think out a way in which visitors to expositions could best be shown the principal innovations? Incidentally, perhaps, each of the six clinics might show in one common exhibit exactly what major novelty it has introduced—but six sick-beds, that is too much!

And why must the poor visitor to a museum of natural history look at hundreds of birds, even though he can perhaps hardly distinguish the difference, just because some particular ornithologist considers it necessary? As a matter of fact, some of the museum experts have already noticed that something does not quite click, and that, for example, it might be preferable not to introduce birds in companies and battalions; and so, at huge expense and with the aid of photographs, they have produced wonderful panoramas that are to show us how the birds live in nature, master works of men who specialize in creating these illusions.

Now suppose the visitors had appointed an expert of their own to represent them, what would he say about it? Everything that is shown in a museum, he would say, ought to serve a comprehensive pedagogical purpose. Is it really so important to show in dozens of colorful panoramas how all sorts of rare animals live among the weeds and under water? What significant questions are answered by such exhibits? Would it not be far more important to tell the people whether there are many or few animals of this or that kind, which of them are edible, what the skin of this or the bones of that beast might be used for? Isn't it curious: We are constantly told that we are living in the age of technique, and yet when we enter a modern museum of natural history, there is no sign of it. Some of the minerals are shown, perhaps, in relation to their decorative uses; but we do not see the diamond as part of a glass-cutting instrument, or dust of rubies as a substance used for edge-tools, or agate used as neutral surface in a machine, or anything like this. A huge whale hangs in the middle of the hall; but we do not learn how the "beard" is transformed into old-fashioned corsets, how the skin is transformed into shoes, or the fat into soap that finds its way to the dressing room of a beautiful woman. Nor do we learn how many whales are caught per annum, or how much whale-bone, fat and leather are procured by this means. And yet many people surely would be interested to know what countries more particularly are engaged in whaling. And some may want to know what this means for the balance of trade, how it relates to the economic crisis, and so on. Human fortunes are connected with this exhibit—starving seamen, hungry families of fishermen in the north of Norway. And so, everything leads to man and society.



A cave drawing, an ancestor of the Vienna pictographs of today

How to organize human life socially—that is the great question which people are asking today with ever greater insistence. Just as, in their time, museums of technique and museums of hygiene arose to answer a recognized need, so the social museum is the museum for our time. And this is its twofold task: to show social processes, and to bring all the facts of life into some recognizable relation with social processes. Take paintings, for example: they are parts of a social pattern and as such belong with homes and buildings, cities, costumes, and other works of human hands. Therefore, in the museums of the future, the marvelous



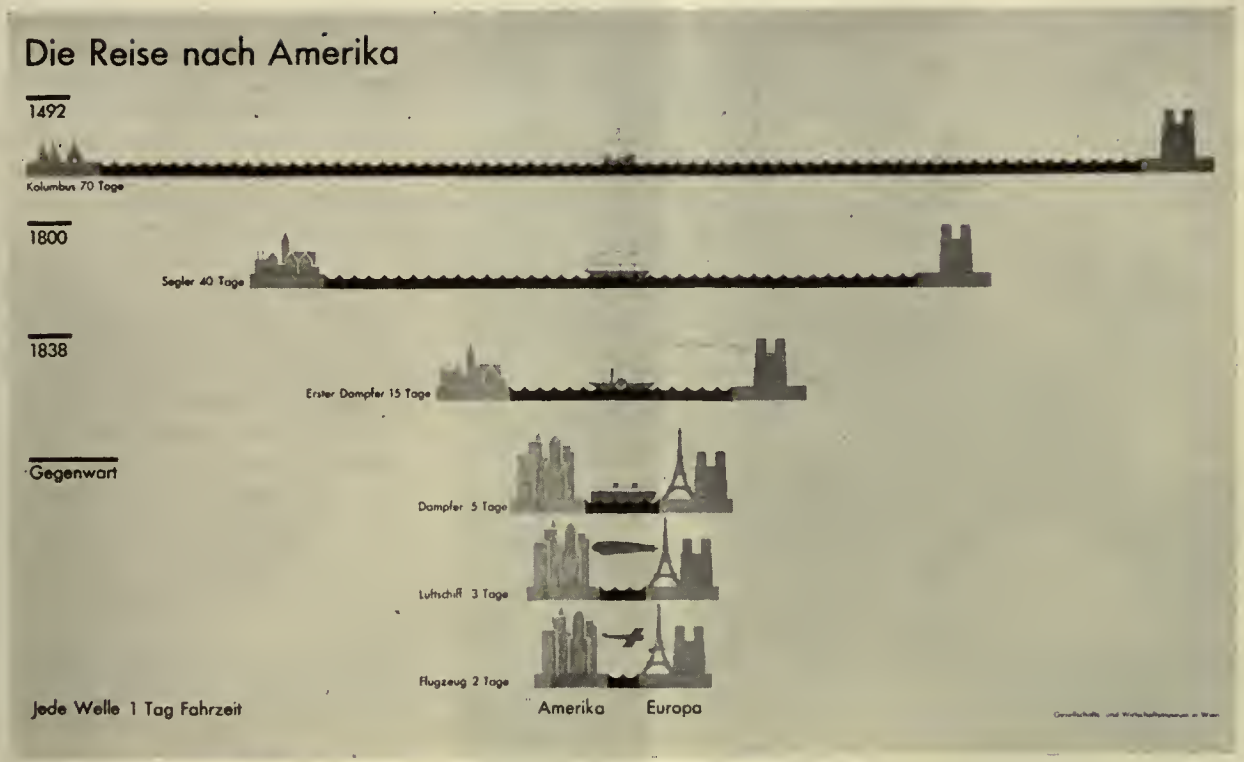
A selection from the growing dictionary of standard graphic symbols developed the Mundaneum



What happened when Austrian coal mining was rationalized. In contrasting men and output in 1923 and 1928, each car represents fifty thousand tons of coal mined, each figure two hundred miners at this production



A pictorial municipal budget. Each disc represents 100 million schillings spent in Vienna on housing, schools, welfare, administration, technical and other services



The distance between the continents has shrunk. Each wave represents a day in the journey to America—it took Columbus seventy days to do what is now done in five by boat, in three by airship, in two by airplane



It takes a map of the world to show where the food comes from that appears on the breakfast table. Consequently breakfast is not a bad occasion to consider not only geography but the interdependence of the nations of the whole world



A map that lies on a table and shows three dimensions makes it easy to compare the relative height of the tariff walls before the war

works of the great masters will be shown within the frame of the social life of their time. Every event, every creative act, both influences the fortunes of humanity and is influenced by them.

But how is humanity to be represented in a museum? That was the question which the Social and Economic Museum of Vienna set itself to answer a decade ago. Since then, a group of collaborating scholars and artists have worked out a method that will be the foundation for the museums of the future. The Vienna method of visual education, designed to include the representation of all sorts of things, has gone far to solve the problem of representing social data. That method is today known all over the world and is being applied on a large scale. The way from Moscow to New York is long—even longer sociologically than geographically speaking; and yet the same picture tables can be used and understood in both places. How is that possible?

By what means can social relationships be made visible? A machine or an animal might be photographed when we are in need of a picture but do not know how to simplify it for educational purposes. But a photograph is not a conceptual analysis, and it is just that which the simple-minded need. We have, in this pedagogical effort, to get rid, on the one hand, of pure abstraction and, on the other, of crude facts. The well-known story of the camel may help to illustrate my meaning. A Frenchman is asked, what is a camel? He goes to the Paris zoo and asks someone to show him a camel. There is none. So he travels to Marseilles, then to Bordeaux—nowhere can he find one. And the malicious rumor has it that on his return he reports: there is no such thing as a camel. The German, confronted with the same problem, follows a very different procedure; he sits down and thinks, and thinks, and thinks—and the camel is there. The American, as an empiricist, again follows a wholly different method; he buys himself a lasso, leases a yacht, and travels to Africa where he catches a camel which he brings back to New York and exhibits, saying: here is an idea of the camel! (There is a sequel to this story: each of the three writes a book. The Frenchman's bears the title: Sonnets to the Unknown Camel. The German names his: The Absolute Camel and the Metaphysical Principle of Its Antithetical Being. And the American proclaims: Two Records.—The Largest Camel, and the One That Can Live Longest Without Food, Is to Be Seen in New York.) To come to the point, an abstract formula is educationally as useless as is a naturalistic reproduction. What we need is a schematic representation that can be immediately understood. We could not photograph social objects even if we tried. They can be demonstrated only through symbols. It is because this is not an easy task that it has so long remained unfulfilled.

With the growth of popular educational activities, and especially of workers' education, the necessity arose to transmit to the students in brief evening classes comprehensive information about social and other facts. The traditional methods of adult education are no more than popular applications of the usual highschool teaching methods. They give the learner the feeling of uncertainty and of incompleteness. But how different is the response when pictures are introduced! A picture is seen as a whole; and it is possible, without looking at it again, later on to understand it more fully; while a book when it is but half comprehended has to be read again and again if one wants to be sure to get all its meaning.

Of course, as in everything educational, success in this field is secured by giving up something else; in order to create pictures that can easily be remembered one has to omit many details. But that only proves the maxim that he who knows best what to omit is the best teacher, and one who can omit nothing from his demonstrations should not be a teacher at all.

As might be imagined, the statisticians do not like to hear that. Since it is part of their job to count and measure everything as accurately as possible, they demand that everybody appreciate the trouble they have taken and remember the exact figures they provide. The Vienna school, on the other hand, postulates: to remember simplified pictures is better than to forget accurate figures.

So, out of the actual needs of the learners arose the Vienna method of graphic statistical presentation and the Vienna method of visual education. The city of Vienna has a progressive municipal government. Representative in the main of labor and of the white-collar class, it endeavors to build, insofar as this is practicable, within the existing social system—or, if you like, social chaos—an urban environment adapted to the needs of the masses. So, for example, the city has built some sixty thousand tenements (constructed, by the way, to rent at two dollars a month for three rooms), hundreds of kindergartens, dozens of bathhouses, both for

children and adults, playgrounds, health centers, and many other things. But how, it may be asked, is it possible in any city with a democratic government to achieve so much of benefit to the masses unless the people understand what it is all about, at least in its larger outlines, and unless these enormous expenditures out of tax revenues are approved on the basis of a constant accounting to the people? Only those who have graduated from a course of social studies, it would seem, can pass with real understanding on the desirability of all the social measures proposed or the way in which they are carried out. Hence, general social education became a necessity for this city.

It is out of this need that the Social and Economic Museum of Vienna was born. When a Viennese citizen enters this museum, he is impressed from the first moment with the fact that the institution is intended for him. In it, he finds reflected his problems, his past, his future—himself. This does not mean that the museum limits itself to local interests; on the contrary, it provides the setting of world-historical relationships within which the individual discovers the decisive influences on his own fortunes. Take this matter of housing, for example: the aim is not to show what a particular building project looks like, but to help the citizen see the different types of homes that are included in the plan for the city's development, realize for what groups of the population these different types are intended, how they are going to modify the lives of people, to what extent they are going to help in improving health, reducing mortality—especially that of infants—and so on.

Only quantitative facts are socially significant; but most people are frightened by rows of figures, and diagrams they regard as an imposition. That sort of thing, they will tell you, is all right for specialists. But social quantities need not parade as rows of figures. The pictorial statistics of the Vienna school represent larger and smaller quantities of objects by larger and smaller numbers of symbols. So we see men and women, wage-earners and employers, automobiles and railroads, sheep and cattle, marching over the pages in simple, clear, colored, contrasted symbols. One symbol means a given number. If, for example, one figure means a hundred million people, then a row of seven white figures means seven hundred million of the white race, and a row of six yellow figures six hundred million of the yellow race.

The important point is that there must be a system of rules that can be applied without exceptions, a sort of grammar of picture language; that, and a dictionary of symbols. The problem is not how to invent ever new symbols but how to get accepted the best that can be found anywhere. With this aim the Social and Economic Museum of Vienna is engaged in creating standard symbols and standard rules. But in order to introduce a single system of signs and rules throughout the world, an international organization is needed. A special institution, the Mundaneum, has therefore been established in Vienna, in close connection with the Museum, to work for general acceptance of the Vienna rules and dictionary of visualization. Because of the inescapable need to have all educational materials uniform, it was found necessary to centralize the creation of exhibits, illustrations, and so forth. Experience has shown that few artists have the ability so to submerge their personality and pleasure in creation as to serve solely in the capacity of objective informant for the learner.

We have in Vienna a research bureau, a statistical department, and an archive for visual (*Continued on page* 479)



A large wall model in three dimensions shows the number of houses built by the city of Vienna up to the end of 1930; each small white cube represents 100 new tenements, each black cube 100 new dwellings in garden suburbs

WALKING CIRCUIT

BY JAMES WILLIAM SELLS

THIS morning, for the first time in years, I walked to town. For yesterday afternoon I drove to my automobile dealer's place of business and handed him the key to my second-hand car.

Yesterday two payments were past due on the car. That in itself was not serious; but the necessity for such an action rested on the fact that two months ago the remaining six payments had been refinanced, they at that time being almost four months in arrears. For five months now I have been driving, paying for the repairs and keeping up a machine that in reality belonged to the finance company.

Granted, this is not the first car that has been repossessed. But it is the first time that it ever happened to my car, and I had promised myself with many boastful assertions that it should never happen. Yesterday when the collector came to my house with the information that some payment must be made on account, I went into executive session with myself and decided some drastic action must be taken. For five months I had been promising to retire a payment and had never fulfilled these promises. So my long dormant pride reasserted itself and I determined to deny myself the use of a car, no matter how essential it was to my profession.

Consequently it was with mingled pride and self-pity that I drove to the dealer's, quietly told him the circumstances, semi-dramatically gave him the key and turned away to begin the long five-mile walk home. I feared to look him in the face for he might have seen the moisture in my eyes and thought me foolish.

However, as I trudged the weary miles homeward I began to be compensated for my action and to long for the days when there was no such thing as haste, when nature could be enjoyed rather than pillaged, and when man's social standing depended upon his ability and personality rather than his automobile.

I HAVE never owned a new car. For ten years or more I have driven cars that had at one time been called automobiles, but never had I driven away from a dealer's showroom and said to myself, "This is my own, my purchased car."

Methodist preachers' salaries are calculated to provide only the bare necessities of life. As I have been a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for ten years, I can speak from experience. My father, too, has been a preacher for forty years; a brother is in this spiritual brotherhood; and several sisters are intimately connected with the inner workings of this church; consequently this question of cars takes a very large place in the family conversation. The ones who have their cars paid for are the aristocrats; those in process of paying or dodging the collector are the recipients of common sympathies.

In the years agone, Methodist preachers received approximately the same salaries that they do now. The purchasing power was greater. Especially was this true on the poorer circuits and smaller stations. But in those days it was the custom for preachers to have at least one horse and to cultivate enough land to grow corn and hay to feed this horse. It was also the custom for each farmer visited during the rounds of circuit-riding, to fill up the back of the buggy with corn or to drive in occasionally to the parsonage with a load of hay. Often with the feed for the animal would be a ham, a sack of potatoes or a few chickens. This aided not only the transportation facilities for the family but also the morale of the larder.

But in my thirty-five years of parsonage experience, I have never but once heard of any one driving the preacher's car to the garage and filling up the tank with gas. Nor have I known of a new tire being placed on the rear wheel where the old one was worn. This is just one of the things that the new generation does not do.

FOR two hundred or more preachers serving the poorer charges of Mississippi Methodism, the means of transportation is continually an unsolved problem and one full of worry. These two hundred preachers received last year a salary of $1000 or less; fifty of them $500 or less. All of these men must drive cars, purchase gas and oil. Strange to say, it seems that the smaller salary a man receives the larger number of churches he must serve. Most of the men receiving less than $1000 are serving from three to six churches, sometimes from ten to forty miles apart. Often to cover the rounds of his circuit, a rural preacher must drive over one hundred miles. Is it any wonder that transportation is a large question? Most of these men manage to own a car, keep it up and educate a large family of children—and some people think that all the financiers are in Wall Street and preachers are impractical persons! Withal it is true that this is the most happy and contented group of men to be found in the state.

One illustration of this question of transportation is my own experience, which may or may not be a norm for the group. During my last year in college I was asked to serve as a supply on a small charge near the college town. I was informed that all the churches would be reached by train, I would not need a car and the charge, with its four churches, would pay me a salary of $1200 a year. My wife and I knew we could live, pay our debts and save money on that basis.

To our disappointment, this proved not to be the case. After we had moved to the town which was the base of our operations, we found it impossible to serve any of the other three churches by train. The very first Sunday I was forced to pay a taxi-driver four dollars to take me to a country church seventeen miles away. The collections failed to pay for the transportation. Since we had no independent income but were entirely dependent upon these four churches for our maintenance, we decided to do as all the rest of the preachers had done and buy a car. I went to the bank and with the endorsement of two men in the community, borrowed $125 and purchased a worn Model T roadster.

This was the beginning of my education in modern mechanics. My Model T carried no self-starter and to this day I bear a scar on my right hand from infected blisters made by cranking. Soon I took the machine of the devil to a garage to have some repairs made, and from that day to this I have been forced to pay a mechanic rather than a book-seller.

Neither the first year nor since have I had any idea what

my car cost me. I do know that instead of paying me $1200 the church paid only $650. The next year we returned to the same place, hoping the crops would be better and the salary larger. Our hopes were not in vain, for the total receipts in salary amounted to $687. (I thought I was making progress for the first year after the War I had served a charge of five country churches, which paid a salary of $456. Many a time I walked from four to eight miles to meet preaching engagements. But then I was not married and money counted for little.) In the meantime, this second year my Model T shook to pieces despite large garage bills and tremendous efforts on my part to wire it together, and I was forced to make arrangements for one of the early-bustle Model T coupes. Friends could not understand why I chose this name for my car until they saw pictures of some nineteenth-century feminine garments. Of course this car was second-hand and the first of many instalment purchases.

After months of weary experience and much expenditure for repairs, that car was sold for fifty dollars and walking was tried. The impracticability of this mode of transportation was soon apparent, when it became necessary to preach at one church at eleven in the morning and at another, ten miles away, at night.

Soon a hardware store in a nearby city announced a large advertising campaign and offered a radio as a prize for a slogan. This I won and immediately went to a garage and traded the radio for a dilapidated Dodge roadster. With some repairs, this car was made to last until I was transferred to a small station appointment on the Gulf Coast. (A station appointment consists of only one church and a charge consists of several churches and is commonly known as a circuit.)

The roadster was so dangerous looking that it almost caused my arrest one evening when I was returning from a fishing trip. I soon traded it as down payment on another of these bustle Model T's. For this I bargained to pay $400. After two years this car was paid for, but by that time it also was worn out. Next a trade was made for a six-cylinder coupe of a better grade, but this time I failed to listen to her valves and examine her crankcase and being at all times a consummate sucker, the car was returned to the dealer in disgust, the down payment a total loss. After some few months of walking, another Model T was purchased and eventually paid for at the expense of many dresses, suits and other things badly needed by the household. Sometimes I wonder how much better our sermons would be if we could take some of this money we have to spend for gas and oil and subscribe to a few magazines and buy a few books that we so badly need.

SOCIAL pressure has a great deal to do with a preacher's car troubles. His church people want to take pride in him and in his appearance and insist on his driving a good car without taking into consideration the expense. In some of the prosperous years, business men in nearby communities have raised purses and presented their preacher with a new car simply because they were ashamed of the noise and looks of the car he owned. I never had that luck though mine rattled as badly as any.

In January, I traded my Model T as down payment on a six coupe whose speedometer registered over 21,000 miles and for which I was to continue to pay $26.80 a month for twelve months. This, I thought, I could do with ease as my salary seemed to be more certain than usual because of the two positions I am holding. The community in which we live was to pay us $600 a year for preaching two Sundays a month in the church. They also provided us a furnished parsonage. My other position, that of executive secretary of an assembly of my denomination, was to pay an additional salary which would be adequate for our needs.

Now at the end of twelve months, I find this to be true. The church has paid $500 and the other position is in arrears several hundred dollars. The shortage is the result of current financial conditions that had not been foreseen. There is one garage account of $70 and another of $50. And in the past twelve months the car has traveled 16,000 miles in the interest of the two positions, all expenses incident to this mileage paid out of my pocket.

Yesterday when the collector came for the money, I wondered what could be done. Just a week ago I had borrowed all the money from the local bank that my credit would stand to bring home my wife and twelve-day-old infant from the hospital. In the bank today there is enough to pay the nurse and buy groceries for a week. Sunday's collections will probably bring enough to carry us for another week. Insurance will soon be due again and other current bills will have to be met. Where a car-payment was to come from, I could not see. To borrow was out of the question. The issue must be faced and decided. So without further ado, I drove to the dealer's and left my much traveled, very friendly Chevrolet six with him for safe keeping. If some money comes in from an unexpected source, I will bring her out of storage. If not, who loses?

SO it was with heavy feet, inexperienced in the fine art of walking, that I started through the beautiful little resort city in which I hold my other position, on my five-mile walk home to wife and infant.

The humor of the situation soon appealed to me and I wondered if I would develop the craft of the thumb-jerker. As homeward-bound cars passed me, I knew before long how the out-of-work hitchhiker must feel. This realization had a peculiar sting to it and the sting became an oddly ironic jest as I recognized several cars. The big one that had just whizzed by belonged to one of my friends; he and I had just that noon taken lunch at the Rotary Club of which we are both members. The car following it was almost filled with women joyously engaged in conversation; these women would occupy the front seats in my church on Sunday. Others who passed knew me well enough to call me by my first name when they saw me on the streets or in community meetings. But never once did they recognize my back as I, too, homeward took my way.

