THE THIRTEEN HORSEMEN

By
Rodney Howe Brandon
December
1934
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And I beheld, and lo a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand..... A measure of wheat for a penny and three measures of barley for a penny; and see that thou hurt not the oil and the wine.....

And I looked and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death; and Hell followed with him.

Revelations 6, 2-8

CHARACTERS IN THE WAR BETWEEN WELFARE AND ILLFARE

The Cavalry of Unhappiness

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THE WELFARE ARMY

Insurance
Social Service thru Government
The Red Cross
The Church
The Home
The School
The volunteer social services

The call to Battle

Poverty has gone into politics.

The grandchildren of the same people who beheaded kings and queens have decided to decapitate misery. The children of those who created a political party to abolish slavery have decided to abolish poverty by process of law. Whether they have to organize another party to do it, or not, depends only upon the willingness of some political party already in existence to champion the cause with intelligence and zeal.

An aroused and socially-conscious body politic in the United States has made up its mind that the thing called "government" may be called into play to make everybody happy all the time -- or nearly so. Volunteers of various sorts are showing themselves (mostly from California) with plans to do the job. Universal welfare is to succeed illfare wherever illfare exists, and a political program is in the making to arrange for the inaugural.

So why not take a little while to examine into this thing called "poverty" and see what it is.

Is it a disease or a symptom?
Is it momentary or permanent?
Has any society ever been able to escape it?
How much of it may be eradicated.
And how?
Chapter I

The Contingencies that bring Illfare

Why isn't all well?

This America is a great land. It is old enough to have had its fields enriched by the passing of many ages of life. In the pain of its growth it has enfolded into its body the coal and the oil for a vast people. Upon its hillsides grow the trees which, if intelligently sacrificed, will provide man with the shelter he needs forever. The sun shines on this land, and the rain falls in the goodly proportions which should provide for each man and each beast the necessities of life. The great perpetual motion machine of evaporation and condensation sends rippling down our slopes a constant, pure water supply to turn our wheels, water our land, and quench our thirst. History has proved that there is no angle at which land may lie under the sun better than that angle provided in the North temperate zone in which we live.

And the human beings who came to represent civilization, as we know it, upon this beautiful part of the earth's surface, came with many favorable attributes. The Atlantic Ocean, over which from Columbus in 1492 to the latest immigrant in 1934, a stream of new blood has come, has for most of these years been a barrier which has held back the sick and the timid. It has been a great filter through which have passed only those who had the will to strive and achieve. The weaklings, generally speaking, stayed in Europe and the "land of the free" was the "home of the brave". Even though some of us may feel that during the last third of its national history, the United States has tried to absorb into its ultimate composite too much of the less acceptable of the European population, we must admit that basically American stock is good, and if there is any place on the surface of the earth where human beings should live life characterized by general welfare, it is here.
Yet it is interesting to note, whether it be an inherent characteristic of human nature or not, that general welfare does not always characterize the lives of all of our people. Whether you go into the most congested ward of our biggest city or out upon the reaches of our widest and emptiest plain, you will find a majority whose lives are happy, peaceful, contented, and given to industry; and you will find minorities whose lives are characterized by anything but welfare. Let us for the sake of a name, speak of the unhappy minorities as the Victims of Illfare, and the happy and contented majorities as the Subjects of Welfare. Will it be possible for us to analyze these groups of people, study the facts surrounding these unhappy minorities, and see what may be done to decrease the minorities and increase the majorities?

The great battle to make everybody happy goes on unceasingly in all these areas. As one of our dividends on twenty centuries of Christianity we find a determination on the part of even that half which does not profess any open allegiance to Christianity, to strike down Illfare every time it raises its head, and to rescue and put upon a plane of happiness every victim of it regardless of the cause.

**What Causes Illfare?**

If you take the payouts from a typical Community Chest, or analyze the reasons for the relief payments of a township trustee, or supervisor; or otherwise study the expenditures of any of our social agencies, you find some contingencies cropping up which are common to all of these illfare demonstrations. Some of these contingencies are as old as humanity itself, and, in fact, extend into the animal kingdom. Others appear in animal life only among the human branch with its ability to organize and plan. Hearken to the words in the old Prayer Book -- "From fire and flood and sudden death, O Lord deliver us". Here is a prayer to the Creator for relief from three contingencies of illfare, which it will be noted,
are particularly obnoxious to a pioneer people.

In entering a new land it has been the general rule that people invaded it by the streams, used them as highways, and built their original homes along the shores of those streams from the wood of the trees which grew thereby. Always present was the fear of fire. Always present was the fear of flood. Always present was the fear of untimely death. But these same people, praying to be relieved of the disaster which follows any one of these three contingencies, could have found, had the prayer maker seen fit to extend the scope of his plea, a dozen or more other contingencies likely to spread unhappiness among the settlers. Earthquake and War and Civil Strife might come to diminish the happiness of the group, and Sickness and Accidental Injury were ever present. Had the petitioner gone further, he would have had to recognize the presence among a minority of people of an insufficient mental equipment which in our organizing, classifying and defining of civilization, we call Feeblemindedness, or the presence of a Subnormal Mentality. Likewise, had he looked deeper, he would have discovered that a minority suffered from aberration of the mind, and he could well have prayed to be delivered from the horrors of Insanity. He would have found a small percentage to be unwilling to play the game of life according to the rules. That some would injure the body of his neighbor, or take the property of his neighbor without due process of law; and if the petitioner were well aware of social balances and the cost of illfare, he would have prayed with great earnestness to be relieved from the costs and penalties of Crime, Misdemeanor, and Anti-social Action in general. Had he looked discerningly over the human subjects of his interest, he would have found that Laziness, Shiftlessness and lack of ambition, were something about which to pray for relief; and he would have recognized that Ignorance would end in dire results if permitted to continue. He would have found the social costs left in the wake of Divorce, and he could have gone, after
a few years of the operation of his community, into the cabins of his settlers and found real anguish in the social costs of Old Age Dependency.

If the community was new; if it had but within a generation entered upon new land and had found vast natural resources to be conquered and put to use; if expansion was still the keynote of the group; and if there was always a new section of land awaiting the arrival of manhood of the men and women produced by this society, the foregoing would have constituted most, if not all, of the basic causes behind the unhappiness, unrest, and misery of the people. But if he had waited to make his prayer until the land filled up; until an unbalance between city and country began to demonstrate itself; if he had waited until efficiency in industry and specialization among workers had abolished the original system of individual production, he would have added to his prayer a plea for relief from Economic Unbalance, and would have added the contingency of distress due to Unemployment. He would have found that this contingency for illfare periodically appeared among his people as they milled and struggled about seeking for adjustment.

Against the account of these dozen or so social contingencies, we may debit the unhappiness of mankind in America. The battle to abolish them or to ameliorate society's suffering which they cause, is one of the encouraging characteristics of twentieth century life. Christianity and humanity take umbrage at the view of misery from illfare. It translates its restlessness at such demonstrations into organized activity.


Chapter II

The Organizations of the Army for Battle

Proof of the general human interest in the fight to make everybody happy lies on every hand. Whether we are in a meeting of the noonday lunch club of busy business men, the women's club, the meeting of the committee for the Church bazaar, or the secret society lodge meeting, we find that as soon as the routine of business to which that particular group is dedicated, has been discharged and the order of new business reached, the minds of the members turn naturally to a desire for service. If there are beggars on the street, somebody wants to know why people have to beg; if children are coming to the schoolhouse under-nourished or dirty, some valiant brother or sister demands soap and clothing. If a mental defective is on the streets soiling the atmosphere of the community, the debate waxes warm, as to the methods of improvement. Proposals for mutualization of the hazard on sickness and accident and untimely death come up. America wants to be happy, as a general rule is happy, and wants to do something to make everybody happy. It is interesting to see how organizations to work to this end, are affected.

The Principle of Mutuality

Let us, in studying the question, go back and take a look at the simple life of our pioneers. Scattered over the prairie, three or four miles of distance separating each unit, lie the simple and undorned cabins, barns, and out-buildings of a new people. They are pioneers. There is, as yet, no adjacent county seat of government, no complex social order. It is each family for itself, in the struggle to provide a steady inflow of the necessities of life from the soil and the sunshine. In such a situation, John Smith permits his cow to kick the lantern over at the dawn milking and before John knows what it’s all about, his barn and his house are in flames. John doesn’t even have time to pray to be delivered
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from "fire and flood and untimely death". He gets the cow out and ties the ffrentic horses to a tree out of reach of the flames. And outside of rescuing Mrs. Smith and the children, a table or two, and a couple of chairs, he is forced to stand back and see his home, his buildings, and most of his worldly goods, transformed into ashes.

The flames and the plumes of smoke rising to the sky, advertise to his neighbors for ten miles in every direction that something untoward and extraordinary has taken place at the Smith farm. Jones, Johnson and Robinson drop whatever they may be doing, straddle their mares and come pell-mell to the rescue. They sympathize with the Smith family. One goes back to hitch up, bringing a wagon to haul the Smith salvage to his own cabin for temporary shelter, and the neighbors in general hold a meeting alongside the smouldering ruins to determine what is to be done. They start out with a basic philosophy that Smith is entitled to a new cabin, that he must have a new cabin, that he can't build a new cabin all by himself, and they accept unanimously and as a matter of course, the principle that all of his neighbors must participate, without charge to Smith, in the replacement of his cabin.

There is a basic recognition of the likelihood, or rather the possibility, of disaster thru fire, and a basic acceptance of the principle that the burning of the home might destroy even the lives of its inmates, unless, by community co-operation, the pain to the family might be in some way ameliorated. The meeting breaks up in a common attack upon the nearby forest for new logs, and a rough organization of the voluntary workers according to their varying abilities with the saw or ax or what not; the designation of a committeeman to go to town for nails, if civilization has progressed that far; and the delegation of somebody to round up the women to bring in side-meat, bread and beans to feed the group while it works. And here we see the magic hand of honest effort and organization, and in an amazingly short space of time, a new, and perhaps better, house rises from the ashes.
of the old, and the Smiths find that by borrowing for awhile a few pots and pans and dishes from the fortunate neighbors who have more than they require, there has come a restoration of welfare to the Smith family.

Mutuality Develops into Insurance

The interesting features in this to us in our study, are first, that the neighborhood recognized the need for mutualization of effort to ameliorate the damage caused by the fire; and the fact that practically without exception the able-bodied neighbors all contributed to the restoration of the home and the replacement of its values.

Now, there is a lot of good in this way of substituting Welfare for the Illfare caused by fire, but watch it shift as population comes in and the community becomes more congested and more thoroughly organized.

Let us move the illustration along into a more complex group. When the Smith of the later day suffers the burning of his home, and the neighbors who like Smith come in to help him rebuild it, we find in the first place that Robinson—who has quit farming and who has moved into the little county seat town to specialize in his special occupation of carpenter and joiner—complains of the fact that the co-operative building of a new cabin for Smith removes from his labor market a job which he considers all his own. He builds cabins for wages. The next thing we discover is that life among the neighbors has become so complex that they are beginning to hire help themselves, that quite a few send their hired men over to substitute for them in the act of relief, and some few of the well-to-do have substituted a check on the new bank which was just organized at Smithville, stating that they are too busy to come over and lift logs; and of course cover up the fact that they are too important in the community to soil their hands with log lifting anymore. Probably they also, more or less, sympathize with Robinson's insistence that the building of cabins is a business, and they would rather pay their quota
than to be bothered with the personal and disagreeable job of construction.

This second demonstration need not be experienced more than a dozen times until some natural leader gets up in the township meeting in the schoolhouse and proposes a plan for doing away with the whole danger of fire so far as economic damage is concerned. He points out that the fifty settlers who live in that township have in the years of their experience there, only had a cabin burn once every five years, and that if the fifty would each pay five dollars a year into a committee which would act as treasurer and caretaker of the funds, that the resultant two hundred and fifty dollars a year would provide money to be lying there ready and waiting so that any time a cabin burned Robinson could be hired to attend to the whole thing and nobody would be bothered about it. This proposal meets with general acclaim, but of course some one of the group wants to know what about the fellow who has a thousand dollar house as compared with the fellow who has only a five hundred dollar house. Obviously, it is going to cost more to replace the thousand dollar cabin than it is the cheaper one, and it is elementary reasoning for the group to conclude that it is fair for the man who wants the thousand dollar cabin replaced to put ten dollars a year into the pool while the one who only has a five hundred dollar cabin should only put in five dollars. The next evolution is the discovery that when the two hundred and fifty dollars or more are collected for the first year and put into the pool, that the treasurer can invest the money in a way by which it would be immediately available for use but still create an interest earning which would not only cover his own very modest fee for service but also reduce the amount of assessment made against the members at the time of the next fire.

Welfare Service as a Business

What we have seen in this illustration is the demonstration of the mutual insurance program, which by easy stages, developed into the stock company plan and ultimately came to be a matter of business. We can therefore conclude that society
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Chapter II

The Organizations of the Army for Battle

Proof of the general human interest in the fight to make everybody happy lies on every hand. Whether we are in a meeting of the noonday lunch club of busy business men, the women's club, the meeting of the committee for the Church bazaar, or the secret society lodge meeting, we find that as soon as the routine of business to which that particular group is dedicated, has been discharged and the order of new business reached, the minds of the members turn naturally to a desire for service. If there are beggars on the street, somebody wants to know why people have to beg. If children are coming to the schoolhouse under-nourished or dirty, some valiant brother or sister demands soap and clothing. If a mental defective is on the streets soiling the atmosphere of the community, the debate waxes warm, as to the methods of improvement. Proposals for mutualization of the hazard on sickness and accident and untimely death come up. America wants to be happy, as a general rule is happy, and wants to do something to make everybody happy. It is interesting to see how organizations to work to this end, are affected.

The Principle of Mutuality

Let us, in studying the question, go back and take a look at the simple life of our pioneers. Scattered over the prairie, three or four miles of distance separating each unit, lie the simple and unadorned cabins, barns, and out-buildings of a new people. They are pioneers. There is, as yet, no adjacent county seat of government, no complex social order. It is each family for itself, in the struggle to provide a steady inflow of the necessities of life from the soil and the sunshine. In such a situation, John Smith permits his cow to kick the lantern over at the dawn milking and before John knows what it's all about, his barn and his house are in flames. John doesn't even have time to pray to be delivered
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from "fire and flood and untimely death". He gets the cow out and ties the frenzied horses to a tree out of reach of the flames. And outside of rescuing Mrs. Smith and the children, a table or two, and a couple of chairs, he is forced to stand back and see his home, his buildings, and most of his worldly goods, transformed into ashes.

The flames and the plumes of smoke rising to the sky, advertise to his neighbors for ten miles in every direction that something untoward and extraordinary has taken place at the Smith farm. Jones, Johnson and Robinson drop whatever they may be doing, straddle their mares and come pell-mell to the rescue. They sympathize with the Smith family. One goes back to hitch up, bringing a wagon to haul the Smith salvage to his own cabin for temporary shelter, and the neighbors in general hold a meeting alongside the smouldering ruins to determine what is to be done. They start out with a basic philosophy that Smith is entitled to a new cabin, that he must have a new cabin, that he can't build a new cabin all by himself, and they accept unanimously and as a matter of course, the principle that all of his neighbors must participate, without charge to Smith, in the replacement of his cabin.

There is a basic recognition of the likelihood, or rather the possibility, of disaster thru fire, and a basic acceptance of the principle that the burning of the home might destroy even the lives of its inmates, unless, by community co-operation, the pain to the family might be in some way ameliorated. The meeting breaks up in a common attack upon the nearby forest for new logs, and a rough organization of the voluntary workers according to their varying abilities with the saw or ax or what not; the designation of a committeeman to go to town for nails, if civilization has progressed that far; and the delegation of somebody to round up the women to bring in side-meal, bread and beans to feed the group while it works. And here we see the magic hand of honest effort and organization; and in an amazingly short space of time, a new, and perhaps better, house rises from the ashes.
of the old, and the Smiths find that by borrowing for awhile a few pots and pans and dishes from the fortunate neighbors who have more than they require, there has come a restoration of welfare to the Smith family.

Mutuality Develops into Insurance

The interesting features in this to us in our study, are first, that the neighborhood recognized the need for mutualization of effort to ameliorate the damage caused by the fire; and the fact that practically without exception the able-bodied neighbors all contributed to the restoration of the home and the replacement of its values.