Through the factory districts of the fishing and oystering community, I soon passed and felt with Whitman that I too belong to them. I was a fellow-sufferer with these fishermen in poverty, only mine was genteel and must not be acknowledged. They could take their poverty with them to the hospital and there get free the care and treatment for which I had to borrow money. They could enjoy their poverty; for them there was no false standard of living to which they were forced to adhere. To them community welfare councils, such as the one of which I am chairman, would send Christmas baskets and weekly supplies of food and clothing when necessary. But could I appeal to my own organization for relief? Silly thought. It would be considered only an attempt at humor. But few of these poverty-stricken fishermen needed help much more than I.

The way home led over a two-mile concrete bridge under which flowed the waters of the beautiful Biloxi Bay. It was

up these waters that D'Iberville sailed his ships in 1699 to found the settlement of Biloxi. With hat in hand and coat folded across my arm, I was beginning to enjoy my afternoon pilgrimage. With D'Iberville and his doughty men, I sailed those placid waters and received the unfriendly welcome of the Biloxi Indians. The midwinter sun was shining down with midsummer brilliance upon the blue waters of the bay and the cumulus clouds hovering over the distant pine forest made a picture resembling a summer seascape. As I gazed out at the white sail of an oyster schooner I was reminded of the days during the War when the gunboat on which I was stationed sailed the waters of the Atlantic and the Caribbean; and the feeling of full-bodied health which comes from exercise in the open flooded my whole being and a sense of rightness and content pervaded my spirit.

TO be perfectly honest and frank, at times angry thoughts surged through my brain and I rebelled at the thought of what some might term injustice. Why, I asked myself, did I not quit preaching and begin making a real living? I remembered the days when, for a short while, I had made money selling advertising and had held other good positions. But the psalmist David, who was a true preacher, expressed the idea that all true preachers have: "I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my Lord than to dwell in the tents of wickedness."

There is a happiness and a contentment in this calling that cannot be found in other fields of activity and the law of compensation makes up for whatever is lacking.

I know my friends will not understand my refusal to keep up the bluff and drive a car I cannot afford. I know that within twenty-four hours I will be reading the automobile advertisements and the strong desire for a new car will set me to planning ways to get one. Someday I hope to buy a brand-new car and break it in myself.

I knew yesterday that I must arrange to purchase another car if the one just surrendered could not be re-financed. But the inner satisfactions that result from doing the best one knows made me well content that the car was given up; for renewed acquaintance with the simpler and more profound joys of life were for a moment mine and I knew beyond bills and cars and haste were sunshine, salt water and clouds.

How we preachers and churches will ever meet the high cost of transportation is one of the many unsolved questions facing the rural church. Some suggest that the church own the car and the preacher keep it up. Others want to let the churches pay the upkeep, or a part of it, and the preacher provide the car. For most of us, it will be an individual problem and the kind of car we drive will depend upon the amount of salary we receive. Most of us will be forced to buy gasoline for the car when the babies need shoes, for preaching appointments must be met and shoes can be resoled. The soul-saving business must go on.

Personally, I am glad I surrendered my car. It did not belong to me and driving it made me feel like a thief. For some months my work may suffer, but tonight I can go to bed feeling that to a certain extent I am an honest man and am trying to do the best I know how.

But when I do buy a brand-new car and own all of it myself, I think I will hang a large red sign on the side of the car and tell the whole world, "This is a new car and I own it all."

THE SKYSCRAPER

BY SUSAN GOLDMARK

STRAIGHT as an arrow
Marking its goal,
Cleaves the air, the skyscraper,
Rising story on story,
Tier upon tier,
In the sunshine dazzling,
In the air translucent,
Shimmering, radiant.

Straight cleave the white walls,
Marking their goal,
Until cornice meets the deep blue,
Soaring the shaft
Cuts deep into space.

Sunset lights play about it,
And the dews of the morning,
Moonbeams, slanting from silvery clouds
Soften its outlines;
Rains beat upon it,
And the fierce sun of noon,
Wintry snows drift high on its roof.
Wind-buffeted it stands,
Erect, unyielding, unshaken.

Power of straight lines,
Power of harmony and poise.

Upward it looks at the stars
Over the gray-brown ramparts;
To the glad climbing hills
And out to the shining straits
Where the great stream
Meets the wide sea.

It is mute, without voice,
To thrill, and to tell
Of the wonders it sees.

Walls of steel and stone,
Self-reliant and proudly erect,
Yet imprisoned, enchained, it stands
In rivets fast-bound.

I, on my roof far below,
Prone on my couch,
Am free, unfettered, unbound.
Exult, oh my soul,
Soar like a bird,
Rise beyond steel and stone,
Beyond mists of the earth.
Up, up, in heaven's deep vault,
Till you touch the bright stars.

LABOR UNDER THE NIRA

BY LEWIS L. LORWIN

What workers have to hope and fear under the National Industrial Recovery Act is here assayed. The writer's plea for an industrial relations set-up as part of the administration is dramatically met, as this goes to press, by the President's announcement of the National Board of Arbitration: Senator Robert F. Wagner, New York, Chairman; William Green, A F of L; Leo Wolman, Columbia University; John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers; Walter C. Teagle, Standard Oil of New Jersey; Gerard Swope, General Electric; Louis E. Kirstein, Manager, Wm. Filene's Sons Co., Boston.

AMONG all groups in the community, labor has most to lose or to gain from the workings of the NIRA; and of all the questions the Act is bringing to focus, few are more critical than the status of organized labor under the new set-up. The importance of the issue arises not only from the nature of the industrial relations problem, but from the fact that NIRA is essentially a labor act. It is rooted in the plight of millions of workers in search of jobs. It was sponsored by legislators who had the welfare of the worker at heart. It took the place of a number of bills which had the active backing of the American Federation of Labor. It was predicated upon a philosophy which had its origin in the labor movement; that prosperity can only be induced and maintained, under the present industrial system, by spreading mass purchasing power through steady employment, with adequate wages and reasonable hours of work. And it carries certain apparently unequivocal sections bearing upon industrial relations—the right to organize and to bargain collectively—which presumably were to raise the principles long advocated by organized labor to the status of a recognized national labor policy.

Clearly, the success of NIRA must depend in large measure on what it does for labor. That will be one of its major tests. But judgment of that success will hinge on what we conceive to be the task of the Act in relation to labor—the objectives to be achieved and the methods to be used. Our decisions must also be influenced by a clearer understanding of the attitudes of both employers and labor, and of the inevitable problems and pitfalls which a government experimenting with controlled industry must face if it is to fulfill the promise to labor which the Act holds out.

During the code-making of the past two months under NIRA, labor has raised no question more vital than that of its own status under the Act. What do the clauses of Section Seven, relating to collective bargaining and the right to organize, actually mean? How are they to be implemented? Do they indicate the end of company unions or, on the contrary, do they give these unions a new importance? Do they open the way to an expansion of traditional trade unionism? Do they point out how collective bargaining is to go forward under the new set-up and what importance it is to have in the new scheme of industrial control?

Among labor leaders, disillusionment with the administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act began soon after the hearings upon certain basic industry codes had been concluded. This disappointment did not extend to the President. Even the most sceptical trade unionists value the President's labor record, his friendliness, his ability to impart to his associates a sense of the magnitude of the national plan and its balance upon the tripod of production, distribution and consumption. It was largely because of faith in the President and in those who represent him that organized labor, despite its traditional suspicion of government, held back its opposing hand during the flight of the Recovery Bill through Congress, and voiced great hope in it after its passage. The mood of hope began giving way to fear and scepticism as a result of labor's first experiences in the formulation of the cotton-textile code, the electrical-manufacturers' code, the shipbuilding and ship-repair code, and those more recently under consideration.

Organized labor has a bill of particulars which it presents to justify its change of attitude. First and foremost is the matter of collective bargaining. Early in the code season, the Administrator ruled that only one thing was mandatory upon any industry under the Act, namely "a code must be submitted." It was not necessary, he ruled, that the submitted code show that it was the result of collective bargaining. This ruling, according to labor, left the law operative in effect like this: employers who destroy trade association standards are forced into line under legal compulsion; but workers who destroy labor standards may exercise traditional American liberty in the choice of joining or refusing to join the labor organization pledged to create and uphold standards.

FURTHERMORE, until a code is submitted and approved, no section, paragraph or clause in the Act guiding industry is in force and operative. Labor claims that the authors of the Act intended that the labor provisions of Section Seven should be discussed before the code reached a public hearing. Instead, these provisions have presumably been treated as so much dead wood encumbering the legal landscape. At the reading of codes before the deputy administrator, the procedure has been somewhat as follows:

"Mr. Deputy Administrator, this section dealing with labor is mandatory upon the industry and is therefore included in the code. It is not necessary to read this section."

"No, Mr. Counsel, it is not necessary to read this section."

Another ruling of the Recovery Administration which labor believes works a hardship is that which decrees that all protests to a code must be "factual." This looks proper enough. But it works out, labor unionists who have appeared before Deputy Administrators say, in a one-sided way. It forbids a discussion of general labor principles. A code, when submitted, is a philosophy of industry, as well as a picture of that industry. These generalizations of business must be met, not by generalizations of labor, but by piecemeal criticism. The process reduces a labor army to the rôle of guerillas sniping ineffectually at the business army.

Even more important is the issue of organized labor's status. The question of the "open shop" came unexpectedly to the fore in the hearings on the code for the men's clothing industry, and the issue of the company union was crystallized

as had been expected, in the code submitted by employers in the iron and steel industry. Organized labor claimed that both issues had no place under Section Seven of the Act. Had the Administration given from the beginning a proper interpretation of the clauses, so labor claimed, there would have been no other road open to employers than to deal with existing or newly formed trade unions of the American Federation of Labor type. As in the past, organized labor laid stress on the phrase "representatives of their own choosing," and argued that workers can have such representatives only when they are organized in trade unions.

Of less importance, but well worth noting, has been the complaint of some labor leaders that in the administration of the Recovery Act labor men form an insignificant minority. At this writing (early August) about 175 appointments have been made by the Administrator of the Recovery Act to his staff. Of this number, in addition to Donald Richberg and Edward F. McGrady, not more than half a dozen are counted as outright labor men by the protagonists of the labor cause. Most of the deputy administrators, whose important function it is to preside over the hearings, have been drawn from business, some from industries where unions not only do not exist, but where the word "union" is anathema. True, the Labor Advisory Board is an active factor in the administration of the Act. The men and women on the Board selected by the Secretary of Labor, are on the alert for labor's cause, and the socially inspired leadership of the Secretary herself is a new and weighty factor in the interest of labor. Still, it is claimed that this Board is not yet an adequate balance in the scale of forces at work.

The general attitude of organized labor may perhaps be summed up in the words of a veteran labor leader:

"I see it this way," he said. "If I play poker with an opponent who is making his draws from three decks of cards, while I use only one, I shall lose nine times out of ten, merely through the law of averages. And that is what labor is up against—as always—in the administration of this Recovery Act—great odds, which have got to be redressed."

What hovers before the vision of this labor man, and of many of his colleagues, is their experience with that other "Magna Charta of Labor"—the Clayton Act, which was turned into an additional instrument of anti-unionism by the process of legalistic interpretation and unfriendly administration.

OF course, there is the other side of the picture. Labor, its critics say, has laid too little stress hitherto upon research, factual data, the habit of marshalling its case in accord with evidence and too much stress upon organized power. Only a few unions carry on research and only one or two have employed trained assistance in drafting the labor sections of the new codes. To be sure, research and legal talent come high. Labor entered the Washington battle after four years of depression and with depleted funds. It cannot hope to compete with employers in acquiring trained statisticians and counsel. One group of employers brought a staff of eleven experts to Washington, hired a suite of rooms in a hotel and told them to get all the facts upon their industry. On the other hand, the American Federation of Labor was slow in grasping its new opportunities and in starting a code department. It is likely that the first real gain to American labor, under the Recovery Act, will come through a revaluation of labor's case in terms of research and economic evidence, and in stressing the factual, rather than the emotional aspect of labor's cause. The appointment of L. C. Marshall, formerly head of the economics department of the University of Chicago, as economic adviser to the A F of L points in that direction.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

On a trip to nowhere

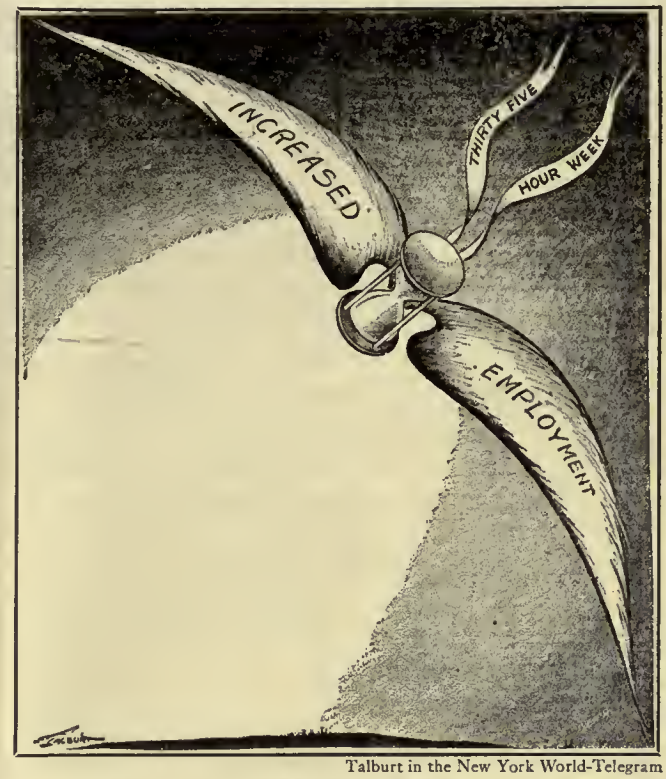
In pressing their claims under the Recovery Act, the unions appeal not only to the letter and to the spirit of the law as they understand it, but to the historic rôle which presumably is theirs. The social reason of the labor union lies in the fact that it is the workers' contribution both to distributive justice and to the productive side of industry. In the former capacity, the trade unions stand for rewards more nearly equal to individual merit and to a more social division of the total national dividend. As the workers' protective association, the labor unions safeguard the human element in industry, equalize labor standards and give potent aid in stabilizing costs and prices. Further, it is pointed out that where labor unions have been allowed to make contributions to personnel and technical problems, considerable profit has been gained in the orderly conduct of industry.

Of these claims most American employers have remained and continue to remain sceptical. For with the exception of a few



Jerger in The Progressive Miner

Part-time, low-wage worker: "I'm supposed to be sharing my work with another guy. What I'm doing is sharing the other fellow's unemployment and misery



Talburt in the New York World-Telegram

On the Wings of Time

TWO OPPOSING VIEWS OF NIRA

industries, such as transportation, printing, clothing, amusements and notably construction, American employers have proceeded definitely to build an industrial structure in which trade unions have no part. No voluntary change of heart under NIRA on the part of most employers may be expected, for the employers' attitude in the United States is rooted in two convictions. One is that union methods tend to raise costs, not only by raising wage rates and by restrictions on output, but by various rules and regulations which are of the very essence of traditional trade unionism. Employers abhor these union rules as limiting their power to organize and reorganize their plants, to hire and fire, and to adopt other policies necessary to the managerial point of view.

The other reason is that the American employer still thinks in terms of his right to "run my own business in my own way." This is not merely a legalistic attitude—it also has profound social implications. It means the use of property for personal power—an impulse which has been a potent factor in our economic and social history. Unionism is a challenge to such power, a limit imposed upon the economic domination of industrial management, and resented as such.

American employers, even more than those of other countries, have failed to see the constructive part which trade unions have played in Western countries. The unions have been the most potent factors in gaining for millions of workers a higher wage, greater security in the job, more leisure and dignified treatment in the shop. They have reinforced the effort of the public schools and other agencies to bring to the masses education, recreation and training in democratic citizenship.

Nevertheless, the attitude of many employers toward trade unions in the United States, is not wholly unreasonable. Many American unions, especially in some of the crafts and trades where they are most strongly established, have often been narrow in scope and outlook, oblivious to the larger problems of the industry, restrictive in membership and methods, and peculiarly subject to manipulation by unscrupulous agents and delegates. These defects have been particularly serious since 1920 in view of the new technological developments which pitted the craft unions against the processes of modern mass production.

LARGE employing corporations and anti-union employers' associations which feel that even under NIRA they must stand by their guns and refuse to deal with trade unions, reason as follows: Either NIRA is a bothersome interlude which will be wiped out by a new industrial boom, or it is the first step toward a new industrial set-up. If it is the former, it is necessary to hold the anti-union fort until the worst is over. If it is the latter, every effort must be made to nip new union efforts in the bud, in order to keep intact the old balance of power in industry. Taking their stand upon the letter of the Act, these employers believe that they can at least defend the open shop if not bring the company union under the wing of legality, either of which would seriously limit the possibilities of unionism.

What method has the Recovery Act for reconciling these opposing elements in a common purpose? No very reassuring answer can be given to this question on a mere reading of the Act. The pertinent sections are reprinted here, that the reader may re-examine them in the light of what has been said. These sections have already become stereotyped, appearing under legal compulsion in every code in the following form:

SEC. 7. . . . (1) That employes shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employe and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

(b) The President shall . . . afford every opportunity to employers and employes . . . to establish by mutual agreement the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary in such trade or industry . . . and the standards established in such agreement, when approved by the President, shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition. . . .

(c) Where no such mutual agreement has been approved by the President he may investigate the labor practices, policies, wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof; and upon the basis of such investigations, and after such hearings as the President finds advisable, he is authorized to prescribe a limited code of fair competition fixing such maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment in the trade or industry or subdivision thereof investigated as he finds to be necessary to effectuate the policy of this title, which shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition approved by the President. . . . The President may differentiate according to experience and skill of the employes affected and according to the locality of employment; but no attempt shall be made to introduce any classification according to the nature of the work involved which might tend to set a maximum as well as a minimum wage.

Obviously, the Act followed here the lines already laid down in the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act. In this way the Recovery Act continues the tradition of giving mere abstract legal rights where positive social action is necessary. Under the terms of the Act it may become necessary to force the issue as between trade unionism and company unionism, for both theories may be argued indefinitely.

THERE are some who believe that even under a formal administration, the Recovery Act will give trade unionism a great push forward. Reports are current that numerical gains are being made by unions under the Act. Most of these reports are to be discounted. The best showing to date is that of the United Mine Workers, but the 200,000 "new members" early announced by the union were unemployed men absorbed without the customary financial or even propagandistic formalities. The unemployed merely "allowed" the officials of the United Mine Workers to represent them at code hearings. It is true that unions have made small gains as a result of the Act, but they fail to measure up to expectations.

As a matter of fact, in most industries most of the barriers to unionism continue to stand. Under NIRA many employers have been posting in their plants such notices as "No man has to belong to a labor organization to work in this plant." These are perfectly proper announcements; when they were protested in Washington by labor unions, the general counsel of the Recovery Administration ruled that the Act was not designed to organize labor. This means, of course, that legal restrictions have been removed from trade unionism, but that the psychological and economic barriers remain—and they are greater than the legal.

In other words, under a mere formal and legalistic interpretation, the Recovery Act cannot find a solution for the century-old capital-labor issue. Neither does it promise to give labor a firmer position in the matter of organization. Since the hearings on the steel code, many observers, even in the labor camp, have felt that the Act will put an end to so-called company unionism. The A F of L would regard this as a great gain for its cause. Unionists have the same feeling for company unions that employers would have for trade associations organized by workers for their employers. I am inclined to think that the concession made by the employers in the iron and steel industry in their code hearings was a formal one and does not materially change the situation. And there is some reason to expect increased industrial friction which may eventuate in more strife than we have had since the pre-boom years, as is shown by recent events in the Pennsylvania coal fields, the clothing markets and elsewhere.

Some would seek the solution of the problem in a definition of collective bargaining which would give the A F of L trade unions the exclusive right to represent the workers. Such a definition of collective bargaining based on historic experience and industrial practice, would emphasize four points:

1. That collective bargaining must be between groups and organizations of workers and employers having independence and self-government in their internal affairs including the power to fix dues and assessments, to dispose of resources, to call in advisers, to engage counsel, to elect or appoint officers;

2. It must be concerned with all matters affecting the economic interests and welfare of the workers—wages, hours, working rules, hiring and firing, and so on;

3. In its developed form it must be coextensive with the industry in the sense that its terms must be formulated with regard not merely to conditions in one plant but to inter-plant relations in order to eliminate as far as possible the competitive factors which are due to the weaknesses of individual employes or of groups of employes;

4. Whether or not the methods recognized include strikes and lockouts, they must eventuate in a collective contract which both sides are willing and capable of enforcing by means of specially devised machinery.

BUT any attempt to solve a problem by definition merely shifts the basis of conflict. The most notable effort to formulate a national labor policy—made in 1919 by President Wilson's Industrial Conference—shattered on just such a failure. The employers' group insisted on extending the term, collective bargaining, to include bargaining between employers and workers' associations other than trade unions, and undoubtedly under NIRA employers will take the same position.

The way out seems to me to lie along entirely different paths. We must drop old terms and slogans and adopt a new method of approach. An examination of the trends in all industrial countries points to the conclusion that there are certain functions in industry, such as prevention of waste, maintaining morale, promoting social welfare, supervising labor laws in the factory—which cannot properly be performed except by workers' organizations. One country after another in the past decade has recognized that these functions are regulatory and administrative and have a public interest. The method (*Continued on page* 478)

PSYCHOLOGISTS AND NURSEMAIDS

BY ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE

NO doubt, elderly physicians have their dark moments when they recall some incorrect prescription, and judges shudder at times over the innocent men whom they have sent to jail. Certainly, if psychologists do not do penance for some of the absurdities that they have circulated about child training, then it is because they are male psychologists, who have never had to do the routine, day-by-day labor of raising a child, and who therefore never have discovered how ignorant they are.