Now, there is a lot of good in this way of substituting Welfare for the Illfare caused by fire, but watch it shift as population comes in and the community becomes more congested and more thoroughly organized.

Let us move the illustration along into a more complex group. When the Smith of the later day suffers the burning of his home, and the neighbors who like Smith come in to help him rebuild it, we find in the first place that Robinson—who has quit farming and who has moved into the little county seat town to specialize in his special occupation of carpenter and joiner—complains of the fact that the co-operative building of a new cabin for Smith removes from his labor market a job which he considers all his own. He builds cabins for wages. The next thing we discover is that life among the neighbors has become so complex that they are beginning to hire help themselves, that quite a few send their hired men over to substitute for them in the act of relief, and some few of the well-to-do have substituted a check on the new bank which was just organized at Smithville, stating that they are too busy to come over and lift logs; and of course cover up the fact that they are too important in the community to soil their hands with log lifting anymore. Probably they also, more or less, sympathize with Robinson's insistence that the building of cabins is a business, and they would rather pay their quota
than to be bothered with the personal and disagreeable job of construction.

This second demonstration need not be experienced more than a dozen times until some natural leader gets up in the township meeting in the schoolhouse and proposes a plan for doing away with the whole danger of fire so far as economic damage is concerned. He points out that the fifty settlers who live in that township have in the years of their experience there, only had a cabin burn once every five years, and that if the fifty would each pay five dollars a year into a committee which would act as treasurer and caretaker of the funds, that the resultant two hundred and fifty dollars a year would provide money to be lying there ready and waiting so that any time a cabin burned Robinson could be hired to attend to the whole thing and nobody would be bothered about it. This proposal meets with general acclaim, but of course some one of the group wants to know what about the fellow who has a thousand dollar house as compared with the fellow who has only a five hundred dollar house. Obviously, it is going to cost more to replace the thousand dollar cabin than it is the cheaper one, and it is elementary reasoning for the group to conclude that it is fair for the man who wants the thousand dollar cabin replaced to put ten dollars a year into the pool while the one who only has a five hundred dollar cabin should only put in five dollars. The next evolution is the discovery that when the two hundred and fifty dollars or more are collected for the first year and put into the pool, that the treasurer can invest the money in a way by which it would be immediately available for use but still create an interest earning which would not only cover his own very modest fee for service but also reduce the amount of assessment made against the members at the time of the next fire.

Welfare Service as a Business

What we have seen in this illustration is the demonstration of the mutual insurance program, which by easy stages, developed into the stock company plan and ultimately came to be a matter of business. We can therefore conclude that society
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has organized the business of the battle against illfare to the point where
amelioration from the pain of many of the contingencies of illfare has become a
business matter rather than a charitable and philanthropic one. Of the contingencies for illfare listed in Chapter One, therefore, we find that Fire, Untimely
Death, and Sickness and Accident have, in the complexities of modern society, come
to be ameliorated more by business institutions organized for profit than by any
other agencies. The business of fire insurance, life insurance, (it ought to be
death insurance shouldn't it?) health and accident insurance, are so well-known
as to require no comment. In the United States of America more than five hundred
million dollars a year is distributed to the Robinsons to rebuild the homes and
repair the appurtenances of the Smiths and Jonees. Millions are paid out to
sustain the families of wage earners temporarily kept out of production by sickness
or accident. Government has entered the picture in many States by the passage of
Workmen's Compensation Laws to force something which approximates mutuality upon
workers in organized industry.

Should Insurance be Mandatory?

Only one thing remains to be said about the contingencies of fire, untimely
death, sickness and accident, and that is that society has not socialized in America
as yet to the point where such protection is mandatory, and the result is a
tremendous cost in resultant illfare. How many millions of dollars would not have
been needed by Community Chests had fire insurance been universal and covered every
risk? How many millions might not have had to be collected had every citizen been
educated to the use of sick and accident and life insurance and been required to
participate therein? One constructive effort to which America might well set
itself is a study of methods by which Protection against that illfare which comes
as a result of these four contingencies, might be universally and equitably spread
over all the possible beneficiaries of it.
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Why Insure against Dying at the time to Die?

One reason why life insurance is not more universally used by the industrial groups of America is that the stock companies and mutual which have been responsible for educating the public to its use, have insured to too great an extent against ultimate death, and not sufficiently against a man's dying at the wrong time. There is a proper time to die in just the same way as there is a time for a house to burn down. When a cheaply constructed wood house has gone to wreck and ruin and decay and is no longer habitable, and the materials in it are no longer of use to civilization, it can best be returned to its natural elements by fire, and such a return would occasion no loss upon its owner. Such a property is an entirely different matter for insurance study than a usable serviceable house.

In the same way, why should a man himself during his productive years, when his money is needed for the development of his children, pay a high premium to provide a payment to his family at his death if that death takes place after his family is itself self-supporting? For example, what business has an eighty-five year old man, paying life insurance premiums? Insurance companies have, of course, taken advantage of the psychology inherent in the suggestion that the buyer of life insurance is "bound to be paid some time". If the plans of life insurance were constructed more generally upon the thought and philosophy behind the fire insurance program, namely, of insuring only things of value, there would be an amazing reduction in the cost to the participant and, of course, an amazing reduction in the profit to the company.

Nature has planned that the production of children and the resultant period of their dependency upon the parent fall between the twentieth and fiftieth years of the life of the parent, as a general rule. Most persons agree that childhood dependency ceases at the age of sixteen, and Nature has regulated the human animal that earning capacity in the average man extends sixteen years beyond
the likelihood of his parenthood. In other words, a man is supposed to be able to support his family until it is able to support itself. It is therefore obvious that if men would insure themselves for the sole purpose of replacing their economic value in their families, the cost to the whole group would be so greatly reduced that many more might participate.

Why try to Profit by Death

Another point. It is customary for life insurance companies, whether mutual or stock, to sell to a man a contract providing a specific indemnity to the family at the death of the insured. But suppose the man isn't worth that much to the family? Looking at the whole question from the standpoint of social philosophy, is it not a fact that what every man should buy is a contract to give to his widow and children at his death the difference between what they might have at the time of his death and what they might require in order to save the widow from want, and to develop the children according to honest American standards? If life insurance might be transformed along the line of these philosophies, a much more general application of it would result in a lightened burden on the other agencies which seek to ameliorate human suffering.

Economic Unbalance and Old Age Dependency

Following the group of Contingencies for Illfare for which society has organized commercial agencies of amelioration, comes a second group in which we are in a state of transition. Those are the contingencies of Economic Unbalance and Old Age Dependency. A study of society's attitude toward these two unfortunate demonstrations shows that a part of human society has organized to meet the issues thru insurance or mutualization plans somewhat similar to those devised for fire, life, sickness and accident.

A dependent condition in old age resulting in distress and poverty is one of the unhappy dividends of an imperfect social order. Its demonstrations are
general in all societies from the savage tribe which feeds its useless aged to the crocodiles, to the Government doles of England. The time has never come, and probably never will come, in the social order when all of the component units will lay by during the productive years a sum of money sufficient to bring comfort in the useless decade. Life insurance companies have sold annuities for this purpose for a generation, but such annuities in the very nature of their plan have been bought only by the well-to-do from which group society cannot expect costly dependents in any event.

Why Not "Save Up"?

In the latter years of the nineteenth century we began to hear whispers in industry of the application of a "living wage". There appeared upon the horizon certain faint indications of conscience on behalf of the employer of labor to the effect that it was unreasonable for any employer to fail to pay to an employee a sum sufficient to keep that employee decently and in comfort. Scandalous stories passed about regarding employers of girls in department stores who built their wage scales upon the deliberate theory that the income of the workers would be supplemented by other funds. Chairman of Boards of Directors of industries got themselves columns of publicity in the papers by assertions that "The Blank Factory henceforth would pay a living wage". It is obvious to anyone who studies such an assertion that a living wage is of no value to the dependent orphans of dead men, and by the same thrust of thought we come to see what little value a living wage might be to a superannuated discharged employee. If the answer to the question is to be found in industry, there must be a general acceptance of the principle of paying to the employee not a "living wage" but a "saving wage". This immediately brings to mind the realization that even if every industry paid to every employee in the years of his productivity, an amount sufficient not only to keep him and his family, but to lay by a reserve for his declining years, that many workers would not have the sense of saving to put the money away, and even if they did, would be likely
to put it into some insecure investment which would not materialize in the days of need.

Utopian Schemes for the Aged

The public conscience in America is coming each year more closely to a realization of the advisability of accepting the fact of old age dependency and applying treatment methods which will work. Some of the American States have already adopted plans for old age insurance or relief, and any person who reads the newspapers is impressed with the various schemes which are popping up in different parts of the country to deal with the subject, ranging from the Townsend Plan in California and elsewhere to the straight insurance program of New York and other States. The Townsend Plan provides for the payment to every person over the age of sixty years of a flat salary from the State of two hundred dollars a month, under the limitation that the recipient must not work at any occupation and must spend the whole two hundred dollars in the current month in which it is received. The plan proposes to finance the payouts with a general sales tax of ten per cent on all the business transactions of the State. The limitation that the money must be spent in the current month is supposed to insure the turnover of the tax back thru the channels which produced it. The obvious inquiry made of this plan by the man who reads is: "Why such a disproportionate payment to the beneficiary?" Most of the people who would receive the payments under this plan are persons whose average income during the years of productivity would be less than a thousand dollars a year, and granting that the cost of living would increase ten per cent with the addition of the tax, there does not seem to be any explanation of the reason for such an unbalanced payment. Another California philosopher and liberal offers one-fourth as much. If a ten per cent sales tax would produce enough to pay every person over sixty years of age two hundred dollars a month, a two and one-half per cent sales tax ought to pay all such persons fifty dollars
a month, and even after a two and one-half per cent increase in living due to the tax, fifty dollars a month should provide comfortable sustenance. It is very clear to the writer that if more than the cost of sustenance is given under old age protection, a situation of false dependency upon the pensioner will be created among the relatives. Anyone who, for example, has dealt with the administration of benefits for the blind and seen the demonstration of blind parents with remedial difficulties deliberately kept blind by their children so that they might participate in the pension, is bound to be pessimistic at the social consequences of paying aged dependent persons more than the actual cost of their own comfortable sustenance.

Other questions enter. Should persons on aged dependency receive a flat amount of money, or should each receive the difference between what he has and what he requires, on a caseworking basis? Obviously, if discrimination is to be shown and relative need is to be taken into account, somebody must be designated to do the deciding. And are we headed for trouble here along the line of special influence and political coercion?

The solution of the whole problem of old age dependency is not easy to find. If the problem of how to distribute the money fairly can be worked out in a way to avoid squander and abuse, a requisite revenue for such payouts secured by some variation of the sales tax philosophy would appear to be equitable. The question forces itself into the vast argumentative field of tax revenue. Already the United States is squarely in the midst of an appreciation of the vast difficulties in this regard. From our original conception of taxes collected basically from real property, we as a nation have come to the realization of the unfairness of such a method and are in a period of transition toward a better program.

Can we learn to Save?

Whatever may be done to solve the problem of old age dependency and to take from philanthropy and transport into organized insurance protection, the
dependent aged of our country, we should never adopt any plan which will discourage the husbanding of resources, or tend to pauperize our people by detracting from the good old-fashioned impulse of saving against old age. There are those who feel keenly that the more intense socialization of the people, which has followed the recent depression, is having as its worst effort a diminution of that pride in self-support which came as a part of the spirit of America in its formative days.

Economic Unbalance

So many books have been written about the economic unbalance, or era of unemployment, which characterized the World in the years following 1930, that only a summary should find a place here. The spectacle of a great rich Nation with food going to waste at prices reflecting no profit to the producer, and numbering among its population millions who are hungry, is an enigma which prostrates our philosophers. When food is so abundant that the return for it will not pay for its production, the natural law upon which America was reared and to which it has been accustomed, is that production would diminish until (thru the law of supply and demand) prices would rise. It is an interesting fact that simultaneously with the breakdown of prices which resulted in a loss of profit to agriculture, the ability of the general public to pay high prices reduced in proportion. When wheat was the cheapest, the public had the least money to buy bread. This causes one to believe that the answer lies in the old law after all and that the endeavor of government and the social order to regulate production and consumption by mechanical process is likely to fail.

There are many who believe that the deliberate destruction of crop production is not only wrong but blasphemous. There is many an old-fashioned Father in Israel who believes that a national prayer for a diminuization of God's blessing is sacrilegious. Such a person cannot picture the President of the United States in the issuance of his Thanksgiving Day Proclamation thanking God for the boll weevil,
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the chinoh bug or the barren sows. He believes that big crops and plenty of food are blessings conferred upon humanity as a reward for righteousness, and that ill will befall a nation which slaps a beneficent Creator in the face.

Can a Farmer Keep Books?

On the other hand, a farmer who has graduated into the field of science, who has applied bookkeeping to the farmhouse, has developed agriculture into what he thinks is a giant industry, and who has begun to figure on markets external to America for our surplus, can see no way out but to force agriculture into a profit industry by mechanical manipulation of its market. One wonders if it ever was the intention that farmers should be cogs in a great industrial machine. There are those who have memories, or family histories, back one hundred and twenty-five years, to the day when the American farm was a self-operating institution.

The "Good old Days"

The writer's grandfather was a member of a social community—the Harmony Settlement—which, under the inspiration of Robert Owen, wrested its living from lands comparably poorer than the average of American soil. The Harmony settlers produced their own bread and meat and clothing and furniture and tools. The community was self-contained and self-operating. Because of the climate, it was not possible for them to grow cotton, and inasmuch as woolen underwear was uncomfortable in the summer time, they had one contact with the outside world in that they traded tobacco for calico. By what possible twist of the imagination could a great depression or unemployment era have reached such a group, or for that matter any typical pioneer farmer, one hundred and twenty-five years ago? What did he care about unemployment? What did he care about the Russian wheat crop? If he had a barren sow, he made her into sausage; he wanted pigs and lots of them. Instead of plowing under every third row, he was busy experimenting how he might get more rows into the field. Furthermore, he was not buying complicated
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machinery to put himself out of a job; he recognized that the average farmer only has about eighty days of farm work out of the three hundred and sixty-five anyway, and he didn't belong to enough farm clubs, bridge clubs, or other social organizations to demand any relaxation from the pressure of work of those eighty days. He was not aware of any philosophy about the Dignity of Labor. He knew that if you wanted to eat you had to work. He knew that those who didn't work ate meagerly, if at all. He had meat on his table, about three different kinds of it, three times a day, and if the family didn't have two or three types of jams or jellies or syrups for the two or three different kinds of bread that appeared on the table, they were likely to be checked off the list as socially improper. He worked hard, prayed mightily, and drank his whiskey like a gentleman. If he need anything, the thought of hitching up and pulling twenty miles thru the mud to a pioneer corner store did not appeal to him so much as the thought of going to the black-smith and carpenter shop and making it himself. He shipped nothing from the land except enough to pay his taxes, and he didn't have very much of a burden in the way of taxation because he didn't have much government. Such was the immunity from economic unbalance of the generation blessed with the privilege of pioneering a new country.

The Contrast To-day

In these middle days of the twentieth century we have gotten a long way from such a picture. Our life has become so complex that even our best philosophers can't analyze it to get at the causes. We try to raise the price of products to provide a profit for a producer who keeps books, runs an automobile, sends his children thru the University, lives like a gentleman, and is engaged in a business which is in direct competition with the millions of peasants of Europe who would not think of eating one of their own chickens or one of their own eggs, who would walk to town instead of wearing out the horse to ride, and whose children tend the
family sheep on the roadside, with a portable fence, in the precious hours before and after school.

None of us can deplore the valiant effort of America to give to the children of the farmer everything that is given to the children of the millionaire. Perhaps it might be possible to organize America, if it could be kept entirely self-contained, on such a standard. Let us hope that it may be done, but let us also realize that if we are to benefit by the market of Europe for our surplus products, we shall have to recognize the competition of the millions of European food producers who have a standard of living infinitely lower than that of our farm helpers.

Are we decadent?

Is it unreasonable to apply the law of supply and demand to labor? There are some of us who can't understand why we can't get our hair cut in most of the cities on the Atlantic seaboard by a man who can speak English. Can anybody discover a section-hand by the name of Jones? Isn't it true that one of the greatest difficulties in America is that we have gotten too good to do a lot of our own work; that we have imported more willing Europeans and Mexicans to perform our menial tasks, so that what we are really short of is not jobs but the kind of jobs we want? Is there anyone who will deny that if the immigration fence had been tall enough and tight enough around this country from the period of the Civil War on, that we would have had a job for every American, with wages so high that he could afford to pay two dollars for his wheat? Is it not obvious that the only way as a nation we can maintain a high standard of living among our food producers, is by restricting all of our possible jobs to our own people so we may pay them enough that they may be able to buy at a high enough price what we produce? Is it not a fact that there are in America far too many aliens at work?
England's Effort

The efforts of business to insure the economic loss which comes from unemployment is nil. In other words, such a contingency has never been generally insured as a commercial transaction. Government has done something about it in some places. The German and English systems are the most outstanding example of what government might do. England started out three decades ago to "abolish poverty by process of law". Successfully she mutualized wage earners against the contingencies of sickness and accident, unemployment and Old Age Dependency. How successfully she did it is a matter of opinion. Most of the critics of the unemployment insurance system in England find fault with it. The writer will never forget, however, the staunch, if perhaps somewhat short-sighted attitude of the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, when he stoutly insisted that regardless of the faults the sociologists might find in the English unemployment insurance program, "England is a Christian Nation; there is no excuse for poverty...We will stop it by process of law".

One of the interesting things about the operation of the English relief system was a demonstration that occurred in the great coal strike in 1926. The districts in Glamorganshire and Durham were bankrupted by the coal strike and had no money with which to pay doles. A critic of the plan at that time said to the minister of health of England who administers the law, "How can that be when your British law denies doles to the striker?"

"The answer", says the Minister, "lies in the fact that a great strike removes from employment many innocent non-partisans. If you were running a grocery store in Cardiff and had two clerks, and the coal miners went on strike, you would dismiss one of the clerks. If you were running a telephone exchange in Cardiff and had twenty-five girls, and the strikers took out their telephones, you would lay off ten girls. Should not the ten girls and the grocery clerk receive doles?"
and the five million retired workers twenty dollars a week each, the tax on
industry need only be sixteen and two-thirds per cent. Instead of paying the
fifteen million workers six hundred million dollars a week, industry would have to
pay seven hundred millions a week for their service and would give the other
hundred millions to the "retired" five million workers for their sustenance. There
is nothing impossible in such a proposal. Society has already decided that the
unemployed are not to be regarded as in disgrace because of their unfortunate state.
It has decided that they are to be carried thru the period of unemployment on a decent
scale, without loss of their self-respect and without the destruction of the future
of their children. Society must pay the bill in any event so it settles down to a
question of how to tax for the deficit.

Perhaps a more general acceptance would be found for a plan which would
limit each worker to thirty hours a week and raise the "retirement" age to fifty-five.

No matter which or what plan may be adopted, it will be upon the principle
that the worker will live better than the loafer, that opportunity for advancement
and improvement will be open to all, and that government will save for the worker
the funds for the worker's comfort in old age.

America's Program for Unemployment Relief

The ramifications of argument and discussion over the economic unbalance
of the present decade are endless. Society has endeavored to ameliorate the damage
done by the contingency with the most gigantic social service agency every attempted
in human history.

The Federal Government in Welfare Work

While it is true that the demonstration of seeing the Federal Government
entering the relief battle in the years 1933-34, resulted in the creation of the
biggest human relief machine ever put into execution, it is agreed by its proponents,
as well as the overwhelming majority of trained social workers, that it is a false
entry into the scene. Admitting that it may be true that the emergency created by the depression of those years caused the breaking down of ordinary and local relief agencies, and that the interposition of the Federal Government was essential from a financial point of view, it is undeniable that the methods in vogue in handling relief problems prior to the entrance of the Federal Government are infinitely to be preferred over the plan following the creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

There are many reasons why this is true. First, is the truism expressed by President Roosevelt himself, that relief is fundamentally a community matter. This great nation varies greatly in the standards of its community life. A negro family in a Georgia cabin would not know what to do with the money required to maintain in decency and comfort a New York City apartment dweller. This fact being as it is, taken in conjunction with the fact that Federal funds are collected from the country as a whole, the varying amounts distributed to the different groups of the body politic is bound to cause dissatisfaction. The minority among those beneficiaries in the area characterized by low living costs will ask why preference is shown people who happen to live in another State. Fortunately, however, it is true that the administrators of relief, even in the States with low living costs, are wise enough and fair enough to understand the differentials in living costs, and if local relief be administered by such understanding persons, the false condition is to some extent ameliorated. The fact remains that there is no right solution except one in which funds locally procured are locally expended so that the donor is always cognizant of the proper living cost in the community in which the beneficiary lives.

Many think that Government, with funds secured thru one form or another, of taxation, should not supplant individual charity. If the philosophy of Christianity to the effect that it is more blessed to give than to receive has any
element of truth in it, it is wrong to deprive the prosperous of their basic right of giving.

One naturally inquires why the presence of heavy taxes for relief purposes denies such a right to the well-to-do. The answer is, of course, that the natural donor to relief is the heaviest tax payer and when he feels the burden of taxes pressing to the point where it begins to hurt, and sees the results of his tax payments going for the amelioration of the illfare he has been accustomed to fight with his Community Chest; and further, when he sees vast payments going to communities from which little tax revenue accrues, he becomes cynical, decides to let the Government have a monopoly on alms-giving and retires within his crust deprived of the thrill which comes from the knowledge of deeds well done. There is no plane which will ever level humanity. Some will always have more than others and there is no better social stimulus than to foster the belief that they have an inalienable right to give alms and to receive the uplift which comes from helping others.

These truths have been accepted for years and it was undoubtedly with many qualms that the Federal administrators entered the field of relief. In justice to those who did so, however, it should be stated that the move was not made until, thru the economic pressure of the depression, the giving to Community Chests and other methods of relief had so fallen off as to confront the Government with a condition of abject poverty and hunger on the one hand, or Federal relief on the other. Even then the desire to adhere to a program which was socially sound caused the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to adopt the policy of using, wherever possible, the machinery already in existence for State and local relief, and thru the States the established agencies which for years had been serving these needs and the perpetuation of which was recognized to be essential to the welfare of the Nation.
State Welfare Programs

We have in this Chapter recognized the presence in Society of business enterprises which enter into welfare work for profit. We should next recognize the presence in every State of a state-wide system of social service to meet primarily the results of those contingencies for illfare which involve the use of forceful incarceration. Such forces serve, at the same time, to coordinate and inspire the local relief agencies within that State. The unit of the State in the battle against illfare deals primarily with the battle against ignorance, mental deficiency, insanity, and anti-social action. Because of the relatively great importance in the whole picture of these four great failings of humanity, we will treat them in separate chapters.

Local Units for Relief

Subordinate to, or under the general supervision of the State Departments of Welfare, we find organizations in the counties, townships, and cities. The development of the County as a relief unit has not yet become what it should be. The best thought of professional operators of the service is that the county is the ideal unit of organization for the battle. The county, or at least the ideal county, is large enough to afford at least one professionally trained supervisor of welfare work on a salary and expense basis, and is still small enough to have a uniform standard of living, or at least a mutual and sympathetic understanding of the different standards of living which exist within its borders. The county has but one climate, with practically the same amount of heat, cold, rain, and drought. By amalgamating under one supervision, where the county is small, such services as poor relief, school attendance or enforcement of the truancy laws, a visiting nurse's service, inspections for the State on blind pensions, inspections and caseworking under the adoption laws, case working for the Mothers' Aid Service, and whatever of similar service is rendered, even the smallest county, if
sufficiently enlightened, can provide professional service on a living basis. As we pass from the smaller to the larger counties, greater specialization can be added to the picture until in some counties specialists in all these and many other fields, can be guided by a County Welfare Director who can not only coordinate the efforts thereof and save much time and money, but can be the local missionary for selling good principles of welfare work to the general lay public.

It is of course true that we have too many counties in the United States. They vary in size with the local density of population and accessibility to a county seat. There is no question, however, but that the advent of good roads and the development of the automobile have so shortened distances as to make it advisable in most States to bring about a program of county consolidation. Such a reform would not only save millions of dollars to tax payers in cost of local Government and bring better government, but it would further and improve the acceptance of professional administration in all lines of welfare work. Thus a comparatively simply economy will come about when the sense of efficiency and economy shall have over-balanced local pride and selfish interest.

_Combating illfare with Mutuality_

Passing for a moment from the geographic distribution of the welfare army to that of class groups, we should note how the commercial insurance company has been supplemented with the mutual organization. From the standpoint of ameliorating the penalties imposed by illfare, there is no difference between a mutual insurance company and a stock insurance company, whether it be to deal with life and death, with fire, accident or health. There are in the country, however, mutual groups which contribute mightily to the reduction of suffering following untimely death, sickness and accident, and which are not insurance companies in the strictest sense. The fraternal societies which have left the field of strict life insurance to provide for their members accident, health, life insurance, and in
some instances contract medical service, have been, in the last hundred years, of consequence in relieving human suffering. A social-beneficiary fraternity, as it is technically called, gives to the American family for a small premium contribution, an amount of benefits following sickness or accident sufficient to keep the home fire burning until the adverse condition surrounding the wage earner is at an end. These organizations in America today serve more than a quarter of the total population. First in the field was the Independent Order of Odd Fellows which was the pioneer social beneficiary fraternity and which differed from that older organization, the Masons, in that it substituted a fixed sum of benefits for a non-stipulated amount voted on a lodge-room floor. The men and women of America have organized during the century a great number of other worthwhile organizations of varying consequence. Many of these fraternal societies have gone further than the mere payment of sick and accident benefits to their members and have added a service for children of deceased members of the group thereby following the lead of great religious organizations, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, which has set such a fine example of care for dependent children. Hundreds of fine institutions in America are financed through religious and fraternal groups. Tens of thousands of good citizens in America today owe their chance in life to the cooperation arranged for by their father thru church or fraternal affiliation. Some of these fraternal societies give, in effect, the service referred to earlier in this chapter, namely, the service of supplying the family at the time of the death of the wage earner with the difference between what the family may have and what the family may require. In some instances this is supplemented by payment of funds to the widow and her children without removal of children to institutional life, and in some instances institutions built under the fraternal plan, have been an inspiration in the development of institutional life and of education in institutions. Many a Community Chest has found the holes thru which the money runs out of it narrowed and made fewer in number by the funds which have from this source poured into the homes in the community broken by the untimely death of the father.
Relief from Flood, Earthquake, and War

Another worldwide organization which has proved of inestimable value in times of emergency is the Red Cross. This organization is accepted throughout the world as the natural leader in moments of extraordinary calamity. It ameliorates some of the pain of War; it rushes into the flooded countryside with its doctors, its nurses, and its bodily comforts, and is the first at hand for the earthquake riddled city. Between the periods of emergency we find it, in some communities, performing family relief and other kindred services.

SUMMARY

Let us, therefore, summarize quickly the organization of our Army to Battle against Illfare. First, the groups distinguished by geographic measurement are: Federal Government, State departments, the County Relief Organizations, the Township trustees and supervisors, and the municipal agencies in some cities. In the other group, not bound by geography, we find the Red Cross organization for flood, earthquake, War and general relief, the insurance companies, the mutuals, the fraternals, and the thousand and one volunteer groups who correlate more or less all their activities with the professionally administered groups defined above.
Chapter III

What to do about the Mentally Deficient?

In the development of the human race there has been a variance in minds just as there has been a variance in bodies. Children have been born crippled, lame, halt, deaf, and blind; and in the same way children have been born with varying gradations of mental alertness. The philosopher recognizes the necessity for this because, when he studies the various tasks of the human race the doing of which is essential to its life, and studies human nature, observing that only he works well who works content, he sees that if all minds were on a parity there would be even more dissatisfaction than there is in the doing of the menial work.

The Thermometer of Brains

As Science gradually invaded human relationships, it began to take more and more cognizance of mental variance, and in the modern day we find that science has endeavored to build a vast yardstick or thermometer with which it endeavors to measure the varying mental abilities of human kind. Psychologists have devised a program of questioning, with due regard for language difficulties and other impediments, and Science today believes that by the application of these questions and the careful recording and study of the answers received thereto, it is possible to classify individuals according to the degree of intelligence which they possess. By taking the relative correctness or error of the answers received and working out a method of scoring, the psychologist has devised a method of determining a "mental age" which when compared to the subject's chronological age, gives an "intelligence quotient". This "I.Q." has come today to be a common tool in determining human destiny to a vast degree. The results of this questioning and the determining of this Intelligence Quotient places a measure of theoretical ability upon the subject, and we find as a result, that many of the children of America are today known to their teachers not only by the names given them by their parents, but also as being one of several arbitrarily labelled groups. If the quotient derived at in the
examination falls over one hundred and ten, the subject is labelled a "genius"; if it falls between ninety and one hundred and ten, he is Normal; if it falls between eighty and ninety, he is dull and backward; if in the seventies, he is "of subnormal mentality"; if from fifty to sixty, he is a moron; if between twenty-five and fifty, he is an imbecile; and if he be so unfortunate as to be marked lower than twenty-five, he is relegated to the category of the idiot. If the subject of this examination be a candidate for the service of the State, he will find this diagnosis used in fitting him into whatever picture may be in the process of being painted. This system of scoring and this program of making mental examinations has now progressed to a point where it is accepted as fundamental in dealing with children, and the fact of its general use, and the fact of the training of thousands of young men and women in colleges to conduct these examinations, has resulted in a classification of humanity which we may well study for a time.*

The practicing psychologist will not admit that the above is altogether true. He calls attention to the fact that many teachers know nothing of psychology, or any system of mental measurement. He denies that mental testing results in "theoretical" mental ability. He is quite sure that modern testing by experienced and well trained workers results in exact knowledge of the individual's ability to learn and to profit by experiences.

The appalling thing about it all is that when one studies the net results of a great mass of human beings subjected to psychological tests, one is startled to discover that one-fifth of all humanity fails of approval as normal or better. In other words, one-fifth of all humanity are either "dull" or worse. That is all very well of course, if the examination paper is thrown in the fire after it is over and nothing more is done about it, but if the discovery of the fact is coupled with a sensitive public sense built up by training and education to an acceptance of the principle that mental deficients, morons and idiots cannot live at large with the public, we find ourselves stumbling on the verge of an impossible precipice. If
one-fifth of all the people in the world have to be institutionalized and fed at the expense of the other four-fifths, we are indeed in a dilemma. Let us therefore go with caution and care into this unhappy field of the mentally deficient and see what we find.**

**FOOTNOTE: **A lay study of psychological practice discovers a great variety of scales and labels. The following is a modern one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range of I.Q.</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Percent in each group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 19</td>
<td>Idiot</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 44</td>
<td>Imbecile</td>
<td>40% 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 69</td>
<td>High grade defective (moron)</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 79</td>
<td>Borderline defective</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 89</td>
<td>Dull or backward</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 99</td>
<td>Low average</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 108</td>
<td>High Average</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 - 119</td>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 - 139</td>
<td>Very Superior</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140 - Up</td>
<td>Genius</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An indication of divergence of opinion as to the prevalence of mental deficiency may be gleaned from noting the following summary which is from Dr. Andrew Brown of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Royal Commission, 1908</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon Survey, Carlisle, 1918</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States, Bailey and Haber, 1920</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin Schools, Cary, 1916-18</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Mental Deficiency Committee, Report 1929</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oneida County, N.Y., Carlisle, 1918</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter County, Indiana, Clark, 1916</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural County, Ohio, Sessions, 1918</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Survey, Del., Mullan, 1916</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Schools, Smith, 1920</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goddard's estimate, 1914</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terman's estimate, 1915</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Survey, Mitchell, 1916</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popencoe's estimate for U.S.A., 1929</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X County, Calif., Terman, 1913</td>
<td>4.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight Minnesota towns, Kuhlmann, 1923</td>
<td>4.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X County, Minnesota, Anderson, 1922</td>
<td>6.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Surely the reader will not believe that there is seven times as much mental deficiency in "X County, Minnesota" as in Oneida, County, New York. Do these
figures not indicate that the science is yet in a formative state?

The Rush to the Institution

In 1880 five youths out of every one hundred thousand of general population in Illinois had been found to be so mentally infirm as to cause their incarceration in a state institution for the feebleminded. A study of the figures each decade since 1880 shows a gradual rise in incarcerations of this character, the rise being almost as regular as stair steps, until we find in the year 1930 that Illinois has collected in its institutions for the feebleminded sixty-five persons for each one hundred thousand population. In other words, in the fifty year period the rate of institutionalization has risen thirteen hundred percent.