In discussing this matter recently with the wife of a professor who wields large influence among students of education, I regretted that I could not be so positive about some matters of child training, as he seemed to be. The lady answered with a touch of bitterness; "The trouble with you is that you made the great mistake of having a child and training it yourself. That's what cramps your style. My husband has never been able to handle his own children for half an hour. He won't even try. He much prefers to run away to his office and write a book about them!"

I recall a plaintive passage in the letters of William James, written from Italy where he and his family were spending a vacation in quarters somewhat more restricted than those to which he was used in Cambridge. He seemed to be appalled at the omnipresence of his own progeny. Wherever he turned, he either bumped into a child, or fragments of its wash hung up to dry. He was distracted and tormented. Even that great humanist found it hard to collect his wits to study human nature while he had to live in such a welter of it. The most exhaustive of psychologists, yet I doubt if he was to be trusted even with a baby carriage. To do him justice, he would have been the first to admit it.

Far otherwise is it with many men, who at 9 A.M. in laboratory, clinic, and observation school, coolly and comfortably removed from the jungle and the hive, are responsible for most of the modern print about young humans. The infants whom they observe are presently handed back to some lady-in-waiting; mother, aunt or nurse-maid, who retreats with her cub into the bush. The man then dictates a few wise words on the child's behavior to his stenographer, and at 5 P.M. starts for the golf course. The silent woman who took the child in charge merely has to raise it, for twenty-four hours a day.

In my duties at court I have seen many deserted wives, who have to bring up their children alone, and earn their living besides. It is hard work, and the amazing thing about it is not that they sometimes fail, but that so many of them succeed. But when a man is deserted, and left to raise a child alone, how concerned we all are for him!

I recall an anxious father in overalls, who was trying to bring up his child with only incompetent help. He was disturbed about her red eyelids, and court proceedings were temporarily stopped while we discussed the best methods of mixing and applying boric acid to an infant's eyes. Everyone, including myself, burned with sympathy for the helpless young man. Yet even then I wondered why. Why was he worse off than twenty deserted working mothers I could name, who were also swabbing their babies' eyes unhonored and unsung? I concluded that it was only because we were all steeped in the same convention, namely that a man might issue orders about a baby, but must never be depended upon to carry any of them out. Perhaps it was really the baby whom we were sympathizing with!

This does not mean that men are unskilled by nature in the care of the young. Quite the contrary. Strangely enough, they are the baby trainers of every other species. They are helpless apparently, only with their own. Stockmen raise little calves and shepherds tenderly nurse their lambs. Horse lovers hover devotedly over tiny colts. And the robust men who roam the jungle for wild animals for the zoo and circus, are the most skilled of nursemaids for anything from a baby monkey to a new-born giraffe. Women, as a matter of fact, have no authority whatever in the raising of any but human babies. But about these nurselings, which so soon exhaust and even terrorize the average father, some male, sitting at a safe distance, is always writing the most profound works.

FOR example, there are two opposing views in child psychology both, to my mind, equally quaint and both of which show the earmarks of a male observer who can at any moment beat a retreat if the nursery gets too noisy. One is, that the properly disciplined child, once firmly taught who is in authority, will thereupon bow to this master mind, and forever after be obedient. Whoever started that idea? Any experienced grandmother knows that it is not true. I have seen little girls and boys, who have been models of good behavior, suddenly go "loco" and defy the authority of their most respected relatives. They know perfectly well who is "boss." They have deferred to him in the past. Now they refuse to do so. Mussolini himself and Stalin if he has a child, doubtless have their moments when dictatorship is a hollow mockery, and military discipline a house of cards. I venture to say, that there have been times when as their own knees grew weak, their infants' lungs were growing stronger! They knew the master's voice to be sure, but which voice was it?

Having a child of my own, and living upon a street which boasts one or more children in every house, I have an opportunity, as well as the daily necessity of observing how children act. In fine weather all of them are on the sidewalk. And when it rains, three to six are likely to be in the next room. They are all nice children, and I am fond of them. The guests all obey as well as my child does, and probably better. Nevertheless, to say that they MIND, if they can help it, is a fairy tale.

Take the matter of the bathroom being turned into a dolls' beauty parlor. Four delightful little girls, who well know that I am the boss, have repeatedly been told that my cold cream and toothpaste are not to be used upon the dolls' faces. They agree sweetly. But the toothpaste vanishes none the less. They tell me that they forget. That they did not know it was THAT toothpaste. That they thought that this was the cold cream that they COULD use and so on.

Eventually they will stop using the forbidden tubes I have no doubt. But it will only be when the dolls are turned out of the bathroom; or the tubes are hidden; or when they have all got sick of playing that game anyhow.

Another rule is that the playroom must be cleared up before they leave it. A system of "inspection" has been installed by which the room must be subjected to an overseer. But, oh, the agonies they go through to avoid this regulation! As the time to leave draws nigh, each child casually attempts to make the first getaway so that she won't have to do her share of the work. Sometimes this sly withdrawal develops into a stampede which nothing but my back against the door will check. My own daughter dislikes this clearing up as much as any of them. But naturally she tries to rally the rest of them to their labors so that she won't have to do it all herself. Sometimes there is a plaintive reproach from a visitor as she eyes the disorder.

"My mother wants me right away."

"Your mother can have you when the room is cleared up," I answer firmly, with my hand upon the latch. When "inspection" is over and my little friend is at liberty to return to her yearning mother, she whispers with a smile, that she just recalled that her mother did not want her after all. The difficulty seems to be with these children, that they are like their parents and like all human beings—in this respect. They want to do what they want and when they want to do it.

AND like all free-born citizens, they detest taking orders. Therefore, the other school of psychology teaches that children should not be forced into any deferential or subservient patterns, but should be encouraged to do as their own will and fancy dictates. This would sound delightful to my youthful visitors and they would all highly approve. But would any male educator who advised an absence of compulsive treatment, clear up that playroom himself, if the children did not feel disposed? Not he! He would escape to his quiet orderly study to write his views on freedom, while some grim woman with a broom swept up the rubbish which both he and the children declined to touch. I have always pored over the stories of the trainers of wild animals, the only experts on education who really "know their stuff." But never yet have I known a veteran trainer to advise that puppies, and ponies, let alone cubs and whelps, be allowed to make nuisances of themselves to their hearts' content.

Probably it is because animal trainers have to clear up the zoos themselves. When I hear a child trainer urge that a child should not be forced, I wonder wistfully if anyone ever tried to do it and succeeded. If so—How?

At a recent conference we were informed by the gentleman upon the platform, that a good arrangement for apartments was for the children to do their playing on one side of a screen while the adults stayed on the other. A splendid idea, but I ventured the question, "Do children always stay on their own side of the screen?"

"Certainly," replied the speaker with slight severity.

Oh misguided man! Let him wait until the novelty of the screen has worn off, and then let him try to compile his notes behind it, while a brisk difference of opinion is in progress on the other side. It will give him data for his next address.

I believe that some new, unprejudiced observations upon children have got to be made, not by office or clinic men, who do not live with them, nor even by teachers who see them only a few of their fresh working hours but by the women who actually are responsible for them, sick or well, both night and day. I know that in a courtroom I never see the sort of behavior that the parents report about their children. The youngsters are canny enough to refuse to misbehave in front of me. In the school and clinic it is much the same. But in the modern home, with its smaller family, I believe that the average mother is acquainted with her own children more intimately than any mothers ever were in the past, or than any outside educators are in the present. She must evolve her own science for meeting situations which absentee advisors, and even her own mother, never met. In the days of larger families and more clan life, the mother did not know half of what was going on because someone else was getting the brunt of it. Every younger child had another child, or an elder relative to do much of his actual care. Mother may have nursed the baby, but Henrietta took Tommy for a walk and Maria put Susie to bed. Samuel amused John, Hannah rocked Eliza, and Aunt Jane took them all in charge when they had the measles. Nowadays most women must combine all these activities themselves. They have no elder children to play nurse, no unmarried sister or grandmother in the home, and usually no maid. The chances are that the mother must be story-teller, nurse-maid, playmate, and instructor to her own child, on an all-day job unknown even to the primitive women of the wigwam, the igloo, and the hut. She has all the opportunity in the world (if she does not die of nervous fatigue), of being the world's best child psychologist. She has at her hand a mass of data such as no man in a clinic can command. If he ever gets it, he must get it from her. But she usually is too timid to express what she knows, and asks for advice even though she herself is the source from which such advice must be compiled.

Her timidity may be due to her own dissatisfaction with the job she has done. Not even the most devoted mother can, in her secret heart, look on Johnny and Jenny as flawless. She may be painfully conscious of her inability to talk about her job in the resounding jargon of the "expert." She may feel that because she learned about children from children instead of from books, what she knows is amateurish, unworthy the notice of the learned professionals.

A veteran zoo-keeper who had raised healthy bear whelps would not be likely to tremble before the opinions of a young laboratory man who had studied white mice in a cage. So why should she?

I AM now at the point where I demand of any man who dares to make a positive statement on the behavior of children this one question: "Have you or have you not, ever been solely responsible for one month for one human child of the age about which you are making dogmatic statements? Have you fed, argued with, got to sleep, waked up, nursed, punished, amused, listened to, and taught this child without respite, for such a minimal interneship, and could you keep it up for six months or six years if necessary? Animal-trainers, nurses and mothers do it. Can you?"

If such a man exists among the battalions of psychologists who are telling women how to raise babies, I should like to read his book. The rest of them can throw their treatises into the ash-can for all of me. I prefer to consult a lion-tamer or a good Scotch nurse!

"WHAT WENT YE OUT FOR TO SEE?"

AMONG the things left in his desk at Harvard by our son when, in January 1920, he slipped beyond our touch and vision, I found the verses printed on this page. I do not know who wrote them; I have heard that they were found on the body of a soldier killed in the World War, and widely printed. I know anyway that they stirred my son and exhibited the point of view from which, while hating every aspect and manifestation of it, he saw that titanic horror, and accounted to himself for the chaos into which his fate had flung all his own hopes and aspirations. So it was with innumerable lads like him, of character, poise and responsibility, suddenly dislodged from their business of fitting themselves for a fine part in the life of the world. They tried to make sense out of the turmoil, enticing themselves to take part cheerily, or grimly, in what they were told and tried to believe might be the opening of the door to "ampler life" for all mankind. Through the bloody murk and uproar they insisted upon glimpsing something in the future to entrance their eyes and justify their sacrifice.

My son was even resentful at my own obtuseness to the vision he compelled himself to see; my belief that we were entering upon a course whose evils would outweigh any possible by-product of good.

"You older people see only the destruction of the things you have been used to, and of your sons along with it," he said to me more than once. "When this war is over, there will be only two kinds of people: those who did and those who didn't. You have taught me to face the price of a better world, regardless of what I must pay myself."

Recompense

YE that have faith to look with steadfast eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife,
And know that out of death and night shall rise
The dawn of ampler life,

Rejoice, whatever anguish rend the heart,
That God hath given you a priceless dower,
To live in these great times and have your part
In freedom's crowning hour.

That ye may tell your sons who see the light
High in the heavens—their heritage to take—
"I saw the Powers of Darkness put to flight,
I saw the morning break!"

With mixed emotions—quite apart from the obvious personal aspects of it—I publish this poem as a sort of text, as an expression of the spirit of youth with clear fearless eyes looking forward. It will strike the reader according to his own temperament and point of view—as a pathetic symbol of the futility of that sacrifice youth made in those horrible days of physical conflict; or as a clarion call to see that the vision still persists. That the real significance of what we are going through may indeed be what they saw.

FOR the struggle still goes on, and no man can foresee the end of it—nay, not the end, nor even the next pausing-place. At what hour in the morning of what day in the week, began the Paleozoic, the Silurian, the Cretacious; not to mention our own Cenozoic, which as yet hardly has reached breakfast-time? "It doth not yet appear what we shall be. . . . " We do not know even vaguely what is going on; only that it is momentous.

"What went ye out into the wilderness for to see?" demanded Jesus. "A reed shaken with the wind? A man clothed in soft raiment?"

I dare say that long centuries after they and their kind were doomed by their own incompetence to meet changing conditions, indeed most of them dead in their fossilizing tracks, specimens, even herds, of the Brachiosaurus and the Diplodocus, feeling individually very well thank you, roamed the earth grumbling about the state of affairs and hoping for the "return of normalcy." Even in our own day we have seen and heard and may hear today such in human form bemoaning. As well they may, for they are witnessing changes all over the world to which, like the Ichthyosaurus and the Uintatherium and the Saber-toothed Tiger, they cannot adapt themselves. Right here at home—if anybody had proposed, a half-century ago, the things now in practice in American government and industry, he would have been immured as a dangerous lunatic; or, more likely, would have been laughed off the stage, as James Monroe would have been had he proposed Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. So this poem serves to measure youth's response to what we told them more or less exuberantly, of a new day dawning for freedom in the world; youth's disgust and disillusionment at the older generation's failure to live up to their own preaching; youth's espousal of various forms of radicalism; youth's recognition of the fact that we messed up their world and that they must work out their own salvation, their own destiny.

IT is no wonder that the Economic Conference ran aground and will have to be pulled off for a fresh start, or that the Disarmament Conference, adjourned until next month, bumps along among the reefs. Both have been trying to find compromise between irreconcilable things—the vision of a peaceful cooperating world and the maintenance of conditions indispensable to the existence of the ichthyosaurus of commerce and the saber-tooths of militarism. It cannot be done.

The most evident immediate obstruction is the fact that nationalism, however moribund in any long-range view, has still to run its course; or, if you prefer, has still service to render. The outstanding reality disclosed in both conferences is that internationalism continues an iridescent dream. Whatever is accomplished in the field of either disarmament or economic interplay must be among nations still highly self-conscious as such. That reckoned with, the world may nevertheless make progress, and use constructively the means within its grasp.

Far be it from me to condone the iniquities of the Versailles Treaty—it was the crowning atrocity of the war. But in the state of mind then prevailing, I doubt the power of

anybody to have mitigated those iniquities substantially, even though all sane persons even then recognized them as unconscionable. Wicked as was that treaty in multiform aspects, there were from my point of view two redeeming things in it. One was the Covenant establishing the League of Nations and the World Court; the other was the provision, inextricably interwoven therewith in both letter and spirit, for the reconsideration and revision of treaties (including that one) in due time, as war-passions subsided, as treaties appeared obsolete or objectionable. Owing chiefly to the American sabotage of the League of Nations —even despite which it has functioned with amazing vitality—the work of reconciliation, repair and readjustment has proceeded lamely; hit-or-miss, from hand to mouth, without coherent purpose or intelligent coordination. The wreck and present insanity of Germany are outstanding consequences. And we have the usual legacy of wars, aptly described by Thackeray in his story of the Battle of Waterloo, viewed at a distance in Vanity Fair:



Scott in the Portland Oregonian

Our splendid isolation

> Its remembrance rankles still in the bosoms of millions of the countrymen of those brave men who lost the day. They pant for an opportunity of revenging that humiliation; and if a contest, ending in victory on their part, should ensue, elating them in their turn, and leaving its cursed legacy of hatred and revenge behind to us, there is no end. . . . Centuries hence, we Frenchmen and Englishmen might be boasting and killing each other still, carrying out bravely the Devil's code of honor.

IT is with this ancient habit of the world that we contend now, and the very existence of these international conferences is index of the progress. The League of Nations has built up a technique, created an atmosphere. Between the frantic futile scurrying of July 1914, and the proceedings of today, however blundering, there is a difference in *kind*, like that between midnight and the grayest of dawns. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, returning from the London conference to which he made distinguished contribution, declares the conference to have "only just commenced," and voices the continuing hope to which mankind must cling:

> I pity the future of the civilized world if this is the limit of our capacity to go forward for human progress. Nothing is of more value than to have sixty or seventy nations of the world represented by ambassadors, prime ministers and heads of the government in a frank discussion and understanding on searching questions. There will be both economic and military chaos if the world leaves off negotiation and peaceful understanding.

It is a long way between that first gray of dawn and the sun of noon. Unless the world is to be a madhouse, we are seeing, despite all discouragements, the slow process of breaking a new day.

APROPOS of racial inferiorities, take note of the fact that there is one group in the United States which is not grasping for the three-billion-dollar public-works fund. The Menominee Indians held a tribal council in July on their reservation in Wisconsin and voted unanimously to refuse the $30,000 allotted to them by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works from the fund of $50,000,000 which Congress authorized to be expended for highway construction on government lands including Indian reservations. They sent a commission to Washington to inform the government that they would continue by the use of their own funds upon their reservation their record of eighty years of independence and self-support. Let the government allotment be used for destitute Indians of other tribes. Public Administrator Ickes remarked that "with thousands of people using every artifice to secure allotments from the public-works fund, many with utterly unqualified projects, the Menominees are giving a notable exhibit of true public spirit."

THE League of Nations Association, and the cause of interest in the League in the United States suffer a notable loss in the resignation of Philip C. Nash as National Director, to become President of the University of Toledo. From the position of dean of Antioch College Mr. Nash brought marked enthusiasm and executive ability to the Association, and for four years has captained a remarkable advance in public interest and intelligence, not only with reference to the League itself, but in all sorts of international information. He is succeeded by Hilton Howell Railey, a man of experience in journalism, in promotion, and in executive administration. He assumed office in July, but is spending the summer studying his problem, both at the executive offices in New York and in Geneva; his real activity will begin in October. He comes against a high standard of performance in the record of Mr. Nash, and an unexampled opportunity in the troubled international situation. The Association is in a measure reorganizing; a committee of the Board of Directors has just put through a plan for the better coordination of the Association's activities in all parts of the country.

Meanwhile, one sees with satisfaction signs of a tendency to unify efforts of various organizations devoted to research and propaganda with reference to international affairs. There is great waste, of money, effort and publications. To my desk come dozens of printed things, more or less futile by reason of small circulation and duplication of purpose and statement. And people, glad to contribute to the general purpose, are all penalized as to effectiveness by the scattering.

CUBA libre—at last? Perhaps; we shall see what can be done by the new regime, by grace of the army, the sugar interests and other incalculable factors. At press time comes the finish of Machado—another saber-tooth flung among the fossils. The army upon which he relied for his bloody dominance went back on him, as theirs did on the Romanoffs of Russia. *Haec fabula docet* (so hard it is for believers in military force to learn) that a gun is just as good as your grip upon the butt end of it!

Yet over all broods an abiding spirit which will not down, which survives all discouragement, which sees the break of day. As an old negro friend of mine says cheerily. "Let not yo' heart be troubled. Time is de mostes' thing God Almighty ain't got nothing but."

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

IN revolutionary eras men turn to pamphlets. Print becomes a weapon: books are deeds. The pamphleteers helped win the revolutions in England and in America. Our day sees a kind of revival of the pamphlet and short book. Is it a sign of a revolutionary time? In a crisis the man with an idea wants to get it into action, to help now. Driven by emotion, he has no time for a book; he wants to be read, not cataloged; he seeks a spear, not a net. He is willing to give all his thought in ten thousand words, accepting the discipline of brevity that cuts out all meanderings, verbiage, and academic vanity. He cannot be trivial or repetitious else brevity loses significance. So he seizes on the pamphlet to pour out the idea of which he is possessed for an audience he hopes to serve.

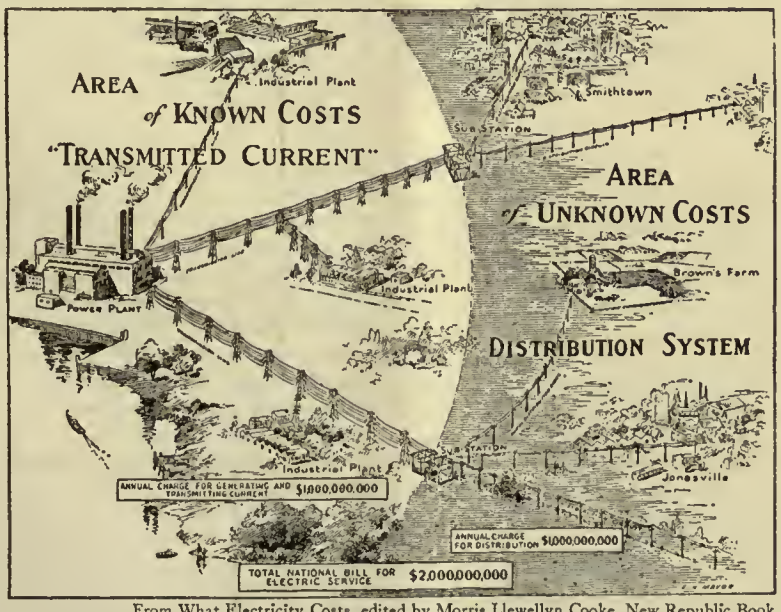
Fortunately that democratic audience that all agree must be educated for change responds to brevity because of an old human instinct for the easy and because it wants a guide to action. The most conscientious reader is glad to get a single idea, sharp and clear, in an hour; the task is within his power and time; he is refreshed and enlightened. We sometimes forget the virtue of pure fact and of brevity. Yet is it not the short essay that makes ideas effective for plain people? Are not the great moving concepts finally packed into a few words? Our minds seem to grasp truths one at a time so that even of a great book we remember only the lesson and the spirit.