A Change in Standards

Now there is no serious student of the subject who would for a moment allege that there is thirteen times as much deficiency in mentality among the people in Illinois in 1930 as there was in 1880. What has happened is that we have just started to adopt as state wards the worst of the twenty per cent of defectives. In 1880 a much higher percentage of our people lived on farms. The farmer was not very much concerned about the imbecility or moronism of his neighbor's boy. Farms were separated by wide stretches of country. Contacts were comparatively few.

When social groups met at church or school or whatnot, the deficient was left at home. How many of us who are fifty years or more of age can recall the vacant eye, the shambling gait and the loose mouth of the unfortunate who peered furtively at us from the barnyard gate as we drove down the country lane during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Such unfortunate were taken and accepted by the community as one of the common and inevitable demonstrations of humanity. Nothing was done about it. They lived their lives out in the shadow of the home and that's all there was to it.

But when we began to congregate in great cities and enter upon an era of
apartment house life, we began to discover that the mental capacity of our
neighbor's children was of great importance to ourselves. The newspapers began
to tell stories of attacks on girls by "morons", giving to that technical term a
meaning entirely removed from that attached to it by its inventor. "Morons" were
to the newspaper men, any individual who was inspired by improper sex ambition and
who was not restrained by normal will power. After many unfortunate incidents of
such a nature the States began to broaden their laws providing for the incarceration
of mental defectives. Prior to that time most of the beds in the hospitals or
institutions for feebleminded were occupied by hopelessly impossible idiots who
required attention and nursing care, and whose presence in the normal home was
impossible. Prior to that time the selection of inmates for such institutions was
not determined so much by the conduct of the unfortunate child as by the requirement
for personal assistance in the necessary routine of life. But when society began
to link bad behavior with subnormal mentality, the steady stream of youth from free
communities to institutional life grew rapidly with the years. Due to public
demand, there was created in each county some agency for meeting and dealing with the
issue when complaint was made against a mental defective. Laws were passed by the
various legislatures providing for commissions, usually from the medical profession,
the members of which were to advise the court of the facts and to that extent assist
in an intelligent verdict. Complaints were lodged in the court, and the charge
was mental deficiency under one name or another. Commitments began to increase
in great volume. Institutional morale was low because by the very nature of the
case the weak mind was supported by a strong body or death would have ensued before
an opportunity for a complaint arose.

Growth of Institutions

We find, therefore, in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth
century, the development in America of a multitude of institutions for the care of
mentally deficient people. The public's attitude toward these institutions has
Chapter III

been the same as its attitude toward the insane hospital. The general public has not been able to differentiate. The administration has usually been of about the same character. In a few states physicians and others had developed psychology along with psychiatry and found themselves able to dig down below the surface and study the causes behind this unfortunate demonstration. In most instances, however, there was no attempt at treatment. Feeblemindedness was accepted as inevitable; there was nothing to do about it except to keep the subject reasonably clean, feed him well, look after his health, and if possible find some work for him to do. The amount of thought which was not spent in studying the educational responsibilities of such institutions is appalling, but can be readily understood when we see how comparatively little thought was put on the treatment of the larger group, the insane. In many institutions today, in fact in most institutions for mental deficients, there is no intelligent effort to create a curriculum of training for the inmates. Most of these institutions, although dignified by the title of "school" offer nothing of an educational nature other than that part of the public school curriculum which can be received and accepted by the inmates. A child learns to read, write or count, if there is a mental capacity for reading and writing and counting. In many of these institutions there has been no endeavor to correlate a pre-vocational or vocational course with the academic effort.

Education of the Feebleminded

In the State of Illinois in the year 1930 at the school at Lincoln, an opportunity was given to two of the Chicago universities to make a study of the situation, and to endeavor to work out a solution. The initial determination in the program was that it was unlikely that parole would be successful for at least most of the inmates and that the institution should have as its motif nothing other than that of providing for the child as much happiness as possible in the institution. It was felt that he should know how to read and write and have such a knowledge of
of numbers as would make it possible for him to tell time on a clock, and perhaps handle money up to a dollar. It was felt that he ought to know where he was. In other words, have a sense of location, that he should know that he was on an earth and a continent of that earth and in a State in that continent and adjacent to a certain city in that State. This was about all it was thought wise to attempt in the way of academic education and most of the effort was devoted to the development of a sense of interest, to the study of finding things which the child could understand and love, and by a development of the child's constant interest in those things create a medium for really reaching him. It was found, for example, that a child who could not conceive what was meant by the abstract proposition of adding two and two and making four, would take a great interest in the hatching of an egg and the care of the resultant chicken, after which he might come to the counting of eggs.

After all, what's the difference? If the child is condemned to a life in the drab, and to normal people the horrible environment of idiocy and imbecility, no critic would find fault with the type of tool which might be used to chisel him out into understanding. Is it strange, or rather is it not perfectly natural, that the child who cannot comprehend abstract problems could come to love a pet, whatever might be its nature, with the absorbing devotion of a normal child? What was behind the human act in originally naming the mentally deficient child a "natural". Was there that perception that the child accepted the natural things about him but was confused with artificiality? Many a child who cannot comprehend abstract problems will, for example, understand the miracle of the sprouting of an apple seed and will develop the sense of proprietorship of the little tree which comes from the seed. If such an affection and interest is capitalized by the teacher and the problems which the child should master are correlated with the affection of the child for the little tree, a much further journey will be made by the teacher into the mysterious recesses of his mind.

The university women in their experiment at Lincoln developed a new education
which has been highly commended by the authorities in psychology throughout America. This educational program was based upon a foundation of recreation and organized play, and branched out from that into individual classes in reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, among the academic subjects, and the whole vast field of possibilities in pre-vocational work. It is obvious that the old fashioned public school class system fails in such an atmosphere. The mentally deficient child may be able to accept and assimilate lessons in arithmetic far beyond things which he can assimilate in reading and writing. He should not be held back in one because he fails in the other. By making the class the unit and the child a member merely of the entire school, in other words, by applying to the school for mentally deficient the organization of a university, results can be attained. A child can for example, take first year reading, second year arithmetic and third year horticulture at the same time, and the child occupying the next bed to him can, with equal facility under such a plan, take first year horticulture in the greenhouse while taking the first year of arithmetic and the second year of reading. If the superintendent of the institution will study the possibilities on the grounds for pre-vocational training in the manual arts, he will not only develop an interest among the children which will reduce to a minimum mischief and incorrigibility, but he will give a great dividend to his taxpayers ultimately in the practical use which he can make of these pre-vocational students in actually working when they grow up at the things they learned as children.

Parole of Mentally Deficient

If one looks at this great incursion of mentally deficient into the institutions of States and has no hope for their release prior to death, his lead pencil soon leads him into impossible national costs. It is natural therefore that those who have been charged with the responsibility of operating these institutions have given grave study to the possibilities of parole. It is true in most States that commitment is for life because legislatures have very properly not yet come to
accept any belief that there is a cure for mental deficiency. And it is true that most of the experiments for paroling mental defectives from institutions have met with failure. New York's experiments in the colonizing of both men and women are worthy of study by anyone who would care to go deeply into the subject. In a number of States girls who have been trained to do domestic work in the institution have been paroled to private families. As a general rule the results have been disastrous. Whatever may be our thought on the subject of parole of mental defectives, it is a very simple matter of arithmetic to conclude that we shall either have to find a method of parole which will work, or we shall have to stop the practice of taking these unfortunatees from their homes. Of course we have as yet by no means reached the extent of the possibilities of institutionalization. There seems to be no indication of a lessening of the rate of intake; on the other hand, there is a gradual increase in the rate. It costs approximately a dollar a day to take care of a mental deficient in a state institution. This takes no account of interest in investment in the institution plant. There is economic value in the inmates if properly applied. If the inmates did nothing at all to contribute to their support, the cost would probably be five hundred dollars a year. If a zealous effort is made to organize the institution to reduce to the utmost the number of paid personnel and give every task possible to the inmates, and if thru prevocational and vocational training, the maximum capacity for work of each inmate is developed, it might be possible to reduce the institutional cost to two hundred dollars a year. The whole field needs exploitation and thought.

Let the impression not be gained by any reader that there are in these institutions no one but idiots and imbeciles. A visitor can go to the typical institution of this character, at least in Illinois, and see a group of boys playing baseball or basketball, talk to them, and leave with the impression that he has seen little or no mental deficiency among them. There are plenty of boys and girls in our institutions today with an intelligence quotient in the upper sixties and a number with
I. Q. in the seventies, and there are millions of American boys and girls not in institutions who could not rate that high. Those who are in are the ones who have been found and of whom complaints have been made, and in whose behalf action has been taken. This fact gives us the key to the overwhelming impossibility of the whole situation. It is one of the problems which modern society has not yet fully appreciated. We must find an adjustment which will work successfully for at least the higher level groups of mental defectives.

Cure of Mental Deficiency

One may ask why no thought has been given to the possibility of curing the unfortunate victim of mental deficiency. And of course the answer is that the whole field of the mind is virgin territory practically untouched by science. The physiological psychologists can give us a rather rational explanation of the physical reasons for the forming of habits, that they are a long way yet from being able to tell us why clear thought emerges from one brain and remains fuddled and hazy in another.*

FOOTNOTE

*Is this statement fair to the psychologist? One of the best, after reading it, says:

I would not subscribe to the statement that the "whole field of the mind is virgin territory practically untouched by science". It seems to me that this is an exaggeration of our ignorance. Psychologists and psychiatrists have done a tremendous amount of scientific work on the "mind" in the last half century. It could hardly be regarded as virgin territory in so far as psychologists from the time of Aristotle who coined the word psychology, have been attempting to understand it. It is true that we know little about the neurology of thought, that is, we are far from being able to tell "why clear thought emerges from one brain and remains fuddled and hazy in another" although even here the psychologists and neurologists have done a considerable amount of work. For example, neurologists have shown that the brain cells (neurons) of the person with inherited mental deficiency are structurally different than the brain cells of the normal individual.

In regard to your reference to the statement of Adolph Meyer. I am sure that Dr. Meyer would agree that there are individuals with certain degrees of mental deficiency who could never "emerge a victor in the field of competition" no matter how much "spontaneity" they might show. I am inclined to think that it is a bad policy to give the lay public the impression that mental deficiency can be overcome (cured) by effort or spontaneity, whatever that may mean.
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One thing I feel you have overlooked all through this paper is the fact that there are many types of feeblemindedness. There is a feeblemindedness which results from brain injury both before, during and after birth; feeble-mindedness which results from endocrine deficiency, and so on, and then straight hereditary feeblemindedness, and of course when anyone talks about the influence of heredity or environment or about sterilization, they are primarily concerned with the last type only.

No surgeon has yet had the presumption to propose that he would open the skull of a mentally deficient person and rearrange the wiring to make the responses click as in the normal person. Dr. Adolph Meyer of Johns Hopkins University, who has probably gone further into the field than any other human being, has recently emphasized the very sensible deduction that whereas two persons with exactly the same amount of latent mental ability, or in other words whose reactions to psychological examination would be the same, and who would be given the same intelligence quotient, will react quite differently when confronted with the problems of life. One will take his mental deficiency with him into the field of competition and emerge a victor. The other will be hopeless. Dr. Meyer applies to the successful one the characteristic of spontaneity — in other words, what brains he has "click".*

The fact that the whole field is virgin territory to the scientist makes any thought of the cure of mental deficiency something to be set off into the dim future. But how about Prevention?

Prevention of Mental Deficiency

Libraries have been filled with volumes on the subject of the influences of heredity and environment on children, and it is a wise commentator who detours the subject. Humanity is at variance largely because humanity knows so little about it. If mental deficiency is to be prevented, we must first come to know whether it is the result of bad heredity or bad environment. If heredity is basically the cause, there will be a higher percentage of mentally defectives among the children of mental defectives, and that leads us inevitably into the field of regulating the
right of parenthood. On the other hand, if mental deficiency is the result of environment, we have some hope. One hesitates to open up the argument but perhaps an observation or two may not be out of order.

How does the advocate who places heredity at the base of mental deficiency harmonize it with the theory of evolution? If we started with less mental capacity than we have today, how could we have risen if the measure of our heredity is the measure of our mental capacity? Is there any honest philosopher who today doubts the general principle that our intelligence is in proportion to the number of civilized grandfathers we have had? Is it not generally accepted that the reason for the higher intelligence of the Jew lies in the Jew's earlier escape from savagery and an earlier acceptance of a rational social program?

Ship a carload of our psychologists to the middle of Africa to a savage tribe which has never come into contact with what we call civilization. Devise a set of questions and analyze that group and the result would be that some of them have higher intelligence than others, and yet the whole scale of their intelligence would be (we think) infinitely lower than ours. Is it not a fact that the morons of America would be the kings of Africa? What is the explanation other than the benefits of civilization and its attendant services, of the admitted superiority of the average American to the average African? If heredity is responsible for the development of humanity, where did the original superiority come from?*

FOOTNOTE This paragraph arouses the interest (if not the ire) of the psychologist. Dr. Brown is kind enough to permit me to quote him in reply:

"Personally, I have no more difficulty in reconciling the theory of evolution with the variation in mental ability than I have in reconciling the theory of evolution with the variation of weight, height, or other physical traits. The laws of evolution as I understand them, certainly permit of such variations. In fact, variation is one of the primary laws of the evolutionary theory. Thorndike makes a statement to the effect that it is possible that man's general intelligence has not improved in the last 10,000 years.

In regard to your statement that the Morons of America would be the Kings of Africa. There is plenty of evidence, and
if I had the time I would assemble it for you, that this statement is false. Psychologists have done a great deal of work in the last quarter of a century on racial differences. The surprising result is that the races are so nearly alike in general intelligence. A friend of mine has just recently made a survey of the schools in a province in South Africa and I have just recently discussed the problem with him. He tells me that the intelligence of the Zulus of Africa are probably equal to that of the white man if not superior. The Pygmies, on the other hand, are probably an inferior tribe. It may be that in some tribes the morons of America would be Kings of that tribe but for the most part they would be far from it. My own opinion is that the morons of America would still be the morons of Africa even after they became adapted to that culture.

Forteaus in his book on "Racial Variations" reports studies which he has made of several different races in Hawaii. In this book he points out that the Chinese, Japanese, the Filipinos and the whites are about equal in general ability. The Bushman of Australia on the other hand, are inclined to be inferior. All of these indicate that intelligence is to a high degree innate, but the manifestations of it may take many different forms."

On the other hand, let us look at the question from the standpoint of environment. Is it not true that most of the parents of mentally deficient children, if themselves mentally deficient, live in very meager surroundings? Is it not a fact that the children of mentally deficient people as a general rule, are victims of starvation before and after birth? There are no statistics at hand to prove the contention, but is it not a safe statement to make that the proportion of mentally deficient from poverty and squalor is infinitely higher than the proportion of mentally deficient from the well-to-do? Is this impression merely gained because the well-to-do have the money to institutionalize their unfortunates outside of State institutions; or is it a fact that better nursing, better feeding, more cleanliness, better care before and after birth, have resulted in a higher average of mentality?

What about sterilization? An army of amateur philosophers in America believes that if the right of parenthood were removed from the mentally deficient, within a hundred years we would all be intelligent. There is another army which, with equal bitterness, condemns the proposal of sterilization as sacrilegious.
In whichever army you may see fit to enlist, you must admit that there is insufficient evidence in support of the contention that sterilization of mental deficients and criminals would purify the race with the exception perhaps of such pollution as follows syphilis.*

**FOOTNOTE:** Dr. Paul Schroeder of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, after reading this paragraph, comments as follows:

"I am interested in your question as to the hereditary factors in mental deficiency. I am convinced that heredity plays a strong role in physical development, and in so far as physical development may play a part in mental growth to that extent it may be said to be hereditary.

Your grouping of persons into two as regards sterilization, I believe needs the addition of a third group. You have stated that there is one group which approves of sterilization and another group which disapproves. A third group disapproves but their disapproval is not on sacrilegious grounds, but on the grounds that sterilization may result in a greater spread of at least venereal disease, and perhaps together with that mental disease and mental deficiency. For example, at the present time a feebleminded woman of child bearing age is held within an institution under close supervision. She is not eligible for parole and tends to be kept permanently in the institution. Were she sterilized, the institution would consider her eligible for return to the community. Upon her return she would be quite likely to continue to enter into sexual activities, and in the absence of pregnancy might not come to the attention of the authorities. She may be expected sooner or later to contract venereal disease if she does not already suffer from it, and she would be a great risk in the spread of disease. The feeling of safety which is obtained through sterilization would thereby permit of a release with the spread of diseases, one of which, syphilis, contributes largely to mental disease and mental deficiency the country over.

There are other arguments against sterilization in addition to this which are not on sacrilegious grounds. There is, perhaps, a place for sterilization of the unfit when safeguards are raised sufficiently to avoid the new dangers which come as a result of the sterilization."

On the subject of heredity and environment it is interesting to note an experience of the State of Illinois, the details of which are to be found in the reports of the Institute for Juvenile Research of that State. Some fifteen years ago the Department of Public Welfare of Illinois conducted an experiment in sending
out on parole a certain group of mentally deficient girls from the State school at Lincoln. Some of the girls made good, some were lost, and some came back. With some of those who came back there came in and were registered on the books of that institution as "guests" some fifty illegitimate babies. There was nothing to be done about these babies. They were not given out for adoption because it was presumed that they would be deficient due to the mental capacity of their mothers. On the other hand, they had never been committed to the institution by the courts and were for several years an administrative problem. In the year 1930 the Illinois Department called upon the Institute for Juvenile Research to conduct a mental examination of these approximately fifty children who ranged in age from eight to twelve years. Now nobody knows who were the fathers of these children. The likelihood of the fathers being mentally superior to the mothers is a piece of social guess work in which one can indulge as well as another. Is it reasonable, for the purpose of argument at least, to suggest that the mental status of the fathers was equal to that of the mothers? If so, both parents were mentally deficient. It would certainly be reasonable to suppose that the mentality of the fathers was that of the men in Illinois in general, one-fifth of the fathers being mentally deficient. In any event, it is interesting to note that every one of these children showed a reasonably normal mentality when examined by the Institute, and the Department finally got them out into community life by one method or another. Is it not reasonable to conclude that these children of mentally deficient parent or parents owe their normal mentality to the good food, good nursing, care and cleanliness during the period preceding and following their birth? Is this social experience not a sufficient argument on the side of environment to cause us to give earnest consideration to the thought that if as a Nation we can make it possible for mothers in all stages of life to give the new citizen clean surroundings and nutritious food, that the investment would pay big dividends in the generation to come?
In General

America must enter upon a serious consideration of the problem of adjusting for life its twenty per cent of mental defectives. A program based upon institutionalization will be financially impossible. Therefore adjustment in free society with self-support required, is indicated. How, under such a plan, may we safeguard the neighbors? Can we come to diagnose the "socially unsafe" and set them apart? Can our psychologists come to discover the difference between the "mental defective with continuing criminal tendencies" and the safe dullard? Here is a real task for which American Science can roll up its intellectual sleeves!
Chapter IV

The Problem of Insanity

People are Different

Ever since mankind has existed there has been little uniformity among the units composing it. These differentiations are not only physical -- they are mental as well. There are as many attitudes of mind as there are differentiations of feature. There is as much variability in the quantity and quality of the mentality of human beings as there is in constitutional makeup. If the amount of mental capacity is insufficient to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the individual in society, we designate him as feeble-minded. If, regardless of the amount of such mental ability, there develops an additional variance from the accepted standard of mental functioning, we call him Insane. The definition of what constitutes sanity is, of course, set up by those who conceive themselves to be sane, and consequently measure the differentiation which they observe between themselves and these others by designating the others as Insane. Frequently in history we find instances of great geniuses recognized either before or after their death as superior in mind to their fellows who were at the first evidence of mental superiority described by their less intelligent neighbors as being insane. We have not built any yard sticks or thermometers to gauge insanity as we have with mental deficiency. The variability of human action which arises from an abnormal mind cannot be measured by any plus or minus scheme.

Society's Attitude toward the Insane

It is an interesting thing to note how society has reacted when brought into association with persons of aberrated minds. Certain groups have seen in such a demonstration something to venerate and have worshipped insane people as being holy; savage tribes have immunized them from penalties frequently exacted of other individuals whom they could better understand.

As old as civilization is the conception that such a person is "possessed
of the devil" which is probably another way of describing what in pioneer America we came to describe as "folks who are queer".

It has been a general philosophy of law in its enactment and enforcement that persons who in the judgment of the medical profession might be designated as insane, should be immune from the ordinary punishments for wrong-doing, and in some instances scandalous behavior in courts has been the result of the use of this philosophy by defense attorneys who would prefer to have their clients branded as insane rather than to have them take the penalty of the law.

The general public's attitude toward insane people is incomprehensible when one takes into account the high grade of intelligence which society usually shows when confronted with baffling problems. We do not operate reasonably when we meet mental aberration. We flinch away from it; put it from us; evade the question as well as possible, usually to the great injury of the unfortunate victim.

From some source or other, society has gotten the impression that mental aberration is disgraceful. The family which would not for a moment think of hiding away a child with a broken arm and denying the child the benefit of science, will overlook and keep secret indications of mental peculiarity. It is hard to see where this attitude comes from. It is true, of course, that a small minority of the sufferers from mental aberration comes to such a state as the result of the last stages of a disease, the contracting of which at least implies social irregularity. Society, however, intelligent in dealing with most of human ills and in recent years becoming amazingly well educated in its attitude toward the practice of medicine, shows a dismal ignorance and worse prejudice in refusing to co-operate for its loved ones when insanity is suspected.

Perhaps another reason is a deep-seated notion among people in general that insanity is hereditary. Investigations by the medical profession show, in fact, some evidence of the truth of this contention. A summary of the subject by the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental diseases, made in 1928 concludes
that heredity is an important factor in considering causes of insanity. The conclusion is reached by searching the family histories of insane inmates of public and private hospitals. The results of these searches show that there are "queer" people among the progenitors in some cases. They show more such disturbance among grandparents than among parents. One of the conclusions reached by the doctors was "Dementia Praecox has its heaviest taint in antecedents who are in indirect relationship to the patient". Of course nobody knows how many "queer" antecedents are had by the citizen who has not been in a hospital. Barring the destructiveness of syphilis, which is hereditary in the sense that it may be transmitted from parent to child, there is little or no evidence that "queer" people beget "queer" people. The whole problem is shrouded with ignorance, prejudice, and superstition. In spite of the valiant efforts of societies for mental hygiene, which have been promoted by the more intelligent of our people, and largely inspired by the practitioner of mental and nervous diseases, the general public's attitude is still about as far from what it ought to be as that of a New England mob burning a witch.

It's a Big Problem

The economic aspects of insanity in America bring us to startling figures. The growth of institutional incarceration for insanity is sufficient to merit concern. In Illinois in 1880 we institutionalized six hundred and twenty insane for each million of population, whereas in 1930 we have more than three thousand per million in our institutions. There are in the United States over a half million people in hospitals for the insane, which is another way of saying that we spend something like three-quarters of a million dollars a day in taking care of them. The cost of building hospitals for the care of the insane approaches twenty-five hundred dollars per inmate, and there probably is more than one and one-half billion dollars of wealth in this country tied up in institutions for their care.
The Greater Cost

Compared with the penalty America pays for mental aberration in dollars and cents, there is the vastly greater cost it pays in human suffering; the consequences are often much worse than death, and the amount of unhappiness caused is incalculable. It is not unreasonable to state that the amount of human suffering occasioned by mental derangement is greater than that caused by any other contingency for illfare.

Types of Insanity

This is a lay study and should evade technicalities. It is not possible however to speak of the various divisions of mental derangement without applying some of the terms which have been given by the medical profession in defining and classifying these unfortunate. The best way to view the situation is to divide the group primarily into two parts — first, those whose mental derangement has been traced to a physical cause; and second, those whose mental attitude is either not the result of a physical cause, or the cause has not yet been discovered. Among the first group two subdivisions stand out prominently. One is the group of the paralytics, which consists of those who are in the last stages of syphilis, and the seniles, whose bodies have lasted longer than their minds. About five per cent of the inmates of our hospitals in the United States suffer with some form or other of paresis. Such persons are not insane in the broadest sense of that word at all, but because there are individual instances among the group in which maniacal tantrums and outbursts appear, they have been relegated to the field of treatment to the hospital for the insane rather than to the regular hospital for physical disability. There is a wide divergence among different individuals in the form in which paresis attacks. The medical profession knows exactly what causes it and has accomplished more in the relief and cure of its sufferers than in any other part of the battle.
Senility, or "second childhood" as many of us were taught to describe it, is as old as humanity. It is only reasonable to discover that the mind may not function concurrently with the body which supports it. While it is true, of course, with most human beings that their bodies decay and cease to function while their minds are still alert, there is a minority who have lived lives in harmony with the rules of health, and whose minds wear out before their bodies do. And while of course senility is caused by a destruction or deterioration of tissue, the fact that the doctor is not able by medicine or surgery to remedy it, the layman regards it as a breakdown of the mental machinery.

Senility has been taken as a matter of course in society thru all the ages. So long as the home was an independent unit not closely inter-related to its neighbors, and if it was of sufficient size to be subdivided so that the children were not brought into too close contact with the grandfather or grandmother who was passing, there was little social damage from the presence in the household of the victim of "second childhood".

One explanation of the great increase in hospitalization of the insane is based upon the changes in our modes of living. Due to our removal to the city, the presence of senile dotards has become inimicable to the best interest of our children. In the American farmhouse of a half dozen rooms, the presence of the aged grandfather or grandmother causes little or no confusion in the normal development of the children of that household, but when such a family moves from rural surroundings to a great city and adopts apartment house life, we find a very different situation. The family doctor breaks to the father and mother the sad news that their parent or parents must be removed because of the injury the presence of senile dotards may do to growing children. The result is a very proper and welcome use of institutions which the States have built for this purpose.

There is no cure for senility any more than there is a cure for old age. Cleanliness, comfort, proper diet, and constant medical and nursing care are all that can
be expected and these are provided by the modern state hospital.

**Dementia Praecox**

Let us turn now from the comparatively unimportant picture of those whose mental infirmities are the direct result of bodily ills, and turn to that more mysterious and inexplicable group of insane persons described by the doctors as suffering from dementia praecox. The Latin words selected to describe this demonstration of human frailty describe a mental aberration coming usually in the early years of life and too often proceeding to dementia. The army of persons who live under the label of this classification number hundreds of thousands of the American people. There are more people in American hospitals with dementia praecox than there are in all of our hospitals for persons suffering with bodily infirmities.

And the situation is worse than that, because when you go to a hospital with a bodily disease you either die or get well, but if you go to a hospital with dementia praecox, you are likely to do neither. The victims of dementia praecox usually find themselves estranged from society in late youth or early manhood or womanhood. There is apparently nothing wrong with them physically. No clue to causes may be found by classifying their station in life. They are recruited from the farm boys and girls, from the high schools and universities, and are just as likely to come from those of ordinary mentality as from those of superior or defective mentality. There is no differentiation of race, religion, nor dollars and cents. Although less likely perhaps to be soon discovered among the very poor, they are there just the same. They are the folks who cannot adjust. They are those who "cannot get along" with other people. They never seem to fit. They are not likely to be particularly anti-social or rebellious against law and order. It is usually in the small things of life in which they fail. They live a life of their own. They are non-cooperative in at least one major function of their lives. There is no common ground either for what this major function may be. They have delusions.
Possessed by an abnormal imagination, they become upon occasion, some one other than themselves. The old-fashioned notion that they are dangerous cannot be taken as a matter of course. They are just as likely to be kind and considerate as to be rough and unpleasant.

We had at one time in the Illinois Hospital for the Criminal Insane, a young man who had been sent there for life because he had murdered. The story of this young man is not typical, but thousands of dementia praecox victims have had experiences running parallel with his. After graduating from the University, he became a bond salesman, and while engaged in the practice of his profession in Chicago, lived in an apartment with some other young men and was, to all outward indications, perfectly normal. At the time, there was some talk of robberies in the community and the lady in whose apartment these young men lived, had secured a loaded revolver and placed it in an accessible spot in the home, remarking to them that it might come in handy if the apartment was burglarized. One evening after dinner this young man went for a walk and had thoughtlessly dropped the loaded revolver into his overcoat pocket. He walked down the street and a completely strange man whom he had never seen in his life before, smiled at him. The young man jerked the revolver from his overcoat pocket and shot the man dead.

Now let us go back thru the life history of that young man. When he was twelve years of age, he was playing with some boyhood companions who were shooting pebbles with a home-made catapult or bean flipper, and one of the boys shot him in the eye with a pebble. He not only lost the sight in that eye but, in healing, the eye turned slightly in the orbit. On this fact that he was slightly cross-eyed in one eye, the young man brooded and built up within himself a complex of hate and inferiority in connection with this member. The explanation made by the psychiatrist was that the young man on the street thought that the approaching stranger was ridiculing him for his infirmity.
Another more typical example. The writer stepped from his automobile and approached the entrance of the administration building of one of our State hospitals, some years ago, when a man emerged from the managing officer's private office in great agitation. There was nothing threatening or angry about the man's demeanor. So the writer jokingly stopped him and asked him what was the matter. "The doctor won't cash my check" he said. "How much was the check?" "Only a thousand dollars and that darn doctor wouldn't give me the money". The man was dressed in institution overalls, very obviously an inmate, so the writer asked: "Are you so rich that you have a thousand dollars in the bank?" "Yes", said he, "I'm the richest man in the world...I own New York....I'm the fellow who discovered gold, silver and coal". And then sweeping his hat from his head in a manner worthy of Richard Mansfield at his best, he approached a nearby automobile in which a lady was sitting, bowed to the ground, and in the best of humor said: "Lady, I'm the richest man in the world, will you marry me?"

Now the facts about this man were that he had come from a good family, had a high school education, had fought through the Spanish American War with credit and was to all intents and purposes a gentleman. In his late thirties he became obsessed with the idea that he was rich. Life with his family became impossible, and he was committed to a State institution. Later that same afternoon the writer saw the same man sitting at a loom weaving rag carpet, shorn of his wealth and glory, but without the least suggestion of any acceptance of incongruity. When he was rich he was rich, and when he was not rich he was just himself....a plain inmate of the hospital doing his bit.

Dementia praecox cannot be succinctly described because of variance among types. Generally speaking, however, one is impressed above all else in studying the question, with the pain which must come to the relative of these unfortunate people. They live usually to ripe old age because, throughout institutional life
they have constant medical and nursing care and they are not so likely to be the victims of accidents as persons living at large. Constant in the hearts of their people is the sense of their presence, and constant is the pain of their absence, and through it all is the pitiful admission of the medical profession that it is still all a mystery.

What Causes the "Queer" People?

As one enters upon the study of mental derangement, he first must ask himself what the relation is between body and mind. Science knows something about the sources of mental activity. Science know, for example, that habit is more of a physical thing than a mental thing. Science has come to know how to trace a thought over the fibres connecting the centers in the brain, and has come to discover that, unlike the telegraph wire which remains changeless regardless of the number of messages which may pass over it, the brain cells and fibres alter in proportion to use. Thoughts are probably the result of a propulsion over these fibre channels from one nerve center to another. If the impulse is to activate a muscle, the impulse goes to that part of the brain which controls the nerves leading to the muscle in question. If these impulses be repeated to a sufficient extent, they become automatic, just as if it were possible for a person to call from one telephone to another so many times that when he took his receiver down the same old call would put itself through.

But all of this is in the field of the physical. When we cross the line into the abstract, things are not so clear. Our scientists are trained to analyze, to dissect, to tear apart. How are they to proceed when there is nothing to see, or hear, or feel, or smell? Whence comes an abstract thought? Where is the throne upon which reason sits? Is "reason" the induced current built upon the physical machinery which makes direct thought possible? Can "reason" topple from its throne if the throne itself be not impaired?
Whatever the answer may be to these and similar questions, the fact remains that the medical profession knows very little about the human mind. It is trained to know the body and the reactions of the body to chemical and physical influences. When we stop and think how little time there is in a human life for education and practice, we wonder how the doctors have gotten so far as they have.

There are those who wonder if the medical profession should even attempt to do anything about dementia praecox and offer the doctrine that as soon as the physician in the hospital has discovered that he can find no physical abnormality in the body of the patient, he should turn the job over to a psycho-analyst, a psychologist, the priest or somebody else. The trouble with this is that nobody knows the identity of "somebody else". Admitting that the medical profession is very inadequate in dealing with mental infirmity which has no physical base, who is better prepared to wage the battle?

Anything in Breeding?