The mental work of the people is done by essays and maxims. Consider the enduring revolutionary power of Milton's Areopagitica, of the theses of Malthus on population, of Thoreau on Civil Disobedience, of the Communist Manifesto, all brief. For the masses, further, the phrase-makers—right or wrong—are the true guides. How much of our time is covered by the familiar words: "The Industrial Revolution, the end of laissez-faire, the Machine Age, a planned economy, security." I do not discount the dangers in slogans and stereotypes with their oversimplification and embalmed emotions, nor forget that back of the great essays are the books of thinker and scholar with their wealth of research, synthesis, historical perspective and inspiration. The point is that pamphlets are very useful for certain ends at certain times.

I CALL attention, for example, to the noteworthy series published by the John Day Company, to the five booklets published by the American Library Association under the title, Exploring Our Times, and to the ever valuable set issued by the League for Industrial Democracy. They are but specimens of the flood of various excellence that flows by a reviewer's desk. I should include perhaps the satire, Let us Have War, by Silas Bent from the Vanguard Press, to reveal the modern use of edged weapons; and the propaganda type on Russia, and just now on Hitler and Germany.

These pamphlets seem to meet three needs: that of education, of exploration, and controversy. For the first, the Library Association continues its admirable set of sixty booklets, On Reading With a Purpose, with these challenging interpretations by authorities that are more than reading-lists though they do offer fine bibliographies. These digests and guides to thought include: Collapse or Cycle? by Paul Douglas; Living With Machines by W. F. Ogburn; Meeting the Farm Crisis by J. H. Kolb; Less Government or More? by Louis Brownlow and Charles Ascher. They cost twenty-five cents, or five for a dollar. I do not know where the average reader can get more condensed wisdom by experts.

For exploration read Harry Laidler's, Incentives Under Capitalism and Socialism (League for Industrial Democracy: 15 cents). Here is a central problem of debate, illuminated in fifty pages that are rich in ideas and facts. It gives evidence that the cooperative state will not lack the services of administrators, scientists and inventors, workers, or kitchen-police for any failure of incentives. For another quarter you may get a fine edition of The Communist Manifesto, with an essay on Marx by Harold Laski.



From What Electricity Costs, edited by Morris Llewellyn Cooke. New Republic Book

A complete electric system depicted in the cut includes a power generating station, high tension transmission lines (13,000 to 220,000 volts) leading to industrial plants, railroads, and other enterprises using wholesale power as well as to the distribution substations from which the electric current goes out at reduced voltages to the feeder lines connecting with homes, stores and farms. Ample data as to costs are available up to the distribution substation. From this point to the retail customer's meter, however, nothing has been known about costs—until recently. Yet in this zone (the dark section of the chart above) Americans spend one billion dollars annually.

In the field of short books, The New Republic continues its yeomen service with its dollar series. The latest is What Electricity Costs, a symposium on the cost of distribution to domestic and rural consumers, edited by Morris Llewellyn Cooke. The distinguished engineers, managers, and public-service commis-

sioners who contribute cover the whole problem of how your electricity gets to you and what it does and might cost.

The John Day Company has learned much about the commercial publishing of pamphlets with their thirty printed in two years out of 2000 manuscripts offered. They have had big names such as Beard, H. G. Wells, Pearl Buck, and Einstein; they have given us controversy—Gilbert Seldes, Against Revolution, and V. F. Calverton, For Revolution; they have covered exploration, Dare the School Build a New Social Order? by George Counts; they have offered us poetry; and satire, such as E. B. White's, Alice Through the Cellophane, wherein the remedy for over-production is to let the children run our machines for they always delight to run them backwards. Their best sellers are by Stuart Chase, with 11,000 copies of Technocracy, and 5500 of The Way Out of the Depression.

Richard Walsh, president of John Day, has given some valuable data on the economics of modern pamphleteering. They cost on average 5½ cents, with large editions cut to 3.2 and others reaching 8 cents. The royalty is 2½ cents. So Stuart Chase made about $400, and the publishers some profit which they lost on other titles, so they have come out about even. The pamphlets pay their printing-costs and royalties; but overhead, distribution, and editorial labor (and pamphleteers demand lots of talk) must be carried by the regular books. With thirty-two pages a profit is possible; with added pages it vanishes so that Mr. Walsh offers "sheer enthusiasm" as a reason for two pamphlets of sixty-four pages. We certainly owe a debt to this enthusiasm. For clearly pamphlets are not remunerative to publisher or author. The big problem is how to distribute them. News-dealers want quick-moving regular items with assured sales that take no boosting. Booksellers must center on books. So pamphlets must sell themselves—and they do, by mail and call. Mr. Walsh hopes other publishers will undertake pamphlets for that would certainly mean a better method of distribution. We can imagine a joint promotion service, or even an annual subscription plan.

The author may use up the very essence of his thought in a pamphlet and forego a possible book, or the money and wider circulation he would secure through a magazine. For the magazine and newspaper offer our modern vehicles for short articles: we did not have them in the great ages of pamphlets. But the author does gain in prestige and in impact from a separate publication. Yet his main reward is in service, in education. Happily we have men and institutions inspired by this ideal—and that is a *good* sign of the times.

IT may be reviewer's cramp or the summer solstice that makes me wonder whether the psychological values of the pamphlet imply a criticism of our serious expository books for average readers. Are they efficient? That means, are they read and do they register their ideas? How many of us resolve to read a serious book, find it is expensive, finally borrow from friend or library, turn the pages, and put it aside "until we have time" . . . that time that never comes? How many of us have invented a technique of extraction to get the heart of the book, by skimming, sleuthing for the pages that are new or significant, rejoicing over certain cases, drama, or human-interest touches, and depending on the final chapter to digest the author's thought? This plea in avoidance may be plain intellectual sloth: it may be due also to the author. He might have paid some attention to our human instincts as a guide to efficiency in presentation.

For popular education we do not want cheap, jerry-built, feature books. Yet do we always need the dreadnaught superstructure built up by convention to reveal that a book is a "serious contribution" done with pomp and circumstance? Books get ponderous and forbidding with ceremonial acknowledgments of sources (as if every idea was not a debt); the Introduction by a distinguished bystander, a testimonial that often pre-digests the author or leaps into the ether; the author's preface that almost never reveals his domestic life or source of income; the introduction to his thesis, very useful but likely to be a front-porch; orientation of the theme in background, definitions of terms, and schools of thought, that may be necessary but could generally be given in a short chapter; at the end, a summary that is often the whole matter, a conclusion, and perhaps an epilogue. In the middle is the heart of the author's thought—a nascent pamphlet.

Of course many books need all or some of these integuments. There are monumental treatises that need all the space and decoration they employ—and there are lots of plaster models of the monuments. There is the pseudo-scholar and the true scholar of whom the marks are simplicity, clarity and humanity. Even the scholar, abiding by all the rules of ethics and etiquette, often shows small concern for getting read and making recalcitrant readers do anything about his ideas. Some of the superstructure might be used for devices that will make the reader read! The excess baggage ought to hold one party dress.

The lesson is from the Spartan brevity of the pamphlet. Its virtue is shortness and readableness. It plunges *in medias res*, and it is effective because, revolution or no revolution, that at the moment is precisely where we are. LEON WHIPPLE

A Valuable Symposium

A CENTURY OF PROGRESS. *edited by Charles A. Beard. Harper. 423 pp., $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic*

THERE seems still to be much difference of opinion among returning visitors as to whether the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago has lived up to the high standards set for it; but without having seen the fair, and with no invidious judgments in mind, I venture to remark that the exposition has been worth while if only for having inspired the publication of this valuable symposium. The choice of Charles A. Beard to edit such a work is in itself a guarantee of merit; and on the whole he has selected his thirteen authors wisely, with a view to choosing in each field the person best qualified to review and evaluate the changes of a century in his own particular field of thought or action. William Green as spokesman for labor may, in spite of his official position, be greeted with a skeptical eye by the informed; and Henry Ford represents in industry a peculiar and a typical standpoint; but no better person could speak for natural science than Watson Davis, for invention than Waldemar Kaempffert, for social transformation than Jane Addams, or for the position of women than Grace Abbott. The one lack of the book (since there is an excellent index) is a series within it—there is such a list on the slip-jacket which most readers never see—of short biographical notations as to the authors; many, of course, are well known, and perhaps Dr. Beard considered it superfluous to describe any of them; but most readers will not know that Edward Hungerford speaks for transportation and communication as an official of the New York Central Lines; H. Parker Willis for banking and finance as consulting economist of the Federal Reserve Board; Frank O. Lowden, not for government and law, because of his long political career (Dr. Beard himself handles this chapter), but for his avocation of agriculture; Fielding H. Garrison for medicine as librarian of the Welch Medical Library in Baltimore, after a long career as a writer and editor of medical works; Charles H. Judd for education as director of the School of Education at Yale; and Fiske Kimball for the arts as a distinguished architect and director of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art. John Erskine, the only author still unmentioned, was an adequate choice for the progress of literature, both as college professor and as writer, though other names might more readily have suggested themselves to other editors.

Dr. Beard sets the keynote of the volume by his fine introductory chapter on The Idea of Progress. It invalidates at a stroke the entire philosophic school which opposes the idea that any upward trend exists in human affairs, and, ignoring the splendid achievements of man considered as a species of ground ape, laments because he is not yet a little nearer to the angels. He examines the "other-worldliness of the Christian Middle Ages" and "the illusion of utopianism [which] shadows all human thought about public and private affairs, challenging the idea of progress," and sums up his conclusions on this high note:

> The good life for a multitude, not for a superior minority living in a land of illusion on the sweat of the "ignoble"—this is the kernel germinating in the heart of the concept of progress.

Perhaps no chapter illustrates this thesis so aptly as Jane Addams' on The Process of Social Transformation. No one can read her survey of a century of history of social thought and action in America without becoming convinced that, however slow and impeded, actual upward progress has been made and is now being accelerated. As she puts it, the last century has "persistently tried to reach an equilibrium between individual and group responsibilities." The great problem of the next century will be to reconcile the inner conflict between growing political nationalism and increasing economic internationalism.

No mention, however brief, of this book could be complete, to readers especially interested in social work, without calling attention to Grace Abbott's chapter on The Changing Position of Women. It contains within fewer than forty pages an excellent summary of one hundred years of social history as it concerns one half of all Americans.

One of the most interesting features of the volume, and one which more than any other marks it as of 1933, is simply an omission. If such a book had appeared in 1833, the most prominent chapter would have been devoted to religion and the churches. But in A Century of Progress there is no chapter on religion at all. However great the advance in individual phases or groups, organized religion as a whole stands today just about where it stood a hundred years ago, and has read itself out of inclusion in a volume dedicated to the progress of a century. MAYNARD SHIPLEY
Sausalito, California

Trotsky as Historian

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Volume II: The Attempted Counter-Revolution. Volume III: The Triumph of the Soviets. *By Leon Trotsky. Translated by Max Eastman. Simon and Schuster. 371 and 474 pages. Price $3.50 per volume postpaid of Survey Graphic*

IN the concluding volumes of his monumental History, Trotsky continues the difficult task of giving an objective appraisal of events in which he figured as one of the chief actors. This difficulty has grown with the progress of his work, in direct proportion to the increased importance of his personal part in the revolutionary drama from March to November 1917. Trotsky chooses to recede into the background, treating his own activity with impersonal anonymity, or citing it only from printed reports and from notes of contemporaries, who were as often as not his adversaries. The result is not one of indubitable success. In my opinion, the work loses considerably in dramatic brilliance owing to the author's self-effacement.

At the same time his somewhat forced modesty enables Trotsky to carry out the more brilliantly his line of Marxian dialectics. Step after step he analyzes the unfolding events and endows the process with logic and inevitability. With documented facts and figures he builds up a striking panorama of Russia's transition from Monarchy to Sovietism. On the one hand, we are shown the workings of leaders' minds, the motives and methods of the military-bourgeois Rights and of the petty bourgeois compromisers tainted with a faint hue of Socialism. Between the two camps we see Kerensky groping and floundering and dancing, his effort to reconcile and please everybody resulting in the very opposite. On the other hand, we are taken into the midst of rank and file soldiers, of factory workers, of tillers of the soil, and are initiated into their slow but direct mode of reasoning. It becomes evident that the leaders grow more and more isolated from those whom they are supposed to lead. Kerensky's "government" is openly defied by the army and the civilian population. The Kornilov affair destroys the last vestiges of the soldiers' confidence in their commanders. The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists, spokesmen for the "revolutionary democracy," lose ground hourly, and are replaced in the Soviets of the leading cities by the despised and slandered Bolsheviks. Thus within the eight months that separated the political from the social revolution the leadership gradually and logically passed to the only party which had the temerity to be led by the slogans of the broad masses and to assume full responsibility for the realization of those slogans.

As a Marxian, Trotsky naturally subordinates individual endeavor to the dictates of collective will formulated by economic circumstances. The rôle of a midwife, in hastening and organizing the process of birth, he ascribes to the Party, the expression of the revolutionary proletariat. Such an approach precludes hero worship as well as personal mud-slinging. The hero of Trotsky's story is the mass, whose will and interests are articulated by the "professional revolutionists" of Lenin's caliber. Trotsky has admirably coped with his problem and has tactfully relegated his personal strictures against the Stalinists to the appendices at the end of the book.

The inescapable lesson from this extraordinary record is the solidity of the Soviet régime. Whichever side one takes in the Trotsky-Stalin controversy, and despite the obvious zigzags and blunders of post-Lenin Moscow, no impartial observer can deny that for fifteen years the Soviet Union has demonstrated an essentially greater soundness in its internal and foreign policies than the rest of the world. Trotsky shows us with a fine clarity the fundamentals on which the November Revolution was based. As long as the Moscow leaders adhere to these fundamentals as they were interpreted and acted upon by Lenin and Trotsky, there need be no fear for the stability of the Soviet order, erroneous strategy notwithstanding. ALEXANDER KAUN
Berkeley, California

Respectable Buccaneering

THE INVESTOR PAYS, *by Max Lowenthal, Knopf. 406 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic*

MR. LOWENTHAL tells superbly the story of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad receivership. His interest lies less in that particular story than in the light it throws upon the relation of bankers to receiverships, upon the inadequacy of the legal safeguards for investors which a receivership is supposed to provide, and upon the powerlessness of stockholders in a modern large corporation.

The Milwaukee was a railroad which drifted into distress with no very conspicuous effort by its board of directors to avert disaster. Many members of the board had little financial interest in the road; with one exception those whose investment was heavy sold their interest before the collapse. In the receivership which followed, the policies of the bankers who financed the road were made effective in spite of the struggles of certain impotent groups of stockholders. Mr. Lowenthal traces in detail the steps taken to secure the appointment of sympathetic receivers and lawyers, to bring about the deposit of securities with committees sympathetic to the bankers' plan, and to block by various legal fictions efforts to modify the plan. The artificiality of our corporation law becomes evident in this story to any layman. The tale is all the more impressive because it proceeds in an atmosphere of impeccable respectability, true to the traditions of modern finance, and free from the more dramatic buccaneering activities upon which critics of the bankers usually rely for their criticism.

In literary skill Mr. Lowenthal's work recalls Charles Francis Adams', Chapters of Erie. In clarity and insight it surpasses that classic. CORWIN D. EDWARDS
New York University

Philosophy Looks at Law

LAW AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, *by Morris R. Cohen. Harcourt Brace. 403 pp. Price $3.75 postpaid of Survey Graphic*

PROFESSOR COHEN has here collected articles published in the New Republic, various law reviews and elsewhere. He writes that he hesitated to put them in book form because "I have not yet abandoned the hope of completing a systematic exposition of the field of legal philosophy, and I fear that I may prejudice a good cause by the publication of what are occasional and therefore inadequate fragments." These essays, then, are points in the mind of a philosopher contemplating the law, rather than a presentation of his whole mind on the subject. They leave to the reader the task of inferring the curve of his ideas. (*Continued on page* 478)

At last • THE TRUTH

THE
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By HERBERT B. EHRMANN

Counsel, with William G. Thompson, for Sacco and Vanzetti, 1926–1927

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Could Science Make a Woman?

THE WOMAN OF 2300 A.D.

What will she be like? What are the possibilities of the future, when medicine and surgery may enable us to choose the features, or even the character, which we would prefer? Prof. A. M. Low comes to sensational conclusions based upon the facts of current discovery in the current issue of

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Among other articles:

When Should You Sleep? — Heat With Water — Thirteen Year Old Girl of Three — The Sailor Who Shrank a Foot — The Abortion Factor in Maternal Mortality — Artificial Heart — Impotence as an Occupational Malady — Seeing Without Eyes

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Taken singly, however, the essays are good reading. The law should benefit when a man like Professor Cohen, trained in the broad field of philosophy, brings a critical mind to bear upon it. Presumably the law suffers from the fact that nearly all those engaged in thinking about it at all—the judges and practicing attorneys—are preoccupied with the problems of somehow getting something done in the immediate affairs of men struggling in the swift flow of the current of life. One hopes that Professor Cohen will proceed with his systematic exposition.

The mental spectacles of even philosophers have a trace of color. They, like the rest of us, vision a world they would like to have. Considerations of the social welfare ought to be more influential—so the line runs. Professor Cohen seems pretty confident that he knows what is the general good. "I have already suggested," he says, for example, "that there is no injustice in taxing an old bachelor to educate the children of others." That is a generously large statement and the essays contain many such. It might not seem just to an old bachelor, dubious of the value of further adding to the population, and hopeful (probably without much basis for hope) that thrusting the burden of such additions on those responsible might discourage new ones. Such justice at any rate shows the wisdom of Thrasymachus whom Professor Cohen quotes in another essay, that justice is the interest of the stronger—which in a republic is assumed to be the more numerous. HASTINGS LYON
New York City

LABOR UNDER THE NIRA

(*Continued from page* 470)

adopted is to give recognized status to the labor organizations and to entrust them with the performance of these functions.

This is what I have designated as the trend toward quasi-public unionism. It is a world-wide tendency expressed in different forms in Italy, Russia, Germany, Spain and other countries. Its essence is the same—to make labor unions a normal and integral part of the industrial system and to integrate its relations with management through a coordinated system of special institutions which may perform the functions assigned to labor.

Every step we take in the direction of a controlled economy will take us nearer a similar form of unionism in the United States. As the problem of enforcing our codes under NIRA becomes clearer, it will be realized that neither the trade association alone, nor the government alone, nor both together can meet the issue fairly. All our experience with labor legislation proves that no police power of the State can be broad, efficient or alert enough to supervise codes. Only with the aid of the workers who are affected by the codes in their daily lives in shop and home can the provisions be carried out in full.

Undoubtedly, the coming of a quasi-public unionism will raise many new and difficult problems. Most of the labor unions of today need a thorough overhauling before they are ready to play a constructive part in industry. In all countries where labor organization has been re-cast to conform to the needs of planned economy, the unions have been rearranged in large industrial unions, with subdivisions for separate plants and establishments, in order to enable the unions to function more specifically in relation to production problems. One may regard the decision of the A F of L to develop the federal or plant union as in line with this tendency. However, before the federal union can become a really effective instrument, the A F of L must revise its constitution to allow for the full functioning and representation of these plant unions. At present they are completely overshadowed by and subordinate to the national and international organizations.

Much educational effort will be required to bring both labor and employers to the point of accepting a trend which they may neither admit nor trust. In order that the government may serve as a helpful partner to both management and labor, much careful study will have to be made of the functional needs of industry in which labor has a special part to play.

But in an age of social experimentation and control, the first

maxim of statesmanship is not merely to watch trends but to shape and guide them. Though concentrating on wages, hours and trade practices, NIRA can and should take the first steps toward breaking down the old capital-labor dilemmas. The establishment of Adjustment Boards under the cotton-textile code is a first step in the right direction. But with the aid of the Department of Labor, and perhaps by establishing a National Industrial Relations Board under NIRA, a more concerted attack might be made along the lines suggested here before we are involved in bitter conflicts over terms of power, which would imperil the success of the great experiment upon which we have embarked.

MUSEUMS OF THE FUTURE

(*Continued from page* 463)

education which assembles all historically significant experiments —primitive cave drawings which are extraordinarily clear and intelligible, well-worked-out hieroglyphics, attempts at pictorial statistics in illustrations of military campaigns, and other precursors of modern attempts at graphic presentation of statistics that are more than an attempt to reproduce numbers. But the principle of symbolical representation of number or quantity is only one part of the Vienna method. Another problem is how to bring into a revealing relationship to each other the totality of the individual graphs. Each new pictorial table, each new model, is in a sense only a chapter of a single large book in process of being written about the world in which we live.

The technical department is a large one; for here artists of reputation as draftsmen collaborate with others in working out sketches which then are cut in linoleum or wood, or engraved on zinc. Signs and lettering are printed, pasted on the original drawings, and then the whole is glazed and framed. A carpentry shop builds house models, illuminated wall-boards, and constructs the skeletons for magnetic iron plates on which metal signs and letters can experimentally be placed in any position with the aid of a magnet.

A photographic studio is engaged mainly in producing factual photographs—not intended to evoke esthetic sensations, but to emphasize the more significant aspects of the object, in preparation for drawings that will further simplify the outlines for graphic presentation.

Perhaps the most original section of the Vienna central institution is the department of transformation. On it the educational purpose of the whole enterprise is concentrated. While in other museums it is customary to have each department administered by a specialist who in turn must direct as best he can the painters, modellers, and other assistants placed at his disposal, in Vienna every one of the scientific specialists must deal with the department of transformation which acts as a liaison between him and the technical departments. This has the great advantage that there is one special department which knows exactly what potential visual resources there are to solve any given problem of presentation. A scientific specialist may be ever so eminent in his own field—indeed, he may even have high qualifications as an educator—but that is no reason for supposing that he necessarily knows what is the best way of translating his intentions into visual reality. Besides, it is a decided disadvantage to have the separate departments of a museum deal with their materials in different ways. Intentionally to aim at variety in this matter is wholly superfluous. The objects to be represented offer chances enough for variety even within a completely unified method of representation.