Is there any foundation for the general public's notion that insanity is hereditary? Leaving out of the question the instance where mental infirmity is the result of bodily ills and sticking strictly to the dementia praecox field, it may be noted that there is only one chance in fifteen that the young father is likely to be followed into the insane hospital by his son or daughter. Of course, it should be admitted that the whole question is relatively new, and that records are not yet what they ought to be. Only for twenty-five or thirty years has anyone concerned himself with this problem. Prior to that time the world was so busy doing other things that it found no time to enter the unhappy precincts of the insane asylums as they were then called, to probe among deranged minds for clues. What reason is there for even supposing that dementia praecox would be transmittable if it is admitted that there is no physical infirmity behind it? Post mortem examinations have been made within the last twenty-five years on many thousands of persons who have died suffering from dementia praecox, and the common denominator has
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not been found. Yet, there are persons who will insist that character traits are hereditary. A man is quite self-contained, uncommunicative, almost morose, and so was his father. The fact that his sister is skipping and laughing about the community with a wide open mind may not be taken into account. One of the things society has to do is to find out by the analysis of records in hospitals over long periods of years, if there is any evidence supporting the contention that dementia praecox is hereditary.

How about Parole?

It is obvious to anybody equipped with a lead pencil, that it is not possible for us to continue to multiply by five our rate of institutionalization for insanity every fifty years. There has to be an end to it sometime or we shall all be in the insane hospital. This brings us to the question of adjustment on the outside. There has been some progress made along this line. Not all civilized countries use the institution method of caring for the insane as does the United States. In Holland, for example, the insane live in a village where their mentally normal care-takers live with them. To all intents and purposes, however, this is not parole; it is simply a different sort of institutional life.

If you will go to Elgin, Illinois, at lunch time, and go into the cafeteria you will see three hundred men come in and eat their lunch. You will see them come from all quarters of the ground without any supervision or guarding and form a rough line before the cafeteria counter. You will not see much talking among them and with that possible exception you will see no difference from what you would see in any cafeteria catering to working men. You will see them select their food, carry their trays to a table, take off their hats, sit down and eat—just as anybody else would eat, and at the end of the meal you will see them put their dishes back on their trays, shove the trays through the window of the scullery, replace their headgear and stroll out for some relaxation before resuming their work. If the
managing officer is with you when you make this visit, you will say to him with astonishment: "Doctor, do you mean to tell me that these men are insane?" and the doctor will assure you that nearly all of them are dementia praecox cases fully able to do a day's work, in A-1 shape physically, and that home parole has been tried with all of them who have been there for any length of time and they have all fully demonstrated their inability to live elsewhere. The doctor may call your attention to one busy little chap weighing about one hundred and forty pounds who is an electrical worker and who earns his board and keep many times over in the expert electrical work he does over the grounds, and the doctor will tell you that he may be able to re-wire a dynamo but he can't live with his wife.

And so you wonder what is being done about getting the inmates out of the institutions and you discover that at the Elgin State Hospital, which is typical of the best of American hospitals, that of the population of four thousand inmates twelve hundred and fifty of them are released each year. The psychiatrists, physicians, and Social Service workers in charge do everything in their power to get the inmates readjusted in some other surrounding. If, after a trial, a man cannot live in one place, he may be tried some place else. Usually they succeed and do not come back. In some instances they return, unable to adjust their lives to those of their neighbors without the restraints and simplification of environment which we call the hospital, and which to them is the only home in which they can succeed.

How about Self-support?

There was a time when inmates of insane hospitals were considered dangerous maniacs. There was built up in society the notion of the padded cell, the cage, and the strait-jacket. In those old-fashioned days the employment of the inmates was considered an imposition. Now it is all different. Every State hospital executive knows that there is no treatment so good for them as work. The doctor may sweeten the name of it a little bit by calling it occupational therapy, but it is work just
the same. And so long as the doing of it is within the limitations set by the physician the effect on the mind is all for the good. One of the reasons why it is possible to operate these hospitals for seventy-five cents or a dollar a day per patient as against the very much higher figures of hospitals for bodily difficulties, is the contribution in labor made by the inmates. The sewing, mending, dress making, cleaning, dish washing, waiting on table, helping with the cooking, preparing vegetables, and the thousand and one other things keep the women busy. Before they are permitted perhaps to enter this field, they go through months of experiences in more closely supervised work designated formally as occupational therapy. Weaving, rug making, brush making, embroidering, basket weaving, painting, are all fields in which the occupational therapy worker finds an outlet for the energies of the inmates. In the same way the men take up the burden of the operation of a great farm. Modern State hospitals ought to have one acre per inmate. The community raises its own milk and eggs, poultry and vegetables. It operates greenhouses and sweetens the atmosphere of its wards with flowers. It keeps its own lawns, paints its own buildings, repairs its roofs, having in each instance one or more normally-minded employees to supervise such operations. This program not only contributes tremendously to the reduction in cost of operation to the community, but if it does not cure, it at least relieves, in that the inmate is so busy with his work that he causes less confusion with his neighbors and bears his sufferings in better spirit.

Private Hospitals

When insanity strikes in the family of the well-to-do, there is the natural revulsion against the use of the State hospital. There is still a notion that it is comparable to the poorhouse, and that the inmates are paupers living degraded lives; that only the poor use them, and that family pride demands private care. As a consequence, the family draws upon its resources and purchases care in a private hospital although, like the public school, the State Hospital is theirs for the asking.
These institutions render a service and a satisfaction to the relatives of unfortunate sufferers. Private mental hospitals operate under handicap. It is natural for the relatives to feel that the operators of private hospitals do not try to cure their patients, but merely try to keep them on account of the revenue. It is doubtful if there is very much merit in this notion. These private hospitals are, as a rule, operated by men of standing and distinction in the medical world. They have the same pride in the success of their calling that characterizes nine-tenths or more of the practitioners of medicine. They operate furthermore, under a greater handicap -- at least so far as freedom of action is concerned -- than men who operate the State hospitals. The members of the family not only want the unfortunate person to live in comfort and surroundings comparable to his or her own home, but they flinch from the thought of occupational therapy. If the sufferer is one who has lived apart from manual labor, the relatives cannot bring themselves to see him or her sewing on buttons or weaving rugs, although regular activity of this kind is in all likelihood the best treatment which the unfortunate person could have. The unbiased physician is likely to take the position that the State hospital is more likely to bring about a cure than is a private hospital. This is not because of the desire of the private hospital to continue the receipt of revenue from the patient, but because the executives of the public hospital feel more freedom in exercising their own judgment as to what constitutes a remedial treatment in each instance. The closer you will get to the question, the more you will hear the advice from those who know that the modern State hospital for the Insane is more likely to be successful in remedial cases than any other device.

What about Cures?

Is there going to be a cure devised for dementia praecox? Is it going to come from the medical profession if it is found, or will it come from the sociologist or the priest? If the bodies of the dementia praecox sufferers are normal bodies,
is there reason to think that the doctor can come any more closely to the cure than the sociologists or the practitioner of religion? Or will a psychologist, thru the development of psycho-analysis, or some like science, find the clue? Let the reader answer these questions as he sees fit, but let us in concluding the matter, draw a parallel of a century of experiences in dealing with bodily ailments. A hundred years ago humanity was cursed with (among others) four great plagues. It looked forward to the seasonable disturbances in its life caused by yellow fever, small-pox, typhoid fever and diphtheria. The medical profession, in ignorance as to the causes of these four great scourges, applied its limited knowledge and struggled with the mystery. Yet thousands and thousands of people fell victims to these then inexplicable ravages. The public did not lose its confidence in the doctors. When taken ill, rich and poor alike turned to science for help. The bodies of hundreds of thousands of patients suffering from the ravages of some one of these diseases passed through the hands of devoted doctors and nurses who, while they treated, sought for causes. And from among this army of physicians, how many had the spirit of adventure and self-sacrifice sufficient to cause them to subject the bodies of their patients and themselves to experimentation? Probably one in ten thousand of the physicians had the imagination and the sense of daring to take the chance which was involved in research. Yet, after the hundred year period, we not only know how to cure (if treated in time) all of the victims of these four great scourges, but we have learned how to immunize the human body so that it need no longer fear contact with any of them. To whom should go the credit for ever-lastingly destroying these hazards? Should it go alone to the doctors who made the discoveries? Should not some of the credit go to a patient public who through education had faith in Science?

And now let us turn for a moment to our social attitude toward insanity. From the medical profession have come specialists in nervous and mental diseases. From among them have emerged the small, valiant army of psychiatrists. The general
public does not understand what it is all about. In the same spirit in which it throws open its doors to the doctor to come in and treat its broken legs and arms, it closes them firmly against the psychiatrist when mental illness appears, not that the public has any feeling that the psychiatrist will bungle, but that too many of us are still in the grip of the old fanatic obsession that insanity is a disgrace and that it is better for the victim to be locked in a secret chamber out of contact with the world to suffer in silence, than for the word to get out that a member of that family is being treated for a mental aberration.

When the shingles of the psychiatrists swing over the sidewalks of our cities together with those of the lawyers and the doctors and the veterinary, and are equally received by the public; when public sentiment demands that at the first indication of mental irregularity the psychiatrist shall be called, then only will we develop a remedial attitude toward dementia praecox. When we shall have ten thousand practitioners in psychiatry, each contacting hundreds of patients, perhaps from among the ten thousand there may be one who will have the imagination and the bravery to leave the routine path of ordinary practice and sail his ship out on to the dangerous sea of experimentation to bring back with him, if he survive, the clue to this great mystery of human conduct.
Chapter V

Suppose you Lose Your Mind

Out of Step

Things are no longer right! You are in a daze. The actions of your family jar upon ragged nerves. Nothing you do appears to fit. Everything the people around you do is certain to be wrong. Why can’t the neighbors let you alone? Any reasonable person could realize that the family’s resolve to have the family Doctor in to visit it day after day with no one sick is crazy. Why spend money on a Doctor when all are well?

And the way the Doctor acts! Why does he hang around you all the time when he calls? There might be some excuse for a general inspection once in a while, but you know you are well and you think sometimes that it is toward you that he directs most of his attention.

Why are people so unreasonable anyway? Why is it that father and mother urge you to take a vacation which you do not want to take? Why can’t they leave you alone? You’ll sleep better at night pretty soon. Those bells you hear ringing....ringing will soon cease their clamor. It’s probably nothing but a passing nervousness. Of course if you continue to be restless at night all you need is a little sleeping tablet -- nothing dangerous or habit-forming -- just a little sedative.

You wonder if a drink wouldn’t help. You’ve never drank much alcohol. Maybe a good stiff drink......

No, that didn’t work. That didn’t silence the bells. And why couldn’t the family get the point that the whiskey was nothing but medicine? Why must they all pick on you from morning to night? Have they got it in for you? Have they conspired to ruin your life? If they haven’t, why don’t they leave you alone once in a while. Why do they nag, nag, nag day and night, until you’re almost crazy......

Crazy -- yes that’s it. They’re trying to drive you crazy! Inconceivable! After all they are your father and mother and brothers and sisters. Why should they hate you?
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But you won't let them succeed. Nothing will unseat your mind. They are the crazy ones if there are any about. They don't understand!

Take the Dream now. You know how you cherish the Dream. That delightful trip you take over and over again. At first you embarked upon it in the night time. It was such a nice voyage to go to sleep on! The loading of the hosts. The last conference with King Ferdinand's steward. Did Isabella really sell her diamonds to get the money to equip the Nina?

Oh well! What does it matter? The voyage -- that's the thing! The magnificent impulse to sail and sail and sail! Cathay! The Indies! Perhaps around the Earth itself. Many a fool will blush with shame at his ignorance when you come roaring up before the wind from the East after having departed a year before toward the West.

And the power of it! The thrill of the command of men! Matiny in the Maria Theresa, eh! Throw them in irons. Nothing shall stop us till our keels grate on Cathay's strand!

And you then began to dream it in the daylight hours. How lovely to sit back and close the ears to the infernal belling and to hear instead the roar of the wind thru the Nina's rigging. Not even the ship's bells calling the watch rang pain if the Voyage were under way.

But the family doesn't like the Dream. Sometimes in the midst of it a silly brother comes romping into the house banging the doors fit to awaken you -- "Avast there," you cry, "less noise on the quarter deck!" And the wild look in brother's eye! He acts as if he were afraid of you. How silly.

More bells in the waking hours and more peace on the Voyage. How simple to slip off quietly from the presence of unkind and ignorant people and think thru the journey to the setting sun.

Gold! Silks! Jewels! Slaves! We'll pack them aboard all right! Back we'll bring them till the ships are loaded to the scuppers. And then won't I laugh at
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Cadiz! and Genoa? Won't the world be envious then! That's the great man! That's Christopher himself. Isn't he marvelous? Smartest man alive, that Columbus!
Satisfaction at last!

If you could only sail on all the time! It's these painful jerks back into America, into the home, into the family. Why can't they let you alone? Are they all crazy?

And then came the day when the Doctor grew more personal.

"What you need, James my lad," he said to you, "is a good long rest. I've fixed it with your father for the money. It's a month in the north woods for you."

And such a month! You found the people on the train so rude, so unkind, so unsympathetic. Was there a queer smile on the conductor's face? Is it possible that he isn't well balanced mentally?

The whistles and the train bells jarred you into restlessness. Walk up and down the jerking cars. Not smooth and swinging like your ships. No stout wind singing in the rigging! Whistles, bells, racket and roar -- no peace!

Better you found it in the quietude of the woods. Peace at last. Peace to lie under the tree in the shade and sail your ships.

But the hotel people were impossible. Why couldn't they leave you alone? Why this nag, nag, nag all the time? Couldn't they see you were busy dreaming the Dream? Why would they think you wanted to play cards! Play cards! Imagine! Pitiful silly foolishness of crazy people. The Dream's the thing -- let's hurry to the Ships and sail!

Back home again. The family is just as bad as ever. Nobody understands.

Maybe you haven't made it clear enough to them. Just wait until some yelling kid comes crashing into the house to jerk you back from mid-ocean. You'll show him!

You did. You knocked him soundly. "Get out!" you cried in anger. "Get out! Can't you see I'm busy? What do you want to come bargeing into my cabin for? Can't you see that I'm on watch. Signals must be set for the Nine! She must change her course!"
You might have known they wouldn't understand it. How could they? Most of the family have never seen the sea, much less sailed it.

Oh well! What's the odds! It's no use one man trying to adjust a whole family. They'll never understand. You make up your mind to leave home.

You do. The Doctor manages it.

"I know of a place," he tells you, "where you won't be bothered all the time, a place where you can be at peace".

The private sanitarium

And so they send you to Rosedale. Beautiful, clean buildings amid beautiful lawns and flowers. Good food, clean beds, but the people! The place is full of crazy people. Can you imagine it? Your family has deliberately sent you to live with a lot of crazy people. Of all the cruel, dirty tricks to pull on a son!

But you'll escape. Not long will you stand for such treatment. Maybe they think you're crazy! You'll show them. Wait till night.

Frustrated. Caught. Turned back. What a lousy beast of a watchman! To grab you by the collar! To drag you around the grounds and to lock you into a room. You'll get even with him if it's the last thing you ever do! You'll show them! To lock you up with a lot of crazy people and not let you out when you want to go? You'll get even!

But after all you're in that room all alone. Any bells? You listen. All serene. No. There's the snap of a tightening sash! The wind freshens from the East! Put on more canvas to speed the course! Up from the decks, you sleeping lubbers, Cathay lies ahead!

You have no knowledge of course that the family back home is cutting into its budget to get the money to house you at Rosedale. You have no knowledge and no concern of the hours of painful conference between your father and mother and the Doctor. You would not get their point of view if you could hear them.

"It's too much like a poorhouse," mother is saying. "I don't think I can bear it."
"After all", says the Doctor, "there's not enough difference between Roseydale and Elgin to cause you to destroy the lives of your other children. Roseydale is good. There is no better private sanitarium that I know of. But in Elgin is good too. A lot of doctors will tell you that a cure is most likely in a State Institution. I feel that way about it myself. The trouble with the present arrangement is that you yourselves have too much control over James's life. You are paying the bill at Roseydale and so are the relatives of all the others there. As a consequence the Doctors at the place have to run it to suit you, so far as they can. They'd like to cure James, I'll agree."

"But let's suppose that what James really needs is to dig in the dirt. Would you consent to it? Would the Doctors at Roseydale take your seventy five dollars a week and then show James to you and the others as a dirt gardener in soiled overalls digging in a ditch?"

"And it is possible that manual labor is just what James needs. The State Doctors at Elgin will not be so limited in their treatment. Because you will not pay you will have less to say about the life James will lead there. If they think hard labor is best for him, that's what he'll get. James isn't improving at all where he is. There's a slender chance that he might do better somewhere else. I vote for commitment."

"Does that mean?" asks your father, "That James will be hauled up in court like a convict?"

"It means", says the Doctor, "that you will go thru the formality of filing a complaint. We will go and get James and you and I will take him to the court house. There he will be examined by two other doctors and will meet the Judge. If the doctors agree that he is insane, he will be committed."

"Who will take him to Elgin?"

"It is customary for the sheriff to send a deputy. If James were a woman a woman would, of course, have to go along. I think maybe I can get the sheriff to let
us take him. If not I'll see to it that it is a kindly man."

Meanwhile you are eating the meals, undergoing the medical tests and living the life at Roseydale. It is much like a summer resort hotel. Some of the guests are however, kept rather closely in their rooms. Since your early effort to escape you take your walks in the company of a nice young college fellow who hopes sometime to get a medical degree himself. He talks to you. You like him. Together you explore the nearby woods and even catch fish from the stream.

If it were not for the crazy people who also live there you might enjoy it. You have time to dream. Oh, the thrill of those many trips with the boats. In every detail you act out in your mind the troublesome voyage. You inspect the crew for signs of scurvy, have your lieutenants from the other boats over for a check-up on the attitude of the crews, order the removal, on occasion, of trouble breeders from one of the ships to the other. The dream has become the outstanding fact of your life. No longer need you sleep or feign sleep to practice it. You have become Columbus.

But there are times when even that doesn't fit. How can Columbus eat breakfast in a hotel dining room with a lot of crazy people? Something's always coming up to spoil everything.

So comes the day when your father appears with the Doctor and tells you that your visit at Roseydale is over.

"You're not getting any better here", he says.

"Better", you reply. "What's wrong with me I'd like to know. I'm all right. If you hadn't put me in with a lot of crazy people I'd be perfect."

The sad look in your father's eye prompts the Doctor to speak.

"Correct, old son", he says. "The doctor here at Roseydale tells me that you are fit to take on any champion prize-fighter so far as you health is concerned. That isn't the trouble. You just don't seem, Jimmy, to fit in with folks. You don't adjust. You're always unhappy."

You and father and the Doctor drive on toward home. Conversation lags. The
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belmy breeze from the summer fields soothes your face. You drift and drift...and dream.

"Nina ahoj!" you cry. "Port your helm! Do you want to smash into us."

In the court house the Judge is kind. So are the two other doctors who come to question you. Much conferring follows in low tones with not much thought for you. The bells are clanging again. Ding dong! Ding dong!

"What are you ringing the bells for?" you ask the Judge. "Is it a holiday or something?"

The Judge listens.

"You have better ears than I," he says.

The only reason you are not put in jail is that your family Doctor is known. A broad-shouldered young man rides in the car with your father and the Doctor to Elgin. He says little. You dream.

Your introduction to the big hospital at the end of the road is much more formal than your entry at Rosedale. Papers are passed, read and a receipt given. The personal history sheet made out by the Judge's clerk is turned over to a young doctor who takes your examination in hand.

Voluntary Commitment

Had you desired to do so, you could have come to Elgin by yourself or with your father and been received without any preliminary process at the Court House. You need only have said that you were nervous, that you were hearing more or less constantly the ringing of bells, that you couldn't dream in peace, that other people irritated you, or that you feared that your mind was slipping. In such a case you would have been welcomed, would have been received and treated and released promptly if the staff of doctors at the hospital were sure you had had done for you everything it was possible for them to do. If, on the other hand, they found you to be incurable in mind, they themselves would have arranged for your permanent detention.
The Diagnosis

The first thing that happens to you when you enter Elgin is that you are deprived of all your valuables and your pocket items, are led to a room and stripped. You are interested in it. The young doctor and the accompanying attendant are cheerful and co-operative. They seem to understand. They take your clothes to be cleaned and the attendant shows you to the bath. Bathed, combed, brushed and fed, with fresh clothing disinfected and pressed, you enter upon a most complete examination.

This diagnosis takes two or three weeks of your time with a seemingly endless array of divergent courses.

First, there is a medical examination immediately following the bath. Your heart, lungs, and muscles are checked. Bruises, fractures, scars and deformities are sought. Upon a chart bearing the rough outline of a human form and identified by the writing of your name, are marked any divergence from normal which may appear about you. This takes hours. You have no time to dream.

You are quartered in a private room with heavy screening, opening upon a wide hall. Other newcomers live adjacent. Until the attendants and supervisors are assured of your degree of rebelliousness, you are closely watched. Your first meals come to you on a tray. You eat alone. The food is clean, plain, and appetizing. Things are not so bad. Dusk falls. You can dream again.

One day comes a visit to the psychologist. Questions follow questions. Performance tests. It is fun. A trip is made to the dentist who examines your teeth. Doctors take drops of blood from your ear lobes and subject the specimens to both physical and chemical tests. If blood disease is suspected, spinal fluid may be drawn and studied. There is one chance in fifteen or twenty that syphilis may be found, even though parasyis is not your trouble.

The days hurry by. At the end of three weeks the file into which the facts regarding yourself have been placed, contains a preliminary physical examination,
the report of the supervisor's inspection, whether you are clean, dirty or verminous, your social history, a dental report, the final physical and the complete mental examination.

Then comes the staff meeting. Into a room with a big table surrounded by ten or fifteen men and women you are escorted by your attendant. Everybody is busy. A file of papers is passing from hand to hand down the table. You seat yourself and listen. Disconnected words filter through the rustle of the papers to your ears. "Body O.K." "I.Q. 92." "Bells". "Christopher Columbus." "Wasserman negative". "Hallucinations". "Good family." "Roseydale". "Sad". "Thyroid normal". "Former fullback". "Good looking lad".

Once in a while a doctor or psychologist looks up from his reading and glances at you, inquiringly.

The presiding physician calls up the case.
"James Smith, 20, Jonesburg, Illinois".

And the great trial of human destiny is on.

No time for Dreams now! The bells are ringing again. Ding dong -- ding dong........

The presiding physician calls you over to him for some questions.
"You like to dream about the voyage to America, don't you?"

You agree.

"Have you ever succeeded in completing the voyage?"

You never have. Something has always interrupted.

"How often do you hear the bells?"

You explain. You are excused from the room and take a walk with your attendant.

The next day you get chummy with the man who is on duty in your corridor during the day. He is a nice old farmer from the southern part of the State. He has been on the job for some years and you can see that while he knows the routine
of the hospital, he isn't educated. He has only had four years of school and he likes to have your help in making his written daily report. His name is Tom Stevens.

"What did those doctors decide about me yesterday?" you ask.

"The diagnosis was Dementia Praecox - Paranoid Type," Tom replies.

You resolve to find out what that is.

You help him with the reports and he tells you about other patients.

"You see that droopy, dreary, inattentive, sleepy, sloppy looking fellow?"

"Yes."

"That's Dementia Praecox also, but that's what they call the hebephrenic type. He doesn't keep himself clean. He's slipping down. He's hopeless. They tell me that that kind just keep on getting more careless, more indifferent, more silly, until they die. Sad, isn't it?"

"But how about me?" you ask.

"Oh, you can snap out of it and get well if you watch yourself."

"Keep clean. Look after yourself. Get busy at something so you will forget your dreaming. That's what the 'doc' tells me."

You resolve to try.

You see a young man sitting in a chair on the far side of the corridor. He is alone. His hands are gripping each other. His body writhes as if in pain. His eyes shift about, seeking something apprehensively. He seems in terror. You approach him.

"What's wrong, old timer?" you ask.

His eyes roll toward you in fear.

"They're after me! They're going to crucify me! Why can't they leave me alone? I've never hurt anyone...... And something's pressing on me. I'm being crushed. Can't you help me lift it off? Help me if you can. I'm miserable! I'm frightened!"

"There's nothing to be afraid of here," you say. "We're all friends here
together. Tom and I will look after you. Look how high the ceiling is. There’s nothing pressing on you. Go take a look out of the window. Isn’t everything lovely and free?"

He shudders, raises his eyes to you with the pitiful wistfulness of a whipped dog.

"That’s the catatonic demental praecox", says Tom. "He can get well also if he can be made to see that there’s nothing wrong but his own mind."

"This is all interesting", you say to Tom. "I think I’m going to like it here. I want to help you with your work."

"Oh, they’ll give you a regular job, doing something or other."

You get the assignment to drive the laundry truck. Each morning after breakfast you visit all the wards in the big building, pick up the soiled linen, give receipts to the attendants, and deliver it all to the laundry. You see all sorts of sick people, from bedfast, dying seniles to those nervously excited and in tantrums. It begins to be a matter of course. You yourself are busy. There isn’t so much time to dream. The bells come only when you’re tired. Things are better.

One day you see a man with a nervous attack. He rushes at an attendant, viciously. He is restrained.

"Hydro here", says the Supervisor.

They lead the man to the big bath room. Tubs are lined along seemingly by the dozen. The suffering man is stripped, rolled into a blanket so that he is helpless, and leid in a tub. He cannot move. The water comes rushing about him, steam rises. You can see that the attendants are making it hotter and then tempering it. The nervous man begins to relax. When you leave the bathroom, he is peacefully asleep, rolled up like a cocoon in blankets.

You are moved into a ward to sleep. There are twenty-five men in clean white beds in one big open room. The attendant has a desk in the corner. Everything is clean. There are no disturbed persons here. Most of the men work on the lawn.
or in the gardens. They retire early and sleep soundly. There is little disturbance
Once in a while somebody flies off the handle about something and the attendant tries
to smooth over the trouble. It is all about what would be the routine in any
workingman's dormitory.

One day you go to the X-Ray department for some laundry. They are about to
give a treatment to a young fellow suffering from perasis. He is a fine looking
chap, but unable to walk or talk. The nurses place him in a water tight sleeping
bag and lay him on a cot. Then they roll him up in an electric blanket, fix the
connections to a lamp-socket and cover the patient with layer upon layer of blankets.
Only his face can be seen. A thermometer projects from the patient's mouth. You
hear the nurse talking to the attendant.

"Only 102 degrees today. We've got to see how he reacts. You know that
about half of these patients go on up a couple of degrees after the heat is turned
off. You watch the thermometer. I'll watch his pulse".

Perspiration begins to drip from the patient's face. Warm water is
poured in unbelievable quantities into the patient's mouth. An hour passes.

"One hundred and one", says the attendant.

"Heart O.K.", says the nurse. "This fellow isn't so sick. If we could
have gotten him six months ago, we'd have melted this scar tissue off of his brain
in short order. As it is, I imagine he'll have to have a dozen treatments or so".

Another hour passes.

"One hundred and two", from the attendant.

"All right. Pull the switch. Keep on watching that thermometer. Give
him another pint of warm water. He's hot. I guess there's a gallon of perspiration
in that sleeping bag. The water is running thru him like a hydro bath. Think of
the poison which is running out with it."

When you returned to that room two hours later, the nurse had gone, the
attendant was giving the patient cool water to drink, the temperature was down to
one hundred and the eyes which looked at you from the blanket folds seemed brighter than they were before.

You engage the attendant in conversation.

"Does this cure paresis?" You ask.

"The results are amazing", he replies. "When I first came here to work, the more hopeful paraplegic cases were treated with malarial infection. Ten per cent of them died. Many were cured. This artificial heat treatment is not so dangerous. We've treated hundreds here and haven't lost anybody since we found out how to work it. The patients show different reactions to the heat. I've seen fellows take a jump up to 110 degrees and die, an hour after the electricity was turned off. We watch them now and don't lose any. We cure about a fourth of all who come to the hospital and could cure half if we got them sooner. I'll venture to say that three-fourths of all the people who die from paresis would be cured if the public understood the necessity of getting medical treatment for syphilis as soon as it is discovered".

You are beginning to be interested in the hospital.

One day you asked a supervisor about the alcoholics.

"We get loads of them", he said. "They are no problem here. They don't expect to drink here. They're about the best patients we have. The interesting thing about a public hospital for the so called 'insane' is that there seem to be people who can't live anywhere else."

Months pass. You wonder about yourself. There isn't much time during the day for the Dream. The bells ring only when you are tired and nervous. You are beginning to understand that there is a difference between you and the people you have met out in the world. You are beginning to realize that your dream state has set you apart, has disqualified you for a free life.

"Keep on working", says the Doctor. "Keep your interest in your job. Leave the sailing of the ships to others. Learn to serve. Learn to take an interest in these men and women about you. Study to adjust. It is all a matter of fitting
in with the people about you. If you can first learn to live freely here in this place, perhaps you may some day be able to live freely outside when the whole responsibility for your life will be upon yourself."
Chapter VI
The Battle With the Criminal

The Anti-social Minority

If it be true that mental disturbance causes more suffering to the human family than any other ill, it may with equal truth be asserted that anti-social action is our most expensive luxury. From the day of Cain and Abel to today minorities of the human family in every civilization have refused to play the game of life according to the rules set by the majority. These refusals have been considered by the organized group in which the breaches of discipline took place, and the result has been the passage of statutes setting up descriptions of crimes and misdemeanors. Law-making bodies are not always consistent in their distinctions, and what is labelled a crime in one State may be a misdemeanor in another and vice versa. In general it is of course true that the more serious offenses are indexed as "crimes" and it is only with this category that we shall deal.

As law-making bodies have during the ages described offenses against society and put the label of "crime" upon such offenses, there has been a gradual growing concern to know what to do with the human being who is found to be guilty of such an offense. A book in itself could be written on the subject of the punishment that society has meted out to those who have refused to play the game and obey the rules. America has had everything from burning at the stake to probation. Apparently within the last half century at least, there has been a revolt in the public conscience against the infliction of any bodily-injury punishment, or even the infliction of bodily pain, and the result is that we have settled down pretty definitely upon a national policy based upon incarceration as a punishment. In other words, society has concluded that incarceration is the best it can do with the convicted offender because incarceration does not offend the sensibilities of the public as being brutal; it has the advantage of separating the offender from society so that for a time at least he cannot do any further damage; and theoretically, at least, it is so abhorrent to the
citizen that a period of it will cause him "never to sin again".

There are many who doubt the soundness of the philosophy behind modern society's treatment of the criminal. There are many who feel that it is entirely unscientific and is simply the survivor of misguided blindness and floundering attempts of an unschooled society to deal with something unpleasant. It is not very difficult to condemn the whole principle of the institution known as the penitentiary. In the first place it brings all the bad together into one place where they can interchange their anti-social ideas and foster rebellion against the misguided society which sent them to prison. It is an unnatural life and while it may not be deliberately calculated to misfit any man for society, it certainly has that effect. Instead of being treatment calculated to prepare a human being for an adjustment to society, it does exactly the opposite, and it is to be very seriously doubted if it is much of a deterrent. Certainly if a penitentiary is such a horrible place it is hard to understand how men who have been in it qualify so promptly for return after they are released. There are certain men for whom prison life is an adjustment. And when we see the instance of men who will voluntarily commit themselves for life to the cloisters of a monastery to escape from the world, it is hard to conclude that to all men incarceration, even in a prison, is sufficiently obnoxious to serve as a deterrent.

The answer as to what to do with the criminal after he is convicted will never be found so long as society adheres to the principle "that the punishment should fit the crime". We must set aside our idea that a law-making body can set up a tabulation of human conduct and issue so many feet or yards of punishment of a certain type for each offense, and we must come to the newer philosophy that criminals are misfits--that they, like the insane, are folks who are not adjusted, that their attitude of rebellion toward society's rules is a misconception due to the failure of their own preparation for life. We must first of all plan our treatment of the convicted offender on a positive rather than a negative plane. We must stop trying to do something TO him and start in to try to do something FOR him. Let us also realize while we are puttering
around with the subject that we are spending a lot of money.

**Growth of Crime**

In 1880 the State of Illinois had in her prisons 65 felons per 100,000 of her general population. During the decades following 1880 there was a gradual lessening of this rate until in 1920 Illinois had only 55 per 100,000. This gradual decrease is a tribute to the improved society of Illinois at the turn of the century. Because after all, what better index is there of the success of a social system, at least so far as deportment is concerned, than the percentage of its adult males in the penitentiary? What other explanation can there be for this improvement? If it were merely the comparison of two adjacent decades, it might be explained by some momentary change in attitude of the courts, or some change in policy as regards periods of detention in prison, but for forty years Illinois steadily improved in this regard.