Just as in Vienna the department of transformation has succeeded in securing complete uniformity of method, so our effort should be to create a similarly uniform method for all the museums of a country—yes, of the whole world. A museum of natural history, a technical museum, a museum of hygiene, and a social museum will then represent, so to speak, four volumes of a single work. If, for example, the museum of natural history were to intimate that animal fats enter into soap manufacture, the technical museum, starting at the point only lightly touched on by the natural history museum, would show more in detail the (*Continued on page* 484)

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Zermatt

THIS is not a list of *do's* and *don'ts*, but an actual experience which it is well to avoid. Friends rallied round a "first-timer" to tell her of choice places to see and so on. They singled out Zermatt, in Switzerland, though not so widely known, as one of nature's loveliest handiworks — green pastures, crisp air, cattle with tinkling bells, brooks, waterfalls, gorges and mountains. And since her funds were limited, she decided the one mountain she could afford to visit should be Zermatt, which according to her friends was in the vicinity of Geneva. Going down on the train from Paris, she got into conversation with a man connected with the League of Nations and mentioned that Zermatt was on her itinerary. With the confidence of a resident, he proceeded to inform her that it was near not Geneva but Zurich. And like a novice, without checking up at one of the tourist offices, she took this man's misinformation as gospel and went on to Zurich, only to learn that in leaving Geneva she left Zermatt farther behind— and unseen so far as she was concerned. According to the encyclopaedia, Zermatt is a mountain village 5315 feet above sea level—at the head of the Visp valley and the foot of the Matterhorn. Its small population is German-speaking.

Contest

HERE is a chance for American poets to earn a bit of money and possible renown. Three prizes of $100, $50 and honorable mention will be awarded for an international hymn, to be sung to the first sixteen measures of the Ode to Joy of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Harriet Whittier, League of Nations Association, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, will send complete details. She writes that inasmuch as on all sides, from businessmen, economists, financiers and statesmen, we are hearing that the world is an economic unit whether we like it or not, and that all the nations have got to work out together some kind of machinery to run it or else be headed for disaster, now seems the time to ask poets to voice the need of cooperation to this internationally famous melody.

Anniversaries

GREAT BRITAIN is celebrating a series of anniversaries, some of which have more than a familiar ring for Americans. It is interesting to note that the hansom cab derived its name from its inventor, Joseph Aloysius Hansom, a century ago. In addition to this vehicle, which he registered as the "patent safety cab," he designed a number of Catholic churches and important buildings. And how hardy is that perennial, the diary of Samuel Pepys, can be gleaned from the fact that this is the tercentenary of the birth of its author. The Waverley novels are very much younger; Sir Walter Scott having died a hundred years ago.

A Priceless Painting

A BRIEF note by M. Ireland in All About Switzerland, the attractive monthly magazine published by the Swiss Federal Railroads (475 Fifth Avenue, New York) contains the rather startling information that in Ponte Capriasca, a hamlet in Italian-speaking Switzerland (it is interesting to note that 70 percent of the Swiss population speak German, 21 percent French, 8 percent Italian and 1 percent Romansch), an English painter discovered "the world's best replica of the world's greatest paint-

ing"—Francesco Melzi's copy of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper. It is valued at a quarter to a half million dollars. A friend and pupil of da Vinci, Melzi came to this tiny place some four hundred years ago to escape from Spanish oppression in Milan. The monks and inhabitants were kind to him; and in appreciation, he painted this work over the altar in the church of St. Ambrosio. About two thirds the size of the original, and varying a bit in the coloring of the Apostles' robes, it is fortunately in excellent condition. Henry James has written fascinatingly of his visit to Milan to see da Vinci's famous painting, and its sad fate not only in having been cut into by a door, but in the gradual decomposition of the wall on which it was painted.

Henri Barbusse

FUTURE generations may recall Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland rather as the heroes of peace than the authors of Under Fire and Jean Christophe. At a time when the world is moving between nationalism and dictatorship, it takes courage, wisdom and faith to "fight" for peace and internationalism. At the age of fifty-nine, and in none too good health, M. Barbusse has come here to remind America that differences are never dissolved by ammunition. He will be speaking in a number of our principal cities; and will take his place with outstanding Americans on the program of the United States Congress Against War—September 2–3–4, in New York. Further information can be had from the American Committee for Struggle Against War, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Miscellany

PARIS has a house made of translucent glass three inches thick, the walls of which are cleaned by an automatic sprinkler system.

The largest ice cap in Europe is Vatnajokull in southeast Iceland, with an area of 3400 square miles.

When Spanish explorers discovered tobacco in America, they carried back seeds and grew the plant as a curiosity.

A Chinese jade carving exhibited in Chicago is a pagoda fifty-one inches high carved out of a single piece of jade and representing sixteen years of continuous work.—*Science News Letter.*

To Navigazione Libera Triestina goes the credit for the admirable innovation of teaching Italian during the ocean voyage. Apparently everything has been arranged to make learning the language both practical and painless. In addition to courses, the personnel and the very atmosphere on shipboard play their part in giving the impression that passengers are actually in Italy. (Italian Tourist Information Office, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York.)

A recent issue of *The Seven Seas* tells of a unique museum which has come into being in Vienna—"a collection of the brains of famous artists, scientists, writers, composers, and others considered worth examining, exhibited in neat glass cases." The museum has been founded by Dr. Economo for purposes of study and research.

To avoid possible confusion, the Czechoslovak State Railways, 587 Fifth Avenue, New York, point out that such resorts as Carlsbad, Marienbad, Frazensbad, Jachymov (Joachimsthal) are located in Czechoslovakia.

Travelers to Austria and Belgium may want to note these addresses: Pension Frida Richard, Parsch 31, Salzburg; and Pension At Home (Mme. M. Heyligers-Leroy, proprietor), 1 rue de L'Aurore, Brussels. Their recommendation is that they appeared in Pax International, monthly bulletin of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (12, rue du Vieux-College, Geneva).



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(*Continued from page* 479) processes of that manufacture. And similarly, if the technical museum were to indicate in a few pictorial graphs the quantities in which different articles are produced in various countries and in the world as a whole, the social museum would show the part played by this particular industry in relation to the whole demand and supply.

In other words, only through a unified, planned, central control of all museums and educational institutions is it possible to lead the public with the greatest benefit to its education from one museum to another, and thus to make the individual more and more familiar with the world in which he lives. Museums, exhibitions and periodicals might be regarded as three different means of education with the identical purpose of making him less afraid of the world. If previously he felt depressed by the complexity of facts, the visitor to the museum should leave it with the feeling that, after all, "one can find one's way through." We have here, then, a colossal international task in keeping with an age that more and more brings the eye into the learning process, and in keeping with the special social problems of our day. So the Mundaneum has opened branches in Berlin, Prague, and Amsterdam, where offices and facilities for exhibition have been placed at our disposal by public authorities. From these centers radiates a planned effort to influence the whole methodology of exhibitions and of education.

In the Soviet Union, the Council of People's Commissars has issued a special decree to the effect that "Dr. Neurath's method of graphic representation of statistics is to be applied in all schools, trade unions, public and cooperative organizations." For this purpose, a central institute for pictorial statistics, called Isostat, has been established in Moscow, where whole staffs are being trained for local bureaus, the first of which has just been opened in Kharkov. At present, five staff members of the Vienna Mundaneum serve as instructors and consultants in Moscow where, as specialists in pictorial statistics, they will also have the opportunity of introducing this new method into a social museum which is to be created.

At present, movements are on foot to establish similar regional offices for counsel on pictorial presentation of statistics in London and New York. While in the Soviet Union this work is necessarily centralized in one institution, and while in Central Europe municipalities and other public authorities with here and there a private organization are in the main the promoters of the Vienna method, in New York and London private initiative will, in the first instance, have to be relied upon. Here, foundations, societies, individual schools, and other institutions might cooperate to create effective central bureaus for promoting the work of the Mundaneum. Such a central office can render distinguished service in what we might call scientific management for visual methods. In this way one might hope that gradually a uniform method would spread to periodicals and books, expositions and museums, lantern slides and educational moving pictures, and that through a uniform direction of these efforts, these various tools of education would more and more complement one another.

The northern part of the world seems already won for the principle of pictorial presentation of statistics. Now the movement will have to be extended also to the southern half, especially to those vast areas where illiteracy still prevails. If I may compare a relatively unimportant influence with one of the greatest influences on human civilization, I should like to cite the diffusion of pictorial statistics as a general method side by side with the diffusion of the art of printing. From Commenius' *orbis pictus* an uninterrupted movement leads to modern visual education. A picture made according to the Vienna method shows at the first glance the most important aspect of the subject; obvious differences must be at once distinguishable. At the second glance, it should be possible to see the more important details; and at the third glance, whatever other details there may be. A picture that has still further information to give at the fourth and fifth glance is, from the point of view of the Vienna school, to be rejected as pedagogically unsuitable.

Thus there is developing a new clarity (*Continued on page* 486)

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(*Continued from page* 484) and purposefulness in communication that may be regarded as preparation for more incisive social planning. Teachers and other groups of people concerned in social education, directors of museums, and editors of periodicals are confronted with the responsibility of placing their energies at the service of this common international task.

BELOW THE SURFACE

(*Continued from page 454*)

crowding of these places, they are not as competent in them as were the Jews, who had never had a chance in the army or the government and had naturally turned to business, commerce, finance and the learned professions and journalism. Under the new regime Jews came into great prominence, they were leading men in the Socialist party and in the Democratic and even the Communist,—indeed, the fact that the most famous Communist leaders were Jews—Kurt Eisner, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxumberg, Haaze and Thaelmann, for instance—is always brought forward in any denunciation of the Jews. The Jewish professors, artists, journalists and leading physicians and lawyers certainly won their places fairly, in competition with Gentiles. But there is a quite understandable clannishness among Jews which brought it about that large and important services came almost entirely into Jewish hands because the chiefs chose all their assistants from among young Jews. Thus in the public hospitals of more than one city and in the *Krankenkasse* it was almost impossible for a Gentile physician to get a place. This was true in most of the Berlin hospitals while in Neukoelln, an industrial suburb of Berlin, the two-hundred city physicians there were all Jews. There were estimated to be more than seven times as many Jews in professional positions as their proportion in the population and this was not due entirely to superior capabilities, but in part to the fact that the Jew had at last a chance to favor his own people and used it imprudently. In this he was doing, of course, just what the others, Protestants and Catholics, have always done."

THE day when the Jew could do that is certainly over. As the Hitler government puts increasing pressure to find work for the unemployed, to better the lot of the small shopkeeper and to provide for the army of young professional men in a land that has already far too many, the persecution of the Jews increases, for here is an easy way of satisfying some at least of the hordes of claimants. We were told that when we read of work being found for six thousand more people we might be sure that at least four thousand of them were taking the places of Jews. The laws ruling Jews out of economic life are added to daily until one wonders if anything can possibly be left. Just as we sailed came the official announcement that the government of Hessen-Massen would provide 100,000 to 200,000 good Nazis with jobs during the next four weeks. Social workers assured us that they could see no prospect of a real increase of employment but Frankfurt-am-Main is in Hesse and there are still some Jews working there.

The passion for unification for "one aim, one faith, one discipline, one leader" seems also to increase and this too renders the Jew more suspect, more distrusted, for the Jew has a critical, sceptical strain and he is not carried away by the mob *Schwaermerei* which now possesses Germany. After the Leaders' Conference in Berlin in the second week in June the stiffening of program and intensification of methods was clearly to be seen. During the last ten days of our stay in Germany, we watched the clouds thicken, the suspense increase and finally we saw the dreaded blow fall on friend after friend, that which had only been threatened in May became a reality in June, those who escaped the first flood and hoped they were safe were caught by the rising waters and those waters are still rising. If anyone hopes that there will be a change for the better let him read Hitler's book, Mein Kampf, and he will be convinced that so long as Hitler rules Germany there can be no hope for the German Jew.

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Mary R. Anderson

112 East 19th Street — *Algonquin 4-7490* — New York, N. Y.

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AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

SURVEY GRAPHIC

Vol. XXII, No. 10 October 1933

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Files of Survey Graphic will be found in public and college libraries. All issues are indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Ask the Librarian.

Survey Graphic is on sale at the following bookstores: Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop, 2271 Telegraph Street. Boston: Vendome News Company, 261 Dartmouth Street. New York City: Brentano's. Philadelphia: John Wanamaker's. Pittsburgh: Jones Book Shop, 437 Wood Street.

THE GIST OF IT

SITTING in at the code hearings in General Johnson's famous Goldfish Bowl, MARGARET G. BONDFIELD saw the NRA in the making. She found it (page 491) revolutionary in spirit and fact—President Roosevelt "is riding on the tide of an emotional and mental revolution." Her contrasts of procedures and goals in the two great English-speaking industrial countries give a renewed sense of kinship. She is, as readers of Survey Graphic well know, a working woman who has been a lifelong member of the trade-union movement, the trusted lieutenant of Ramsay MacDonald who appointed her secretary for labor in his first government.

STEEL is the bell-wether of the anti-union industries, its labor policy obsolescent in comparison with its progress in management, in handling processes and raw materials, in safety engineering. As steel goes, so goes a great belt in American industry. Moreover, this is the industry that will get the first benefits of the tremendous outlays for steel products called for by the public works. How far will it pass the shove along? At the hearing on the Steel Code in midsummer, Secretary Perkins pointed out that neither in hours nor in wages did the code proposed by the steel men give such assurance. And while the employing corporations proposed widespread collective action among themselves, backed by government authority, to eliminate what they called unfair competition, the scheme of employe representation they proposed, confined collective action among their workers to a given plant or company. Further, to turn from workers to consumers, there were no provisions to protect the public. To interpret the hearings, the code which finally came out of them and its impact on this industry and its half million workmen, we turned to JOHN A. FITCH (page 495). It was Mr. Fitch's pioneer work in the Pittsburgh Survey that revealed twenty-five years ago the extent of the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week in the steel industry. Since that time it has continued one of his major interests as industry editor of The Survey and now as head of the industrial department of the New York School of Social Work.

NURSERY-SCHOOL children, half of them from well-to-do suburban homes, the other half from underprivileged families near Hull-House, have served as willing little guinea-pigs for a study carried on for several years by the Behavior Research Fund and the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research. Was there or was there not any difference in innate ability as measured by mental tests? The first report on the study is made (page 502) by ETHEL KAWIN. She is the director of the preschool department of the Institute. Her volume, Children of Preschool Age, from which this article was drawn, will be published next month by the University of Chicago Press. (About 400 pages, $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.)

WITH a background of newspaper reporting and executive work for chambers of commerce and economic research, JOHN A. PIQUET has specialized in the influence of geographic differences on economic and social life. Of his article (page 509) he says: "The westward trek of countless covered wagons will prove to be small compared to the rapidly developing migration of people and machinery from crowded cities to more favorable spots. These changes mean a new way of living."

ONE of the young, vigorous men of the young, vigorous automobile industry, ALBERT L. DEANE has turned his business experience and a clear head to the drafting of what has become known to increasing numbers of thoughtful people as "the Deane Plan." His article (page 512) is the first to be put before a general audience. He has also put it out in a pamphlet, largely diagrammatic, which, we are confident, he will send to interested readers of Survey Graphic: Alfred L. Deane, president General Motors Holding Corp., 1775 Broadway, New York City.

FOR his article (page 516) CHARLES STELZLE has ripe experience and background. After serving an apprenticeship of five years in a machine shop, he became a Presbyterian preacher and organized the Church and Labor Department of that denomination. Labor Temple in lower New York was organized by him and he established Labor Sunday. He inaugurated the plan to exchange fraternal delegates between central labor bodies and ministers' associations, and for many years he wrote every week an article which was syndicated to the entire labor press of America. He has served on the editorial staffs of several metropolitan newspapers and is the author of a dozen books on sociological subjects including his autobiography, A Son of the Bowery. He is now engaged in publicity and promotional work for social agencies and international organizations.

OF course we hate to brag, but after seeing the September poster of Ten Outstanding Articles chosen by the Council of Librarians for the Franklin Square Subscription Agency we were more convinced than ever that the contributors to Survey Graphic are a picked lot. For of the ten articles chosen, three were from our September issue: Labor Under the NIRA by Lewis L. Lorwin, Museums of the Future by Otto Neurath, and Below the Surface of Hitler's Germany by Alice Hamilton. In August two were chosen: Planning in Place of Restraint by Senator Robert F. Wagner, and The Bouncer of the Bluebird Inn by Herbert B. Ehrmann. The listings are chosen from a large number of articles, each of the principal monthly magazines submitting three.

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This new painting by Diego Rivera shows an early stage in the contest in this country between government and individual rights. Thomas Jefferson (left) who considered Shays' rebellion a good thing for the government, points to his comment: "God forbid that we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion." This is the third panel in a series of murals depicting revolutionary changes in this country that Rivera is painting for the New Workers' School, 51 West Fourteenth Street, New York

SURVEY GRAPHIC

DECEMBER
1933



Volume XXII
No. 12

THE GOAL OF GOVERNMENT

BY WALTER LINCOLN WHITTLESEY

EVERY title raises two questions nowadays. In the stern task of overhauling Stuart Chase while evading the Technocrats, one wonders whether our present politics permit government at all, and, if so, what goal we wish it to score.

By the method of contradictions, those who feel that we lack government, push toward dictatorship, some form of absolute state. Others take the same path by wishing or mental inertia. Dictatorship is as impossible in our politics as is laissez-faire economics in our industry. Both are attempts to solve problems in dynamics, in the relations between moving and changing bodies of persons and interests, by simply omitting friction. That method has been tried; may be tried again, but it never yet cured a hot-box. The power-governed countries of Europe seem determined to keep on illustrating this. Say what you will of democracy, in the last twenty years autocracy has shown itself considerably more destitute of the one essential thing, political sense. France may be the exception that proves the rule. Our own local autocracies whether political or economic are much too dumb, selfish and bankrupt to form a national absolutism. No one is going to dictate a receivership nor receive a dictatorship for the United States.

And for us certain "controls" do exist. No matter what peak of power the President may reach meanwhile, he faces the election of 1936. As public opinion forms in our country with the sweep and mass of an ocean tide, it can hardly be controlled by politics but is much more likely to be affected by events. If this were not so, Mr. Hoover would still be in office. The White House has a great advertising outlet in the unexampled subservience of the commercial press and movies. One must note, however, that the legendary "power of the press" (a sort of inky phrenology) has seldom been lower and that we are all fairly well hardened against advertising. If the movies have any effect on politics, it is probably to distract the morons from voting. We are well aware of and impatiently opposed to force or fraud in elections of importance. Senatorships may still be humorously auctioned off but not power. Mark Hanna did his work forty years ago. Governmental authority cannot Mexicanize 1936. That challenge to power and place is real.

Remote, aloft in their central control station of our law, the justices of the Supreme Court, at least five of them, will some day build a bridge of words to bring the changes of this time within the elastic frontiers of our quaint Constitution. Our social progress depends, *inter alia*, upon securing this requisite series of exercises in juristic theology (as we say, Supreme Court opinions). These may signify endorsement or correction of government acts or rather that new appointments have been made to this highest bench. Whether based on the old foundations, or modified from without by changes of personnel, or altered from within by judicial consciousness of new conditions, whether we like it or not, judicial review still remains in effect. It might conceivably remain still.

Within these shifting bounds we find with all the enthusiasm of surprise that there is government in our United States. As the cruise ads say, government is going places and doing things. We have struck back to the meaning of the word. After twelve years of negation and drift, government again consists in steering, in laying a course for the ship of state and holding it thereto. Those who have missed the boat don't like it. Neither do those who have profited by its being harbor-bound. But

Minds on the March

Men's minds have been on the march since a Black Friday burst over the Stock Exchange four years ago. Whither that journey will have carried them only the future can tell. But now, as fogs of anger, fear and panic clear behind us, we can look back at some turns in the heavy road over which we have come and begin to take bearings of the paths before us. That outlook is the concern of this special issue of Survey Graphic. In the first article Professor Whittlesey discusses what in 1933 has come to be the fulcrum of our interest: the aims of national government. In a letter to the editor he observed, borrowing from college terminology, that many a decisive goal has been made in the dusk on a slippery football field.



Keystone

"As the cruise ads say, government is going places and doing things. . . . After twelve years of negation and drift, government again consists in steering, in laying a course, for the ship of state and of holding her thereto."

today government exists and is in action—the greatest single gain ever scored in our politics.

What we had had for years together was not government but a continuous activity of professional electioneering, a skilfully tangled mass (or mess) of intricate relations between political power (rather apt to be inert) and economic gain fiercely promoted. We were not dissatisfied to have government merely umpire rather sham battles between interests and sections temporarily contending in what we were taught was a land of free and full opportunity for all. We were deaf to that bitter Spanish proverb, "The more there is of the more, the less there is of the less." We refused to see that much of this strife actually was to the death, that the opportunity was less real than the struggle. That day is over. We know now that if national sovereignty is to exist at all, government must not only decide issues but also make issues, must strike out on that main line of policy which fulfils the country's life.

These are big handsome words and no doubt seem vague enough. What is meant is that today, following the line taken by however dumb a popular instinct, call it mere resentment of hard times if you like, we look to the President to lead and act, to fix policy, to choose between interests, to balance contending forces. The President's doing so *is* government in the very strongest meaning that word can bear. Our ancestral revolutionary pioneer slogan of anti-government is obsolete, perhaps extinct, certainly dormant. The continuous battle-royal of persons, factions, sections and interests which has raged almost unchecked since our Civil War, has for the time somewhat piped down. Whether we can keep it or not we have government. But the whole political structure hitherto skilfully devised to win elections, reward victors at elections, and enlist combatants for coming elections, still cumbers the ground on which that government must build our nation's future. The elections cumber the calendar.

In the dynamic sense we have government (F. D. Roosevelt & Co.); in the institutional sense this structure is nine tenths moribund, an unsorted incumbrance of bone and fossil. We look to the headlines to see, most of us usually to approve, what the President is doing. In the facts of legal detail his field of action extends over forty-eight once-in-theory-sovereign states. For the working purposes of government as acts of power, we need perhaps about eight states, or rather sections in the geographical sense. Within our historically-politically framed states, ferment over three thousand specimens of that oddly diseased political organism: the county. Perhaps a total of about three hundred counties might be found useful if it were possible to lay these out in accordance with sound principles.

Our failure to organize newly grown urban areas into practicable municipalities has been notorious these fifty years past. Imperative need for change has been fudged off by rigging special bodies for specific small functions on lines similar (aside from political craftiness) to those on which Mr. Rube Goldberg builds his crazy cartoon inventions. The same fatuous stupidity characterizes both. The architect profits in both cases. Goldberg's devices are funny but Cook County (Chicago) Illinois with some four hundred and fifteen local governing bodies each able to tax and borrow, is not funny. Most parts of this netted region are subject to at least seven separate and quite independent "governments" and in one, North Village, it is possible to pay thirty-seven different tax assessments though doing so has not been entirely stylish in recent years. The Chicago area is peculiar only in that the facts of its politics are better known. To call this art of applied lunacy "government" is an abuse of words.

GREAT BRITAIN and in fact nearly all Europe was like this a century ago but we are a progressive and practical people. So the tangled hay-wire of areas, authorities, administration and tax levies is further confused by "commitments and involvements," by gerrymandering and any other sort of chiseling that can serve electioneering—contracting politics. Reform blazes up, dies down, and chaos endures. It is the jungle that is permanent, a jungle of accidental, historical, partisan arrangements within which favors are dealt out to persons, interests and sections for the profit of professional political cliques. The personnel employed is not apt to be of high quality; their point of view is almost necessarily shortsighted; and their spirit frequently one of greed. Crisis and reform, scandal and zeal, may force in improving changes but these are often encysted and held harmless as are foreign substances within an oyster (another low form of life). When times are good, when there is a social surplus that can be handed out, this "system" (another misused word!) is perhaps not too intolerable. American

optimism hopes for a new Tammany, that the county racket will die out, that figs are just going to bud and ripen on thistles. Today there is not much of a social surplus on hand for distribution but "the system" is still entrenched in constitutions, statutes, ordinances, payrolls and contracts.

Nevertheless the towering presidential dominance we have indicated was built, over night almost, and on the base of all this antiquated debris of unscrupulous particularism. The professional political technique of working by complication seeks, for selfish ends, to influence votes. In George Washington's indignant phrase, "Influence is not government," yet today we have government and that raised to the *n*th degree by a dramatic and energetic assertion of the power inherent in the greatest office on earth. Please note that Mr. F. D. Roosevelt was qualified for that office by the simple American method of convincing enough of the professionals, and long enough before the convention met, that he could be hopefully nominated. The tireless Mr. Farley, that Einstein of our political universe, had done his far-flung research, gathered the relevant data, and announced his irrefutable conclusions, as early as mid-July 1931. The nomination, election and inauguration followed obediently the order set forth in his thesis. He seems to have been equally scholarly as to repeal. The bum's rush the electorate has given the 18th Amendment is a vote of confidence in the President. Before such a showing of the voters' will all these politicos hide like field mice beneath the shadow of a hawk.

Another such testimonial was the strong public approval, shown by parades, letters to newspapers and the like, of our economic revolution of March–July 1933. Power over business affairs, which had fallen from the limp incompetent hands of panic, was taken by the executive and the people are for it. To carry out the legislation of those months will require much cooperation by local governments whose prestige has hardly ever been lower. But it must be noted that many a dingy political machine is "honeycombed with honesty" and that there is inspiration in partnership with national power. Federal leadership in matters vital to the locality brings out the best in our political man. Though the legend of political party responsibility is badly faded among us, still party structure can be used to broadcast support of the President and to short-circuit formation of public opinion against him. No doubt it is likelier that the collapsed and headless Republican Party will play 'possum and wriggle in obscurity while waiting for 1920 to come again.

ONE measure of public opinion is mail. Mr. Roosevelt got more than two thousand messages a day during the 1932 campaign and this total has since been doubled. Incoming approval rises to flood heights after an important radio address. Nothing like the present receipt of letters and telegrams at the White House has ever been known in peace time. This reiterated voice of the folks back home is a solid foundation for power.

Americans are natural-born monarchists as we have long shown in business, drama and sport. One would like to prolong this curve of change into a prophetic recasting of obsolete institutions: to picture the Presidential election becoming as empty a formality as was Congressional approval of the recovery measures; to imagine our courts of law and lawyers (*Continued on page* 640)

The President's fan-mail runs to 4000 pieces a day. "Incoming approval rises to flood heights after an important radio address. Nothing like this receipt of letters and telegrams at the White House has been known in peace time."

R. I. Nesmith





Courtesy Midtown Galleries, New York

AUGUST THRESHING — WILLIAM C. PALMER



Exhibition, John Reed Club, New York

WE WANT BREAD — NICOLAI CIKOVSKY



Exhibition American Paintings, Museum of Modern Art, New York

CLASSIC LANDSCAPE

CHARLES SHEELER



Exhibition, John Reed Club, New York

HOMELESS WORKERS

CAMILO EGAS

THE LAW AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

BY A. A. BERLE, JR.

THE reorganization of economic life in the United States must now be recognized not as a movement, but as a revolution. No student of history need be surprised at this. It has been inevitable since the Russian Revolution of 1917. It is of the essence of revolutions anywhere in the world that they tend to engender enhanced desires everywhere else in the world, the movements differing in objective and quality with the national characteristics of the country. After the American Revolution of 1776, all Europe tried its hand at republicanism in one form or another within the next forty years. Naturally, therefore, after Russia tried its great experiment in Marxianism in 1917, claiming a superior standard in social justice, it was to be expected that states the world over should try their hand at reorganizing economics to meet that claim.

Revolution necessarily contemplates the breaking of shackles of outworn law, and dissatisfaction with the slow development of legal modes and methods. This is what is happening in the United States. A word is justified as to the reason why so wholesale a change in our legal approach should suddenly become necessary.

Law advances by several processes, frequently obscure to the layman. The obvious method is legislation—the changing of statute law to conform to new ideas. The slower, frequently sounder and more permanent method, is that of the development of judicial decision. Another is that of courts of "equity," which in theory (though not now in fact) can modify the harshnesses of the law. Still another method is that of the "judicial fiction"— a process by which courts change the rules of the game without seeming to do so, by insisting on assuming a state of facts which does not exist. All of these methods combined, however, will not satisfy a popular demand for change in the system unless the legal administration is in the hands of men who are at once wise, courageous and foresighted. This is exactly what America did not have.

So far as the courts were concerned, the period just closing probably reflects judicial processes almost at the extreme point of sterility. Anyone who reads the bold decisions of British equity judges two hundred years ago, and their resolute determination to mold the law so that the result achieved would appear just to the parties and the public, is struck with the fact that English judges were perfectly willing to take the technical rules of a law into their own hands, assuming that their principal mandate was to do justice.

In America this is not the fact; the timorous adherence of courts to precedent, and their willingness to allow a process of equity—which by its very hypothesis was supposed to relieve against the rigor of the law—to fall into the same strait-jacket as the common-law courts, combined to undermine the faith of the American public in courts, except as a mechanism to get questions settled somehow and end the controversy. In other words, courts became methods for keeping the peace—substitutes for shooting it out—but not, to any sweeping extent, avenues by which new concepts could attain legal recognition. Coupled with a trial procedure which was at once technical and expensive, enlightened lawyers and business men generally began to think of the courts as the world's worst way to settle anything; and they have been cobbling up methods of their own which have no legal significance but which tend to make business more nearly safe. Hence the great development of the machinery of arbitration; the habit of business men of settling their disputes out of court, frequently without reference to technical justice, on the basis of the relative strength of the two sides.

TO this constriction of the law in general, the Bar added its share. Our finest law schools were engaged in manufacturing junior partners of great law factories in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, whose principal business was to further the interests of their clients, without regard to the aggregate social effect. There was a time in America when a lawyer not merely served his client, but endeavored in his legal opinions and the policy of his office to foster both the individual morality of his clients and the social morality of his clients' businesses. In the halcyon days of the Vanderbilts and the Goulds, success at the Bar became identified not with guiding clients soundly and honorably through a changing world, but with procuring for them whatever immediate advantage could be got by any process, including that of bribery and corruption. The process was refined and made more kid-gloved during the ensuing two generations; but it is still the basis on which many, if not most, successful lawyers in the great commercial centers have made their careers.

The Bar still remains the principal source of intellectual jobbing and contracting; it is full of honorable members who make their service as available to the community as to business interests; but the legal services of Boston, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles have been regarded, not without justice, as an obstacle to progress and not as an assistance. As Lillian D. Wald once said to me, "There are too few human lawyers." In business matters, and matters generally, they have been unfortunately even more grasping than their clients.

Progress by legislation, however, has had a different history. We have not the tradition of orderly political opposition, whereby the party in power proceeds with a program and the party out of power likewise, so that at all times political life moves forward according to a more or less complete program which has been thoroughly discussed. Excluding the Socialist Party, the first injection by a major party of an economic program of any far-reaching significance in recent American public life was Mr. Roose-

Better a bond issue than bullets, said the Washington State Supreme Court last June, holding an act for unemployment relief constitutional under the power to suppress insurrection, though the minority declared ". . . only as a last resort, if even then, can the Constitution be destroyed to serve humanitarian ends." Here a lawyer who helped formulate the program of the New Deal discusses new questions that hard times put to legislatures and courts and their meaning for the future

velt's, in the campaign of 1932; and the Republican opposition which he then defeated has as yet given no indication of arriving at a program on its own account. Accordingly, progress through legislation has largely been the result of the demands of specific groups—the western agricultural group, the progressive segment in the Middle-west, the cotton and coal men in the South, and the like, each of whom were trying to remedy a specific grievance. Our legislative progress has come in waves; and the waves have largely been the aftermath of our great depressions.

Today, we face the situation in entirely different terms. A question has been asked, and that question has not been answered. The question is, why, in a civilization over-full of material things, more than able to supply every human need, the organization of economics leaves millions upon millions of people in squalor and misery? Since it seems that private interests cannot, or, at all events, do not, solve this problem by achieving a balance, the insistence is that the state erect a form of law so changing the machinery of production and distribution that human needs throughout the country will be approximately satisfied. And this process involves a change in our thinking so deep and so fundamental, that the normal legal processes have almost necessarily been swallowed up in a set of economic mechanisms which must develop their own legal rules as they go along. Without attempting to give a complete picture, I here attempt to set down a few of the fundamental issues with which the legal system is attempting to grapple.

FIRST and foremost is the cardinal problem whether the only means of obtaining a living is to remain labor, unless the individual concerned is fortunate enough to have a reserve of property. Our legal system contemplates only a few ways of acquiring property: through wages, through inheritance, through gift, or through the process of exchange, including speculation. Labor is obviously the principal avenue for the overwhelming majority of the population. Yet we have a machine civilization which reduces the need for labor. We are struggling, accordingly, towards a concept under which everyone is entitled to a share of the unquestioned material wealth the country has to offer, whether or not his labor is needed at any given moment. To this problem the law has thus far made substantially no contribution.

The second problem is like unto it. An industrial civilization can be kept going only by great diffusion of wealth and national income. Yet the national wealth is concentrated into the merest fraction of the population; and the distribution of national income likewise. We have evolved no mentality for diffusion of income. The mechanism of the National Recovery Administration is the first, ameboid, attempt to do this on any large scale. Competent observers like Mary van Kleeck insist that it is insufficient to do the job. From my own point of view the real importance of that act, and of the administrative procedure which is being pounded out as a result, is that it develops a new legal method. Heretofore, we have had absolutely no means of dealing with industrial chaos in a country so large that expansion was always possible,—and probably no such means was greatly needed. But when expansion has reached its limit and business has to live in a confined area, order is the first requirement; adequate distribution of income sufficient to support an industrial civilization is the second. The National Recovery Act is the first step, groping perhaps, but nevertheless of extreme significance toward reaching that result.

Justice Brandeis wrote:—

"WE MUST LET OUR MINDS BE BOLD"

THE people of the United States are now confronted with an emergency more serious than war. Misery is widespread, in a time, not of scarcity, but of over-abundance. The long-continued depression has brought unprecedented unemployment, a catastrophic fall in commodity prices and a volume of economic losses which threatens our financial institutions. Some people believe that the existing conditions threaten even the stability of the capitalistic system.

Economists are searching for the causes of this disorder and are reexamining the bases of our industrial structure. Business men are seeking possible remedies. Most of them realize that failure to distribute widely the profits of industry has been a prime cause of our present plight. But rightly or wrongly, many persons think that one of the major contributing causes has been unbridled competition. Increasingly, doubt is expressed whether it is economically wise, or morally right, that men should be permitted to add to the producing facilities of an industry which is already suffering from over-capacity. . . . All agree that irregularity in employment—the greatest of our evils—cannot be overcome unless production and consumption are more nearly balanced. Many insist there must be some form of economic control. . . .

Whether that view is sound nobody knows. The objections to the proposal are obvious and grave. The remedy might bring evils worse than the present disease. The obstacles to success seem insuperable. The economic and social sciences are largely uncharted seas. We have been none too successful in the modest essays in economic control already entered upon. The new proposal involves a vast extension of the area of control. Merely to acquire the knowledge essential as a basis for the exercise of this multitude of judgments would be a formidable task; and each of the thousands of these judgments would call for some measure of prophecy. Even more serious are the obstacles to success inherent in the demands which execution of the project would make upon human intelligence and upon the character of men. Man is weak and his judgment is at best fallible.

Yet the advances in the exact sciences and the achievements in invention remind us that the seemingly impossible sometimes happens. There are many men now living who were in the habit of using the age-old expression: "It is as impossible as flying." The discoveries in physical science, the triumphs in invention, attest the value of the process of trial and error. In large measure, these advances have been due to experimentation. In those fields, [it] has, for two centuries, been not only free but encouraged.

Some people assert that our present plight is due, in part, to the limitations set by courts upon experimentation in the fields of social and economic science; and to the discouragement to which proposals for betterment there have been subjected otherwise. There must be power in the states and the Nation to remold, through experimentation, our economic practices and institutions to meet changing social and economic needs. I cannot believe that the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment, or the states which ratified it, intended to deprive us of the power to correct the evils of technological unemployment and excess productive capacity which have attended progress in the useful arts.

To stay experimentation in things social and economic is a grave responsibility. Denial of the right to experiment may be fraught with serious consequences to the Nation. . . . This Court has the power to prevent an experiment. We may strike down the statute which embodies it on the ground that, in our opinion, the measure is arbitrary, capricious or unreasonable. We have power to do this, because the due process clause has been held by the Court applicable to matters of substantive law as well as to matters of procedure. But in the exercise of this high power, we must be ever on our guard, lest we erect our prejudices into legal principles. If we would guide by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold.—*From the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Brandeis, New State Ice Co. vs. Ernest A. Liebmann, March 21, 1932.*

We have as yet made no similar contribution in the field of distributing income when the labor of the individual is not needed. The Emergency Relief Administration coupled with the relief activities in many states and cities tends in that direction, but is too transitory to be considered an attack on the problem. It will have to be succeeded by programs redefining the rights and the status of individuals in terms of economics—just as we redefine personal rights and status in terms of civil and political privileges in the Declaration of Rights of the United States Constitution. The law will have to be built upon this redefinition, the mechanics of which might be, for example, enrolling all able-bodied individuals into a labor reserve, providing for their necessities, their sickness and unemployment insurance, differentiating their wages so that the married man with a family receives enough to support the family instead of being placed on a dead equality with the bachelor, and so that women performing equal tasks receive an equal income—an income enlarged when, as is usually the case, the woman helps in supporting her family. This is a field we have not yet entered but it is plainly foreshadowed by the modifications going on.

A third problem involved in all this is a definite legal control of what have heretofore been regarded as property rights. The right, for example, of a mortgagee to foreclose; the right of a creditor to eliminate his debtor from the face of the economic earth. These rights, supposed to be absolute with but few modifications (all of them, curiously enough, resulting from the boldness of the English judges two centuries ago when England also had more debt than she could collect and feared the effects of a wholesale quasi-enslavement of a debtor class) are now coming in for re-examination on all counts. Fortunately, they are being re-examined by enlightened creditors as well as by desperate debtors; for the right of a creditor to do something which either cannot be done, or is too unethical to be done, manifestly is an empty shell. It is not right to upset the social order as a means of collecting either principal or interest. Hence a new conception of the bankruptcy laws—the conception that they must among other things permit the individual to preserve his status as an economic organism. This was, by the way, Major La Guardia's contribution to the revision of the personal Bankruptcy Act in 1933.

Remains the great question of the Constitution of the United States. As to that, there is almost an equal division of the Bar—precisely the division you would expect to find when a revolutionary process is going forward. Nominally, this is a division on technical legal points—mainly revolving around two amendments to the Constitution—the Fifth and Fourteenth—guaranteeing the right not to have life, liberty or underlying property taken without due process of law. In the minds of certain men, including some of the justices of the Supreme Court, these clauses commit the United States and all of its forms of law not only to individual civil and personal rights, but also to a civilization based on property rights which may be indefinitely extended by one individual over another so long as they do not fall foul of police restrictions or of certain narrow categories recognized as public utilities and common carriers.

Typical in this situation is the fact that the theory of the National Recovery Act was largely adapted from Mr. Justice Brandeis' dissenting opinion in the Oklahoma Ice case—the courts of the United States, the executive arm of the administration, and the lawyers advising them, undertaking to believe that the dissenting minority of the Supreme Court had a clearer conception of the true possibilities of the Constitution than did the majority of the Court itself. In fact, of course, the conversation turns on the view which lawyers, and eventually the law, will take on the economic necessities of the time. If, for example, it is conceded that the only possibility of maintaining a government is by a reorientation of our economic life, then a Constitution which commits us against such reorientation virtually annuls the right to govern. It could, of course, be changed by a constitutional convention—a slow process—or by a legal as well as a social revolution; though perhaps neither alternative is altogether desirable. On the other hand, if the Constitution be taken as preeminently a charter of government under which as its first maxim there must be adequate power to do what is necessary to keep a government afloat, and the exigencies require economic readjustment, then the Constitution must be assumed to have flexibility sufficient to permit this readjustment.

THE issue may well simmer down to whether the judgment of the courts of the United States, the executive arm of the United States and, in fact though not in form, the apparent opinion of the great majority of the United States, considers essential this economic readjustment; or whether the nine old men of the Supreme Court are entitled to form their own opinion about it and to upset a movement of national scope solcly on that opinion. Fortunately, throughout its history (with the possible exception of the Dred Scott decision) the Supreme Court has shown itself wise in terms of government as well as in terms of law; John Marshall's famous dictum, "This is a constitution we are construing," has led them to put that document beyond the range of mere legalistics such as are applied when you construe a will or mortgage.

One can count in a time like this, not merely on the turnover of legal processes, but also on the rejuvenescence of the Bar, the bench and the thought of both. Young men come in and whether they are more romantic or more realistic, as you choose to put it, insert into the discussion their own thoughts. Older men, travailing with problems of injustice, maladjustment, pain or pure failure, seek new concepts. The Chinese philosopher rightly observed that it was easy to act, hard to think. A revolution might almost be described as an educational process; violent, expensive, but far-reaching.

This realignment of ideas enters the law in all its processes, easily through legislation and with more difficulty through the observation of lawyers and the courts; as it enters, it makes possible the development which inevitably comes with a movement such as we now witness.

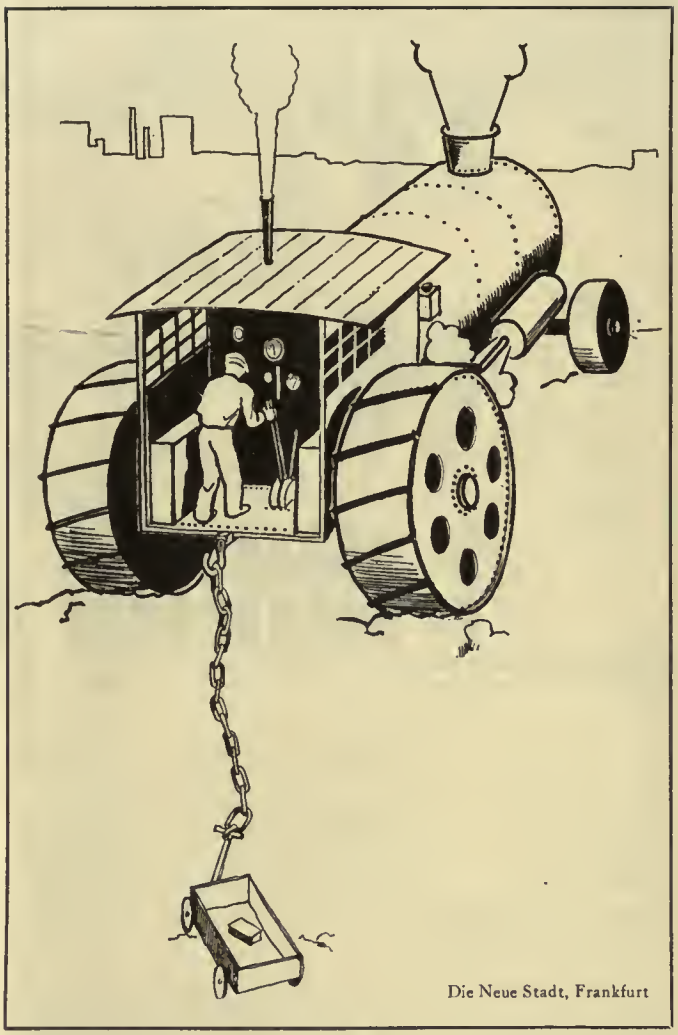
"EVERY REGULATION OF ANY BUSINESS"

A REGULATION valid for one kind of business may, of course, be invalid for another; since the reasonableness of every regulation is dependent upon the relevant facts. But so far as concerns the power to regulate, there is no difference, in essence, between a business called private and one called a public utility or said to be "affected with a public interest." Whatever the nature of the business, whatever the scope or character of the regulation applied, the source of the power invoked is the same. . . . The notion of a distinct category of business "affected with a public interest," employing property "devoted to a public use," rests upon historical error. . . . In my opinion, the true principle is that the state's power extends to every regulation of any business reasonably required and appropriate for the public protection.

—*Mr. Justice Brandeis, op. cit.*

IS THERE ENOUGH TO GO 'ROUND?

BY STUART CHASE



Die Neue Stadt, Frankfurt

We talk glibly about the paradox of want amid plenty. Have we plenty to go 'round? Here Stuart Chase makes a pioneering inventory of our national assets toward the good life, measuring plenty in terms not of its sales values but its serviceability: power to give all of us food, shelter, fun and security

TECHNOCRACY, if you can remember as far back as that, promised us all $20,000 a year. This is perhaps the peak of promises based on an economy of abundance, but many other engineers and economists have not been backward in stipulating a tremendous flow of goods and services to every family if the industrial engine were once geared to human needs.

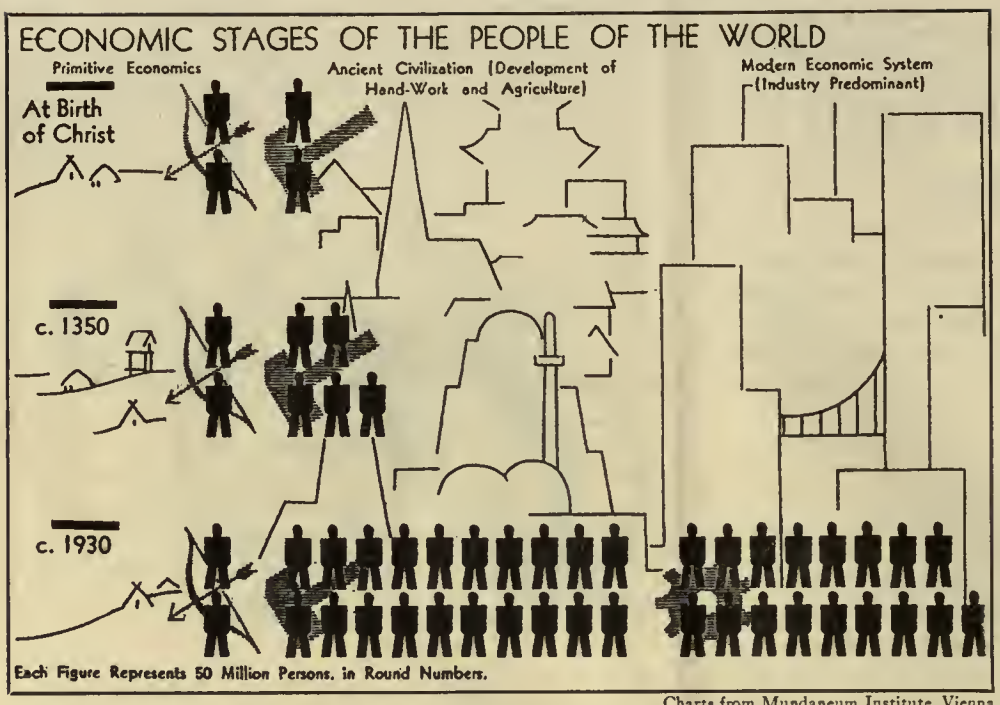
Ralph E. Flanders, sometime president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, gives a typical announcement when he says: "All engineers know that if an engineer-dictator over industry could be appointed and given complete control over raw materials, machinery and trained labor, he could flood, bury and smother the people under an avalanche of goods and services such as no Utopian dreamer in his busiest slumbers ever imagined." In his Economic Consequences of Power Production, Fred Henderson is more specific: "Without any further increase in our knowledge of power and of technical processes, or of our available materials, we could multiply production ten times over if the needs of the world were permitted to express themselves in effective demand." I have in my files opinions and calculations along the same general line from Charles P. Steinmetz, Marconi, Wolman and Peck in Recent Social Trends, Buckminster Fuller, The American Engineering Council, Walter L. Polakov, Stuart Chase, Rexford G. Tugwell, Thorstein Veblen, The All American Technological Society, L. R. Nienstaedt, Sir Arthur Salter, J. A. Hobson, A. M. Newman, to name only a few.

This is all very fine and cheerful, but examination of the estimates shows wide variation in possible performance, while the basis of calculation is reasonably cloudy. One wishes that the speculators would get together more, define their terms, delimit their territories, and check their estimates. I for one doubt profoundly if the "whole world" should be comprehended in these optimistic calculations. The energy, materials and technical training required effectively to raise the living standards of the populations — "teeming" is, I believe, the word — of China and India, presents a problem which staggers me, if not the cheery calculators. To give Chinese and Indians, for instance, as many automobiles per capita as Americans now drive would mean 140 million cars. At only 5000 miles each year and 20 miles to the gallon of gasoline, this fleet would demand 35 billion gallons of gasoline, far more than the whole world production of petroleum in recent years. As future reserves are severely limited, the happy Chinese would be lucky if he drove his new car as much as two years before junking it forever.

Almost a decade ago I wrote a book, well supplied with figures, which sought to analyze the waste of manpower in the United States based primarily on the Census of Occupations for the year 1920. The final summary showed that, from a functional point of view, 20 million 500 thousand workers out of 40 million were devoting their energies to waste. On the basis of this calculation, an Industrial General Staff could presumably double the then standard of living. A good deal of water has gone through the turbines since these figures were prepared. They stand in urgent need of revision, and the direction can only be upward.

Of what standard of living is the present industrial plant capable *without* extensive reconstruction, relocation, or bringing all units up to the technical performance of the best? Utopia is a useful bench mark for measuring waste, but estimates of living standards based upon it have no place in a practical inventory. Suppose that to Mr. Roosevelt, or Mr. Flanders, or whom you please, power were given to appoint an Industrial General Staff, and to establish immediately the highest standard of living possible with existing facilities? How many hours of labor a day would it take, and what would be the minimum family income? Nobody knows. No authoritative published study has ever been made.

This nation has not hitherto elected to regard itself as a social group, but rather as a miscellaneous assortment of competing individuals. So the law decrees. It has never had a national economy, or any but the most superficial interest in material welfare. As Thorstein Veblen says:



Charts from Mundaneum Institute, Vienna

Industry is carried on for the sake of business and not conversely; and the progress and activity of industry are conditioned by the outlook of the market, which means the presumptive chance of business profits. . . . Serviceability, industrial advisability is not the decisive point. The decisive point is business expediency and business pressure. . . . The vital factor is the vendibility of the output, the convertibility into money values, not its serviceability for the needs of mankind.

The industrial plant has been chiefly constructed to this dictate. Its vendibility has been measured and remeasured on the ledgers of banks, the balance sheets of great corporations, the tickers of stock exchanges. Its serviceability is unmeasured and unknown.

Competently to assess real serviceability would require a group of engineers, economists and statisticians working for many months. There are, however, certain known facts, and particularly certain qualitative considerations, which may make a rough chain-and-compass line by one lone student not too presumptuous. If, as I believe, we have reached a turning-point in economic history where serviceability *must* begin to replace vendibility, whether we like it or not, surveys of this character are destined to grow increasingly important.

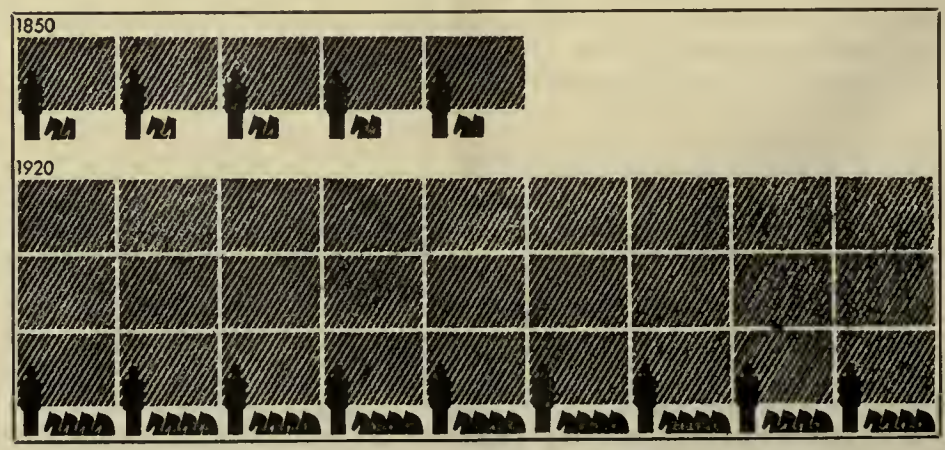
Energy Resources

IN the economy of scarcity which ruled the world until recently, manpower was the important consideration in computing possible standards of living. In the economy of abundance, natural energy from coal, oil, water-power, moves to the center of the stage. It largely replaces human muscle, and increasingly, through the utilization of the photo-electric cell, will replace human attention and judgment in detail processes.

With the current supply of energy the General Staff will have no trouble. Energy consumption is forty times what it was in 1830 for every man, woman and child. The plant already possesses the naked power for throwing off tremendous increases in living standards, provided other factors, such as raw materials and labor, can be arranged for, and certain debilitating wastes eliminated. Not an additional ton of coal need be burned, not another power-house constructed —though it will be well to finish Boulder Dam and Muscle Shoals.

Food

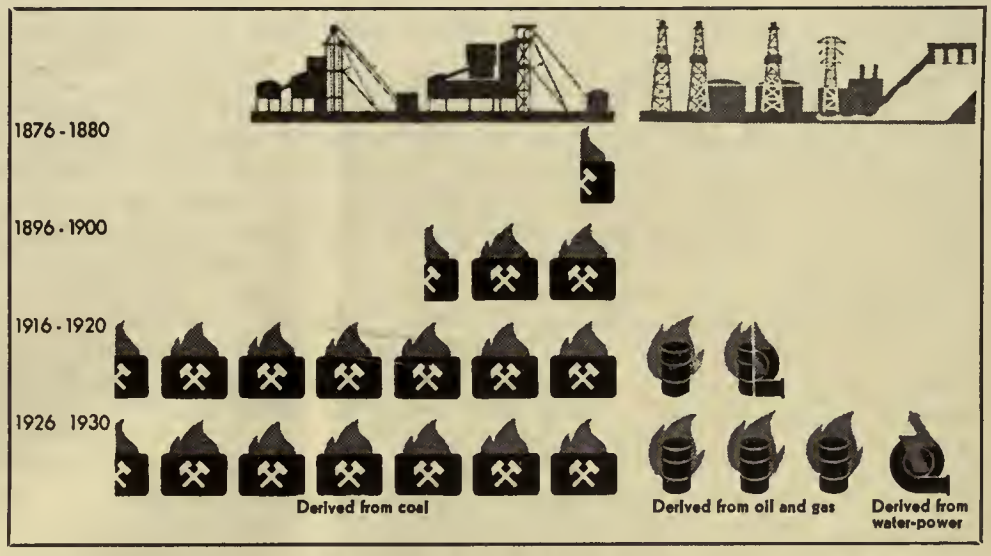
COMING to tangible goods, it is certain that adequate food supplies are available. Where earlier cultures were wont to spend from 80 to 90 percent of their total energy for the production of foodstuffs, America spends only 10 percent. If the General Staff managed agriculture as one great, cooperative industry, it could, without adding to present equipment materially, provide a succulent and balanced diet for every family, with considerably less energy than is now expended, and with considerably less land. How? By allowing the poor, marginal soils to return to forest, and concentrating on the rich soils, employing somewhat more intensive cultivation. O. W. Willcox, agri-biologist, after careful study states that if only 80 percent of possible yields were achieved—by means of water and fertilization—*50 million acres* would grow all the wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, cotton, potatoes and sugar now produced on 350 million acres. General Hugh Johnson once told me that given supreme command of the wheat-lands of Kansas, he would undertake to produce from that one state alone all the bread the country could possibly eat. A recent compilation by a Western professor shows a production of foodstuffs at the present time 40 percent in excess of what the 30 million families in this country can eat. Not buy, *eat*.



Relation of agricultural machine-power to cultivated land in the USA in 1850 and 1920. Each square represents 0.3 million acres; each horsehead, 1 million HP; each human symbol, 1 million agricultural employes

The food supply

is the more certain because population growth is slowing down and many statisticians believe it will presently become stationary or even decline. In considering any such program, we must realize, of course, that it does not provide for coffee, tea, tropical fruits and other delicacies which cannot be homegrown. If we are to have these items in our diet, surpluses must be grown or manufactured to exchange for them.

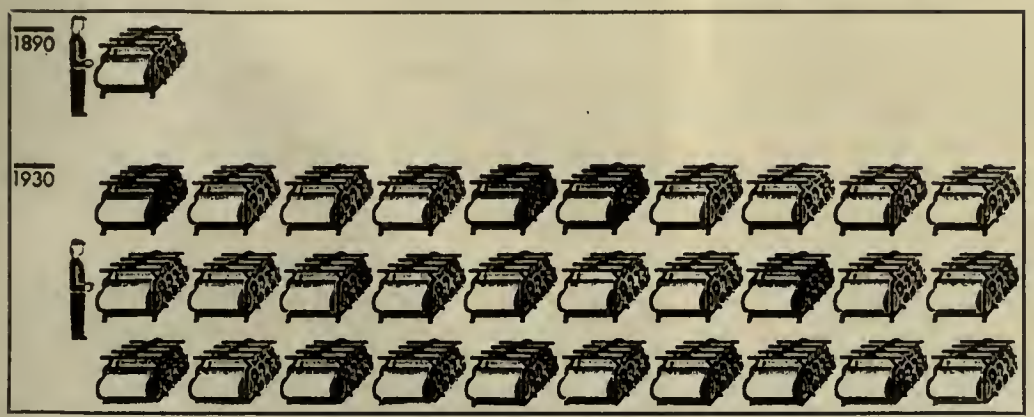


The most important sources of energy in the USA. Each symbol equals 75 billion kilowatt hours

Clothing

CLOTHING, like food, presents no real problem from the point of view of adequacy. Style factors, however, which are not serious in foodstuffs are something else again. Always in considering national budgets—and they keep me awake of nights—I have in the forefront of my mind a picture of a Georgia Negro and his family on a one-mule cotton patch. Is this family to be adequately fed, clothed, sheltered, educated and entertained? If it is not, these calculations are irrelevant and immaterial. We can undoubtedly clothe this family, and all other families, from our present supplies of raw materials, textile mills, and garment shops. Rayon, and perhaps ramie, must displace silk, but the excess capacity of rayon factories—excess in terms of what the market will absorb at current prices—is large. We have a huge surplus of cotton and, with a little budgeting, plenty of wool and leather. But to give the Georgia Negro and his wife all the latest in fancy fabrics and style changes would tax the clothing industry beyond its present capacity.

Here are a few of the figures on which I base my confidence as to clothing. Preparing their case for the cotton code of the National Industrial Recovery Act in the summer of 1933, a special committee of the textiles manufacturers reported 30 million spindles and 582,500 looms in place. On a three-shift basis, this standing equipment "would care for more than twice normal consumption requirements." Normal consumption is inadequate consumption on a service basis, but twice normal is probably more than adequate for all variety of cotton goods. In 1927, the capacity of the woolen industry was reported as three times the output, according to the Wool Institute. Ethelbert Stewart calculated the capacity of the shoe industry in 1927 at 730 million pairs against consumption of 300 million. (This capacity has since increased.) He figured that 260 shoe plants, out of the 1329 in the country, could supply the whole market demand at the time.



Mechanization of the factory. Each symbol represents four looms. In 1890 one workman operated four looms. In 1930, in the USA one workman ran 118 looms, i.e. thirty times as much as in 1890

Shelter

MOVING on to the third great staple, shelter, a problem of the first magnitude confronts us. One can say flatly that American industry is not now organized and cannot be organized, short of extensive readjustments covering a number of years, adequately to house the people of this country. At a conservative estimate, two thirds of all American families are inadequately, if not indecently, housed according to the researches of Edith Elmer Wood and others. The condition obtains in the slums and cubicle apartments of great cities, in the waste places of suburbia, in the shacks and shanties of the coal towns, in the leaky, cold, unplumbed farmhouses of the great open spaces, in the whitewashed cabins of Southern share-croppers, in the desolate hovels of the hill-billies. The editors of Fortune declare in Housing America:

> Authoritative estimates put something up to 90 percent of farmhouses, 80 percent of village homes, and 35 percent of town homes beyond the pale for lack of a sanitary toilet within the house, and almost as many for lack of running water. To these inadequate homes must be added homes inadequate for lack of light and air (say a third of the homes in the greater cities), homes inadequate for reasons of overcrowding, toilets in common, dampness, etc. The total most certainly exceeds half the homes of the country.

If to this we add homes without bathrooms and central heat—certainly necessities in any really adequate standard—the ratio of subnormal housing jumps to at least two thirds of all. This means that of 30 million families,

20 million need new homes, or extensive capital improvements in old homes.

To put 80 million people into decent, tight, heated houses or apartments, with electric lights and running water, quarters otherwise however modest, would place a burden on lumber mills, brickyards, cement factories, glass works, paint shops and railroads which they have never met; which is far beyond the capacity of most of these industries, save over a long period.

The only way out of this time dilemma lies in prefabricated housing. Housing, save for bathrooms, electric lights, central heating and a few gadgets, has changed little in two hundred years. Suppose the General Staff brought it up to date by mass production, so that one secured as much housing, for a given cost of energy and materials, as one now secures motor-car transportation? One would order from the factory standard parts which could be assembled in a great variety of wholes; in a day or two a trained service squad would lay down the cement base and bolt the parts together thereon. Between the order and the completed home, ready to live in, days would elapse instead of the months required by traditional conditions.

Prefabricated houses, furthermore, can be taken down as easily as they are erected, and thus provide *mobile* shelter. Technological change is constantly shifting industries and with them occupations. It is almost folly today for a workingman to own his home. The economy of abundance has forced us to be a migrating people, and the automobile has done nothing to stem the tide. If we follow Buckminster Fuller's suggestion, those of us who do not live in city apartments will rent our fabricated houses from a central service company, and when we have to move from the Boston district to Denver, let us say, the old house will go back to the Boston warehouse—ready for shipment to somebody else in Boston—and a new house, with changes if we want them, will be ordered from the Denver warehouse, of the same organization.

This may sound wild and strange. It is probably the only way to secure decent, attractive homes for Americans in the calculable future, at a low cost. It is not a job to be done in a year, or two or three. New factories must be built, new distribution methods worked out, a colossal tonnage moved. For a time, energy resources might be almost taxed. I suspect it would be a ten-year job. But for traditional housing, with its greater tonnage, its hand fitting, and craftsman methods —to say nothing of its immobility, the period would be twice as long. We conclude, then, that the General Staff could not provide us with adequate shelter short of a long, intensive construction program covering at least a decade. Well fed and clothed, most of us would continue to live in the houses already built, with such plumbing, roofing, electrical and other improvements as fall under the head of patching up rather than of genuine reconstruction.

Education

COULD the last child in America secure a good education on the basis of the present plant? Some critics gloomily assure us that no child in America now secures a good education. They may be right, but our concern here is with buildings, textbooks, teachers. So defined, I think we can point with considerable pride to our educational plant. Unlike the factory plant, it was built primarily for serviceability. It is unquestionably the soundest single body of buildings in the Republic. Above the dull, ugly quarters of the most ramshackle town rise the trim and spacious walls of the new highschool. Even as a church dominates a Mexican community, a school building dominates an American. Employing Mr. Wirt's platoon system, which keeps the entire school-plant effectively engaged, we could undoubtedly accommodate every urban child, with little additional construction. He could be supplied with teachers, perhaps not the best of teachers at the first, but conscientious American teachers, without an undue strain on the normal schools. Textbooks, supplies, transportation buses, are easy.

A few months ago the National Conference on Financing of Education laid down a blueprint for the General Staff to follow. The 150,000 one-room schools (little red ones) still existing should be junked in favor of "central school plants," built under the NRA public-works program. The present school-district map should be obliterated in favor of a new map in which rural units would have about 1500 pupils, urban units 10,000 pupils. The average school district is now only twenty-three square miles in area and requires but seven teachers. Enlarge the areas, centralize the plant, specialize the curriculum, use buses for transportation.

Health

COMING to health, we face one of the paradoxes that plenty has brought us. The money we have been spending for doctors, hospitals, nurses and drugs is enough, under more rational methods of distributing and paying for medical service, to provide adequate care for all of us who need it, with adequate return for those who render the service. Yet the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, from whose five-year researches that conclusion is drawn, finds that during the course of a year, two out of five of us receive no individual care of health or sickness of any kind. We cannot use what we already have in the way of medical resources. "Physicians, on the whole, are unoccupied between one third and one half of their working time; one third of the hospital beds are empty most of the year; thousands of nurses seek employment, but in vain. Meanwhile millions suffer and tens of thousands die from ailments which might be cured or alleviated by medical aid." The Committee presents the following table, which the General Staff, if it knows its business, will be quick to seize upon:

	Actual number in 1930	*Number needed to provide full service for all Americans*
Physicians	144,000	174,000
Dentists	68,000	219,000
Nurses—visiting	19,000	54,000
Nurses—hospital and home	118,000	216,000
Hospital beds	956,000	1,422,000

The personnel increases are considerable, and a certain time will be needed to train the required staff. But what a splendid opportunity this opens up for our tens of thousands of college undergraduates who have no careers whatever before them under the vendibility system; what an offset to technological unemployment.

Recreation

RECREATION is perhaps more complicated than health but not much more. It is a larger economic field. The motor-car industry has already come close to providing a car for every family in the country on the average (30 million families, 23 million passenger cars). With a capacity of 8 million cars a year it would be no trick at all to keep everyone supplied. Indeed the trick would be to keep them from

being oversupplied, considering existing highway and parking facilities. Radios for all are easy—factory capacity is in excess of 15 million sets a year. Parks and playgrounds can be extended without difficulty—once the land-value obstacle is taken firmly in hand—as can sporting goods and equipment. Mr. Roosevelt is even now employing 300,000 young men to prepare the national forests for, among other things, great recreation centers. The movies already reach the entire population, statistically, every two weeks—but they do not reach me.

If the General Staff placed its accent upon first-hand participation rather than upon watching other people play, it would be easy to prove that the American people could secure a rewarding quota of recreation at far less cost in energy, materials and labor, than now obtains.

The present normal bill for recreation has been estimated at 10 billions to 20 billions a year, depending on the items comprehended. It is far too much. Recreation has been taken well-nigh bodily into the province of vendibility, where it most emphatically does not belong. Play is by definition not a business proposition. The General Staff must put it back where it belongs, at a huge saving in cost. Incidentally, we shall have more fun.

WELL, what remains? Religion, art, philosophy, spiritual values? Fiddlesticks. Only fools make budgets for religion, art and philosophy. It has been found, down the aisles of history, that when a given community perfects a technique which allows it to eat with some peace of mind, art, philosophy, scientific curiosity, invariably make their appearance. Egyptian civilization was based on adequate supplies of wheat; Mayan civilization on maize. Ours is the first civilization to be based on natural energy. Religion is beyond me altogether in terms of this inventory. Bertrand Russell asserts that the intensity of religious beliefs among fishermen varies inversely with the size of their vessels. I doubt if economic security will destroy religion, but it may change its form.

This preliminary survey makes it clear that the existing plant, with its 37 million buildings, its 127 million major machines, its 92 million miles of transport lanes (computed by Robert R. Doane), and the rest, is capable of providing adequate food, clothing, education, health services and recreation, serviced by boundless energy, to all the 125 millions of Americans. In doing so, year in, year out, economic insecurity can be obliterated, torturing us no more. This adequate standard of health and security could be set in operation almost immediately without profound physical adjustments, whatever might be the profundity of the mental adjustments. More rural school buildings, recreation centers, sanitary engineering projects, hospitals, research laboratories, will be required, and some rearrangement of the agricultural output. A larger medical staff must be trained. The General Staff cannot, however, provide adequate shelter for the nation short of a decade. In other departments, every family can be provided for; every sick person; every old person; every child. The standard will be higher than 90 percent of all families actually received in 1929. The Georgia Negro will be five to ten times better off.

The average work-week would be 30 hours as a maximum, and might well be less. This estimate is arrived at as follows: Physical production in U. S. manufacturing industries in July 1933 was at the level of 1923–1925 production, but less than 60 percent as many workers were employed. The average work-week in July 1933 was 43 hours. Assuming 100 percent of 1925 workers employed, the same output could be obtained—that is the same number of hours—on a 26-hour week. We have more potential workers now than in 1925, which operates to *reduce* the work-week, but we may require for our budget a somewhat greater volume of physical production—though with waste eliminated, not much greater. (For further details see my article in Current History, November 1933.)

The total tonnage of goods produced would, I believe, tend to be rather under than over the tonnage of 1929, with a far greater ratio, of course, in the consumers' goods division. Ten percent of American families would, on an equal division, receive less in the way of physical quantity and luxury services than they did in 1929, although in terms of genuine serviceability many of the group would get more. The very rich would be far behind their present style, but they are only a handful and their style does not matter. If equality were not to be the rule, rather merit or ability, the mass standard would drop somewhat, though it would still remain far above the 1929 average, allowing a sliding scale of standards over this base.

Admitting that the General Staff could do thus well by us immediately, how much better can it do in the future? It can build us houses. That will help. It can slowly reorganize and rationalize the plant. That will help. I doubt, however, if we could go more than thrice above a good healthy minimum—which in turn was far better than 1929—because of certain rigid limitations in the plant itself.

Limitations

TO begin with, the transportation load fixes a maximum. B. E. Hutchinson estimates that the present railroad system is "fully capable of handling about twice the normal volume of traffic now moving by all means of available transportation." In other words, it could at full capacity move not more than two million carloads a week, as against the 1929 performance of 800,000 cars. Trucks and waterways can certainly add to this total. Present transportation capacity might allow three times the 1929 tonnage flow, but hardly more. I suspect, if all traffic bottle-necks, such as the approaches to Manhattan Island, were given due consideration, the possible expansion might be less, even with cross-hauling saved. If all the plants in New York City, moreover, were given the opportunity to operate with throttle wide open, could they get their raw materials in, or their finished products out? It would provide a splendid jam for a time, in the best of circumstances.

Again, while our factories have a theoretical total capacity probably twice their normal output, they have never operated at capacity as a group, and we cannot be sure that raw materials are available to supply them at capacity. Could they secure all the skilled labor they would need for capacity operation? We must remember that only 25 percent of American output is as yet on a mass-production basis; 75 percent is operating on older methods, involving a great deal of skilled hand labor.

In Debt and Production, a brilliant quantitative analysis of the history of American production, Bassett Jones has laid down certain growth curves which must be given emphatic consideration when estimating production possibilities. Production, like population, has entered a declining growth phase. The curve is heading for an ultimate plateau, due primarily to exhaustion of nonreplaceable raw materials like iron, copper, oil, coal. Sooner or later the world must run short of these prime necessities. Oil (*Continued on page* 642)

DEFLATING THE BOOM IN POPULATION

BY HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

The captains and the kings, the clergy and the lords of industry —one after another—have departed from a demand for unlimited population. Hard times, with the spectacle of old park-benchers and idle youth, have underscored the change, in the opinion of the president of the Population Association of America. The birthrate to which we have dropped since 1930 balances the deathrate only because we still have a supply of parents created by the higher birthrates of preceding decades

"I WAS ever of the opinion that the honest man who married and brought up a large family did more service than he who continued single and only talked of population. . . . My children . . . though I had but six, I considered them a very valuable present made to my country, and consequently looked upon it as my debtor."

In this piously modest burst of self-gratulation, the good Vicar of Wakefield was merely expressing the currently accepted and conventional standards of his time. In those days it was regarded as axiomatic that human beings were intrinsically valuable, that an increase of population represented a net increment in the assets of society, and that a family that contributed more than the average to such increment was thereby rendering a signal service to king and country.

This attitude was the natural result of centuries of conscious, and untold ages of unconscious, stimulation on the part of those who mold public opinion and public sentiment. At the dawn of the modern era the desirability of large and growing populations and the social obligation of married couples to propagate abundantly, were so completely taken for granted in western civilization that any challenge to them, like that thrown out by Mr. Malthus, fell like a veritable bombshell. In spite of more than a century of scholarly questioning of these popular assumptions, and the accumulation of voluminous evidence as to their falsity, the attitudes have lingered on up to very recent years. Mind-sets that have been ingrained in the human character through processes extending over the major portion of man's existence die hard.

But there are signs today that, in the minds of the more intelligent sections of society, at least, these ancient convictions are breaking down. It is not merely that individual families no longer desire a large number of children—it is doubtful to what extent the parents of the masses have ever really wanted their swarming broods, except perhaps to a limited degree in such transitory and unusual types of society as prevailed in the American colonies—but, more than this, the progenitors of small families no longer experience a sense of shame or of failure in their social duty, and the social value of increasing population in the abstract is less generally regarded as an accepted commonplace. The individual baby, as a little lump of appealing humanity, may be just as precious a treasure as ever. Indeed, it is probable that the babies who do come into the world under modern conditions are individually more likely to be welcome than ever before. But babies in the mass, mere nascent humanity, are coming increasingly to be regarded as a social menace.

The United States has taken fifteen censuses. The reports of each have been issued in a series of massive volumes. The interest of the average citizen in the first fourteen of these has been to turn to the section in which the numerical growth of his city and state was compared with that of adjacent ones. If he found that the rate of growth of his own community was higher than that of his neighbors, and that the country as a whole showed a notable increase, he closed the book with a grunt of satisfaction, and manifested no further interest in the Census until the next report appeared. But today an increasingly large number of people are beginning to raise intelligent queries as to the meaning of these extensive tables and charts, and to inquire into the real bearing of population size and population growth upon various aspects of social progress and human welfare.

In the light of this new popular outlook, it may be helpful to examine briefly the grounds upon which the ancient assumptions of the desirability of population growth have rested. In so doing, it should be realized that these grounds have by no means always been expressed, or consciously recognized, even by those who were most directly interested in maintaining them. They represent certain well-established and widespread values, objectives and criteria of human society which seemed to be promoted by the numerical increase of population.

FOREMOST among these may be placed the militaristic incentive. Suspicion, competition, rivalry and hostility have ever been the characteristic attitudes of groups toward each other, and these have inevitably resulted in periodic conflicts among most of the peoples of the earth. Warfare has been the universal expedient for both societal growth and aggrandizement, and protection and the sheer avoidance of extermination. To be able to wage war successfully has been a social desideratum second only to the necessity of producing the essentials of life. It is a truism that in primitive warfare manpower is the determining factor, and the basic element in manpower is numbers. Consequently, a large and increasing number of members, especially of the male persuasion, came to be regarded as synonymous with societal security and prestige. It needs no special evidence to demonstrate that this assumption has prevailed down to the present. The extent to which it is still valid obviously depends upon two considerations, the inevitability of future warfare and the degree to which military success in the future will depend upon numerical manpower. These questions will be examined briefly a little later.

Closely related to the foregoing is the dynastic incentive for population increase. As government became more definitely despotic, and single individuals or families came to dominate and hold power, the significance of mass population came to be regarded not merely as a means to simple societal survival or expansion, but as an agency for the glorification and enrichment of the ruling group, not solely through military prowess, but also through economic and cultural aggrandizement. The body of the people came to be regarded as the breeding herd of the tyrant. Never was this conception more tersely expressed than in the famous

epigram of Louis XIV, "*L'etat, c'est moi.*" With the spread of democratic government, this incentive, in its crude personal aspect, has tended to die out; but something of its spirit still survives in various of the aspects of "patriotism."

Next in importance, perhaps, comes the religious incentive. Encouragement of increase seems to be quite a general feature of the religious complex the world over. In some cases it is connected with the idea of ancestor worship, and in more primitive religions with the veneration of procreative powers. In modern religions it finds a more refined and quite adequate support in the natural desire of every religion to increase. Necessarily; the principal source of increment in the membership of every religion is found in the children of its adherents. A childless church is almost certainly doomed to speedy extinction. And since every religion naturally regards itself as the only true faith, it looks upon its increase as an augmentation of the blessed.

In the case of the Christian religion, this general motive is fortified by the specific injunction, twice enunciated in its holy book, to "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." It may seem strange that this command, supposedly issued thousands of years ago, especially as in the first case there was only one man and one woman in the world, and in the second case only one family, should be accepted today as a literal guide to social policy and individual behavior, and should be authoritatively advanced in refutation of any arguments in favor of the voluntary limitation of population, but such is the case as any one can testify who is at all familiar with the literature of the birth-control controversy.

In support of this religious attitude is the notion, still prevalent and influential in certain quarters, that any interference with the "natural" course of reproduction, specifically any use of contraceptive measures, involves the taking of life and is a form of murder. This idea is a survival from earlier generations, when the biology of reproduction was very little known, and all sorts of bizarre notions were current about the nature and origin of the embryo. Today we are aware that no new human life exists until after conception has taken place. Previous to that moment there are multitudes of minute cells, which exist in immeasurable excess above the needs or the possibilities of reproduction, and are continually destroyed by Nature's own processes. Every conception involves the destruction of millions of male cells as against the single one that enters into the embryo.

SO closely related to the dynastic incentive as possibly to be considered its modern manifestation is the economic incentive. Here it is the industrial barons and overlords who desire a large population in order that the supply of wage labor may be superabundant and correspondingly cheap. Like other molders of public sentiment, they do not broadcast their doctrine recklessly, nor necessarily even formulate it definitely in their inner consciousness. Frequently it, too, is camouflaged in the guise of patriotism, labeled by such grandiloquent slogans as "The needs of industry," "National economic expansion," "The commercial supremacy of the flag" and so on. But in essence it is the simple craving of the privileged classes for their own enrichment and prestige.

Another motive that sails with peculiar complacency under the banner of patriotism is what may be called "ethnic egotism." This is the conviction, quite general among peoples of every grade of civilization, that their own particular culture is the finest and most desirable on earth. Among primitive tribes this notion sometimes takes the form of identifying the name of the tribe with the word for men. "What tribe is this?" "We are the men." The implication as to other tribes is obvious. Modern societies do not go at it quite so crudely, but it is not necessary to wait till next Fourth of July, or to pay a visit to the halls of Congress, to recognize the attitude as not entirely foreign to our own national psychology. Probably the most conspicuous exponent of this motive in modern times was the Germany of the World War period, with its prodigious and insolent emphasis on *Kultur*. To the degree that it cherishes this doctrine, every nation naturally regards its own expansion as a real blessing to mankind, however little the fact may be recognized by its contemporaries.

THIS list of incentives may be closed, without any pretension to completeness, by reference to sheer megalomania, the admiration of bigness, the craving for size for its own sake. While developed to an exceptional degree among the American people, this sentiment is not unknown in other areas of Western civilization. The ease with which it may be applied to population, and the magnitude of its consequence there, need no demonstration.

Fortunately, the general questioning of all established forms, traditional institutions, and accepted values which has been precipitated by the economic disasters of the past four years has included these hoary assumptions about numerical population. Malthus, a century and a third ago, raised certain questions with a logic and cogency that could not be ignored, and subsequent students of population have supported, enlarged, and modified, but not basically altered, his doctrine until there has now emerged a distinct section of social science, which has been labeled "larithmics," which recognizes the scientific significance and the social potentialities of the quantitative aspects of population with at least as much clarity as eugenics displays in its study of the qualitative aspects. With the object lessons of the depression vividly before his eyes, even the layman is prepared as never before to challenge the age-old doctrine with reference to population growth. Let us put ourselves in his place and briefly examine the incentives.

As hinted above, the present pertinency of the militaristic argument for large populations depends on two uncertain future contingencies, the probability of the continuance of international war and the importance in future wars of crude manpower. If Frederick Adams Woods is right, and he seems to be, in his contention that up to date there is no evidence that war is a diminishing factor in human affairs, then any hope of a loss of force in this particular argument for population growth must rest upon faith in some evolutionary trends, or voluntary and purposeful expedients, not yet demonstrated in human experience. As for the determinative influence of manpower in future wars, the military experts are by no means in agreement, but there does seem to be a good deal of authority in support of the view that victory in the future will be determined much less by census totals than by intelligence, science, technology, individual vigor and versatility, and economic abundance. To the extent that this is true, of course, it operates directly against the argument for population size.

With reference to the whole militaristic incentive, however, there is one important consideration to be borne in mind. This is that if it be true that large populations have been, and possibly will be in the future, an important factor in the winning of wars, it is equally true that redundant populations have been, and are, the one great outstanding



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THE HOLY NAME MISSION, 1931 — REGINALD MARSH

factor in the causing of wars. It would be difficult to find a single important instance of international war that has not been directly or indirectly instigated to some extent by population pressure. This statement has been challenged, but never effectively refuted. There exists, therefore, a two-fold indicator to social policy. On the one hand it is imperative that population growth be checked in order that the stimulus to war may be reduced; on the other hand, it is desirable that the menace of war be removed in order that societies may be free to adopt and apply population policies on other than militaristic grounds. At any rate, it is absolutely safe to say that a century of stationary populations the world over would be an immeasurably greater factor for international peace than all the non-aggression pacts and disarmament treaties that ever have been, or ever could be, drafted. This is all the more true because of the fact, demonstrated by the World War, that although wars are caused by overpopulation, under modern conditions they do not cure the ills of overpopulation.

The dynastic incentive, as already indicated, is pretty thoroughly outmoded in its primary form. But in its modern guise, based upon the needs of industry, it has had a strong hold until very recent years, and would probably still be potent had not the depression (giving the devil his due) taught us some forcible and salutary lessons. This particular argument has run rather rapidly through three successive phases. First there was the assumption that prosperity depended on large production, and that this in turn required an abundant labor force. A more realistic economics within the last few years has demonstrated that true prosperity is a matter of consumption, rather than production, and for a time the economic argument took the form of advocating a large population in order that there might be no deficiency of consumers. Now, at last, the conviction is rapidly winning ground that prosperity is not necessarily a matter of numbers at all, but of social and economic organization, and an equitable and rational distribution of the social product. There is no support for the extremist position that the present depression is the direct result of overpopulation; a considerably larger population, in the United States at least, could doubtless be supported on a higher standard of living than prevailed even in 1928 if the social system were scientific and sound. But there is also no doubt that, given the existing economic order, the evils of the collapse have been intensified by surplus population, and certainly future improvement is to be secured by reducing, rather than accelerating, the rate of growth.

The religious, "ethnic-egotist," and megalomaniac incentives to population growth may be summarily dismissed. They are of that order of assertion that does not admit of argument, being matters of belief, taste or emotion. If any one sincerely believes that God has laid upon him the divine obligation to propagate freely, there is no way of arguing him out of his position. If any one is convinced that the culture of his own group is so superior to that of all others that its extension over the earth, even at the point of the bayonet and at the cost of millions of lives, is a service to humanity, it is a waste of time to bombard him with evidence to the contrary. And one who is a worshiper of The Great God Big will be turned from his devotions, if at all, by something besides argument.

What rational support remains, then, for the glorification

of huge populations, rapid increase, and large families? Aside from the dubious militaristic argument, absolutely none. Experience, science, and common sense all support each other on this ground. Doubtless, it would be unduly optimistic to assert that this conclusion has already completely won its way, and so thoroughly permeated the popular mind that never again will a stationary population or a diminishing rate of growth be viewed with alarm. Some Fascist dictators may still proclaim fantastic goals of population increase as essential to national stability and prestige. But it is noteworthy that Mussolini seems to be laying much less stress than formerly on the size of the Italian people, while Hitler appears to be much more definitely concerned with what he considers the quality of the German people than its mere numbers. For the ordinary layman, the sight of long breadlines, crowded park benches, and swarms of panhandlers has been too concrete and vivid evidence of redundant humanity to permit him for a long time to come to lend much credence to assertions of the desirability of population increase. And the individual family, which has seen its children go hungry, or even die of malnutrition, which has dreaded the advent of the new infant as a major calamity and been ready to resort to extreme means to prevent it, is certain to turn a deaf ear to recurrent pleas of religious, moral, or social duty to breed without restraint.

Indeed, this is one hopeful feature of a none too cheerful outlook. For once social expcdiency and personal interest are in harmony. It was suggested above that the actual size of family is seldom a reliable index of parents' desire for children. The progressive decline of the birthrate for the past two generations or so, coupled with the rapid spread of birth-control information and facilities, and the weakening of the ancient taboos against contraceptive practice, indicates that when parents, at least in the upper strata of society, are equipped to regulate the size of their families according to their actual desire for offspring, the rate of reproduction is likely to fall to a point not far above that necessary for the maintenance of a stationary population. Indeed, there is abundant evidence that the immediate trends, in Western Europe as well as in the United States, may be toward an actual decline in population. The continued numerical growth of Western peoples in the face of a declining birthrate has hitherto been possible only because of a correlated decline in the deathrate. But there is a necessary limit to the reduction of the deathrate, and there is good reason to believe that in many countries of the Western world not only has this limit been approached but that an actual increase in the deathrate may be anticipated within the next two or three decades (When Our Deathrate Goes up, Survey Graphic, September 1931).

These facts have caused no little consternation in certain quarters. But there is probably no occasion for serious dismay. The present need of the world is for a general, immediate, and drastic check in population growth, and influences working toward that end are to be welcomed. If, in time, the movement extends beyond the line of equalization, and a positive decline sets in, we need have little fear that any society which has legitimate grounds to feel that the decline is injurious can easily devise and apply social sanctions of one sort or another adequate to increase births up to the point necessary for stabilization. It would be an occasion for intense gratification, and the depression, to the extent that it had contributed to the result, would have largely compensated for its attendant miseries, if we could be assured that the cra of rapid and undirected population growth was endcd forever.



SCRAP IRON

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