Then in the decade following the year 1920 came the cataclysm. Penal incarceration jumped in that period from 55 per 100,000 to 110 per 100,000. And it didn't stop in 1930 -- it kept on going until it reached a peak in 1933 to 130 per 100,000 which is twice the rate of 1880.

Several things happened in the 1920 to 1930 decade which were different from the preceding decade. The two most outstanding social differentials are founded on the aftermath of the World War, and the enactment of the National Prohibition Act. If it were possible to say that this great increase in felony was the result of the incarceration of persons by reason of new laws created from the passage of the Volstead Act, it would simplify the matter tremendously. But that explanation will not serve because in Illinois it was not the practice to incarcerate in prison the direct violators of the Volstead Act. Except for some increase in the population of the State Prison Farm, largely used for misdemeanance, there was no reflection in prison population due to prohibition violations. There is, of course, the possibility of attributing a great deal of increase in incarceration to the Prohibition Laws if we follow a certain process of reasoning. The bootlegger was a part of an anti-social
organization. Frequently it transpired that the organization was cut off for some reason or other, from its supply of alcohol, and, confronted with the necessity of procuring funds to continue its existence, to take the next easy step to hi-jacking as a livelihood. Having been transformed from a bootlegger to a hi-jacker, it was not a very serious change for the gang to conclude that if it was good business to hi-jack the competitor's alcohol, it was just as profitable to hi-jack the boots and shoes or what not, which were travelling on the road. In other words, the bootlegger transformed into a hi-jacker became a robber. This transition is more or less natural when the original anti-social program is organized. The fault of course lies in the fact that there should be an organization bent toward illegal acts in the first place. No one will ever know, it is presumed, to what degree Prohibition was responsible for the increase in incarceration and there are those who will insist that the reduction in volume of incarcerations which began to appear on January 1, 1934, was because of the repeal of National prohibition, or due to other allied causes.

As to the effect of the World War comment should be made upon the fact that during the latter part of the decade 1910 to 1920 some four million individuals of the sex and age eligible for criminal court procedure were out from under the jurisdiction of the civil courts and under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government by reason of the draft. The fact that a man becomes a member of a national army does not necessarily mean that all of his anti-social attitudes are immediately adjusted, but it does mean that if he steals or robs or murders while in the army, that he goes to a Federal prison rather than a State prison, and for this reason there is a possibility that the figures resulting in 1920 might have been greater had these men been eligible for consideration by civil criminal courts at that time. Another observation: War has always been followed by periods of social readjustments and by the necessity for extra efforts to overcome abnormal tendencies in youth.

Let us consider the scene at a typical American breakfast table during the World War. The father of the family with his morning paper propped against the coffee
pot, intersperses between his consumption of bacon and eggs, the story of the developments on the western front the day before. He reads, into the wondering ears of the six, eight and ten year old boys who are sitting about the table, of the slaughter of men. He reads of the destruction of a village by shell fire, for no other reason than that it may not be used by the enemy as a base for attack. He reads of the slaughter of men as in ordinary times one would read of the destruction of crops by hail. What is the reaction in the minds of these little boys? Are they not bound to come to have a vastly different conception of the value of life and property than the boys who are reared entirely apart from the horrors of War? Can such boys be expected to grow into manhood with the same respect for the sacredness of their neighbor’s person, or his livestock, or his personal property? Does not war cause in the growing youth a vast misconception of these basic principles which only time can cure?

Whether it be from war or prohibition or from some other cause so far undiscovered, the fact remains that in the year 1933 the State of Illinois had more than twice as many men in prison per thousand population as in the saner latter days of the nineteenth century. Let us look a little more closely to what it really means to say that a State incarcerates 130 men for each 100,000 of its general population. In the first place, women and children played practically no part in this group. The number of children under sixteen who are incarcerated in penal institutions is negligible and insufficient for serious social consideration. Illinois in 1933 had less than 100 women incarcerated for felonies. Also because of the fact that it adopted in 1932 a policy of segregating all women offenders into one institution, some sociologists have erred in considering its penal population. Most of the women are incarcerated for crime as the result of hysterical reactions in the home. The Professional women criminals are few and far between. In any event the whole question of incarceration for felonies among women and girls is too insignificant to find a place in this study.

This brings us to a realization therefore, that when we talk about 130 per 100,000 we are really talking about 130 of the 20,000 or 25,000 of the general population
who are adult males. It is not difficult therefore to realize that the problem which
confronts us is that one out of every 150 of all of the men in Illinois was in prison
in 1933. And as the reader casts his eye about him and realizes how many groups of
150 men there are in his neighborhood, he can begin to realize the danger which confronts
his life and property from anti-social neighbors.

How About the Uncounted?

This leads us to the very natural query: "How many men are there in the
country who are not in prison but who ought to be?" It is difficult to reach any
exactitude in such a study. Only one man goes to prison for about every ten crimes
which are reported to the police as having taken place but no one can determine how
many of the crimes were committed by each of the incarcerated offenders. Some men
when convicted will confess to twenty-five robberies. Most men when convicted will
stolidly maintain that they never were guilty of any offense whatever. These facts
force us into the field of speculation but may we not with sufficient exactitude
conclude that the ten men who go to prison committed fifty of the one hundred crimes
reported to the police, and may we not then logically conclude that the ten men who
committed the other fifty crimes have not yet been caught; and that it is reasonable
and sufficiently close to the facts to say that for every man who was in prison in
Illinois in 1933 there was another man still at large active in his anti-social program,
engaged in unlawful pursuits, and either haphazardly or deliberately committing the
offenses which might cause him to take his turn in a prison cell?

The 75th Man

In other words one man out of every seventy-five in Illinois in 1933 was
anti-social -- was unwilling to play the game of life according to rules -- was not
possessed of those restraints which would cause him to refrain from injuring his
neighbor's body or from taking his neighbor's property without due process of law. Is
it then not logical for us to analyze this 75th man and consider him in relation to the
seventy-four men who live about him and who restrain themselves from such misconduct as results in apprehension and conviction? Is it possible to analyze this 75th man, composite him and see if there are differentials between the composite of him and the composite of his neighbors which will give us any clue to the reason for his maladjustment?

Fortunately from the standpoint of social study we have a theoretical counterpart of this 75th man perpetually locked up in the Illinois penitentiaries and we have him there for a long enough time to get fairly well acquainted with him...to look into his family history, his life experiences, his mental ability, his religious and educational contacts. Let us therefore try to make a composite of the typical antisocial male.

In the first place, he is a twenty-one year old young man. He is much younger than he used to be. Back in the rosy decades of the last century he was four or five years older. He is not a bad looking young man, as a rule. But what is his history and what have been his experiences?

Homelessness

Studies among the inmates of the Illinois penal institutions disclose an amazing number who testify to the destruction of the home into which they were born. Fifty per cent of the boys in the Pontiac branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary, which specializes in the younger first offender, state that their homes were broken before they themselves were fifteen years old. Does this prove anything? Some of our best sociologists doubt it. Some cynically observe that there are so many habitations not yet disrupted by death or divorce which are so much worse than what results after disruption that the figures prove nothing. This involves a cynical attitude toward American home life to which the writer cannot enthusiastically subscribe. There appears to be evidence that homelessness characterizes the 75th man to a greater degree than it characterizes the seventy-four who live about him.

Worklessness

But when we turn from homelessness to worklessness our differentiation becomes
clearer out. The lack of ever having been trained to work and the lack of ever having systematically worked is vastly more typical of the 75th man than it is of the other seventy-four. A typical criminal is the young man who has always despised honest labor. His attitude has always been that he was too smart to have to work. He despised the grease-stained overall-clad neighbor who trudged wearily home on a Saturday afternoon with an honest fifty dollars in his pocket, and looked with greater enthusiasm upon the sleek exterior of the bediamonded crook who, at least to all external appearances, lived an easier life. The 75th man considers it smart and clever to live high and handsome without dirt and perspiration. He believes that the way of the transgressor is easy, and clever, and that it is a sign of good judgment and a high complement of brains to be able to have the pleasures and comforts of life without descending to grimy toil. There is no question but what worklessness should be heavily underscored in our composite of the 75th man.

**Churchlessness**

Is religion of any value as a crime deterrent? If you were to go to our Illinois Diagnostic Depot and sit behind the sociologist as he queries the newcomers being brought to prison by their county sheriffs, you would hear him ask the question: "Church -- if any?" And you would hear 95% of these persons glibly name their church affiliation. You would think that those who were being locked up were the Sunday School teachers of a nation. But if you had been born with the notion that Sunday School never hurt anybody, and you were prepared to go behind the returns a little further, you would follow these men from the Diagnostic Depot to their cell life in the prison and you would talk with the chaplain who day after day reviews with them their religious experiences and who earnestly strives to improve their religious attitude. You would get an entirely different report from the chaplains and would discover that practically none of them was ever inside of a church. You would have to conclude that these men had assumed a superficial piety at the moment of prison contact under some dim notion...
that if they appeared to be very religious they would be sooner released. As a matter of fact, the 75th man has had no religious training worth mentioning. He names to the sociologist the church which he has heard about the most and with which his family has some sort of a vague affiliation.

**Mentality and Schoollessness**

We have in Illinois a splendid opportunity to study the mental status of Illinois prisoners with relation to the mental status of the public at large. It happens that at about the same time that the Federal Government was making mental tests of four million draftees, Dr. Herman Adler then State Alienist of Illinois, was making mental tests of the then six thousand men in Illinois penitentiaries. There is no differentiation in the two composites -- at least no differentiation which will get us anywhere. The first year of study of the 2,100 men committed to the Illinois State Penitentiary Diagnostic Depot (1933-4) showed more mental deficiency than did the previous Adler studies. There may be a few more geniuses and certainly are less idiots in the penitentiary. But the mental averages fall so nearly in the same categories that we have to say that the 75th man has the same equipment of brain power as have the seventy-four men that live about him. It is true that there is a higher percentage of insane in prison that there is incarcerated for insanity among the general public, but it is also true that the general public is not lined up and passed in review before psychiatrists to find out whether it is insane or not. There are those who believe that if the general public were subjected to psychiatric examination that there would be just as many insane people per thousand discovered outside the prison as in it. Then too there is unquestionably some insanity developed by the prison life itself.

But bearing in mind that the 75th man has about the same mental equipment with which to enter upon the game of life, let us look at the educational experience of the two groups. There were among the 10,000 men in prison in Illinois in 1930 less than 200 high school graduates. Practically all of the 10,000 were of an age to have made high school graduation possible before incarceration. At the same time that this was
being discovered Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase in his inaugural address before the University of Illinois, stated that his observation of Illinois caused him to conclude that one-fifth of all the young men and women of the State were subjects for higher education.

In the interest of necessity and clarity certain observations should be made of the less than 200 high school graduates among the 10,000 men in Illinois prisons in 1930. There were then and there are now and there always will be in a prison some men who are not criminals in the sense in which we are conducting this study. There is the doctor who has been convicted of mal-practice. There is the banker whose bank failed and who was found guilty of an error of omission. There is the lawyer whose client's money was found missing when the estate was settled and whose defense was that he made an unfortunate investment. There is the real estate man who got his loans mixed. It is of course not being contended here that these men were not guilty of crimes. In all likelihood they were all guilty and there was justification in the conviction, but the point is that they are so exceptional and so far removed from the thing which we are trying to get at, that they should be excluded from the study entirely. There were in 1930 in Illinois prisons approximately 100 such and practically without exception they were all high school graduates. If we are honestly endeavoring to composite the 75th man, this 100 whom we might describe as "casuals" should be entirely excluded.

A comparison in 1930 with the educational attainments of those in Illinois prisons with Sing Sing in New York for example, showed that New York had a slightly higher average of school attainment. This I think can be explained from the fact that the negro population in New York is exclusively urban and consequently subjected to the attention of the compulsory education officials. Illinois still has areas of rural countryside in which the attitude toward the negro is that of the "old South".

It is not therefore unfair to say of the 75th man that he is less than one per cent a graduate of high school. As to what degree this falls short of the educational attainment of the seventy-four men who live about him would vary of course
in every section of America. But it is at least deficient to such a degree as makes it possible in the writer's judgment to place the failure of the public schools as one of the important differentiations worth considering.

Nationality and Race

There is an idea with a large part of the general public that our prisons are populated largely by "foreigners". Of course it is pretty hard in America to know just what is meant by such a term. If we take as a measure those who were born on territory other than that of the United States, we find that in 1930 there is a slightly higher ration of non-American born in our prisons than in the general population. But when we take the commitments in Illinois for the years 1929 and 1930 we find, with one exception, that the commitments run in almost parallel lines to the national's eligibles. The one exception is the case of Mexico. Illinois prisons in 1930 had seventeen hundred times as many Mexicans in prison as the census reports showed were proportionately eligible. It seems to the writer that this is explainable in two ways — first, that what the United States gets from Mexico is the very worst that Mexico has; and second, that it is very likely that there are thousands of Mexicans in the United States who are never counted by a census taker at all. In any event the number is very small when compared with the great mass of prisoners. Generally it is fair to conclude that at least since the restrictions on immigration were made by the Federal Government and the public temper has demanded more deportations of anti-social foreigners, that there is no point to be made on the point of nationalities.

When we come to the subject of race we come to another important clue to the thing we are trying to find. The Federal census shows the negro population of the State of Illinois to be less than three per cent of the general population, yet among the ten thousand men in prison in America in 1930 there were three thousand negroes. In other words, the negro has ten times as many persons in our prisons as he is entitled to on a population basis. Now the negro is not naturally a belligerent
person. He is of an amiable disposition. He is not likely to possess the mechanical and organization ability for the higher levels of crime, nor is he temperamentally the type for robbery. Typically the negro is willing to go along and do what tasks he finds at his hand. Is it not reasonable therefore to conclude that this great overwhelming disproportion of negroes in prison is another proof of our failure to make public education prepare citizens for life? Is it not a matter of maladjustment? The public permits the importation of negroes from the Mississippi cane and cotton fields and transplants them without preparation into the center of metropolitan urban life. They find organized labor against them. They find available only the most menial of employment opportunities. Their children go to expensive public high schools and attain a social misbalance. They are prepared for something they are never permitted to do. They find practically no differentiation in the educational program offered them from that offered the white neighbor boy to whom fields of employment are more generally open. To the writer it is perfectly clear that the preponderance of negroes in our penal institutions is the direct result of a lack of specialized education, and that it is possible for society to remove most of the negroes from the ranks of the 75th man and put him back on the pro-social side if we bother to work at the job a little.

**What to do about it?**

To summarize therefore, we find that the 75th man is a twenty-one year old boy with almost the mentality of the general public who has never been to church and who has been to school much less than he should; who has never been taught that the way of the transgressor is hard but who has grown up with the notion that dishonesty is the best policy; a young man who has never worked, who has never had the benefits of good normal life, and who has been denied the refining and socializing effects of religion. In other words, he is the under-privileged boy of ten years ago...grown to manhood.

May we then not conclude that the way to reduce crime is to reduce to a
our production of boys whose youthful experiences might be characterized by these things? Is it not reasonable to conclude that if we could see that all boys had good homes and all boys had Sunday School and church affiliation, and all boys graduated from high school, that all boys found a job and came to like that job, that we would soon be able to use most of our prison cells for something more constructive than penal incarceration? Let us therefore turn about and consider this whole question from the standpoint of the remedial and preventive agencies which society has worked out to deal with offenders. Let us first take what we consider our remedial agencies. They are, in the order in which the offender meets them — the policeman, the jail, the court, and the penitentiary or the hangman.

Better Police

There seems to be no question but what the police forces of America are better than they were fifty years ago. That is by no means another way of saying they are at all what they should be, but there are more men in police forces today who are studying the question of what a policeman should be. There are even today some universities which are operating courses in policemanship. This may not be the place to make the observation but it has always seemed to the writer that it would be a good thing if police-craft were developed from the purely negative which it almost always is, to something of the positive in human service. Let us take two illustrations. Has the reader not seen the solicitude with which a good old gray haired policeman shepherds some school children across the boulevard? Have you not stopped your car with pleasure to co-operate? Have you not noted how the children look up into his face in a friendly way and have you not thrilled at the manner in which he pats them on the back as he herds them across to the safety of the other sidewalk? This is police-craft in the positive. But on the other hand if a penniless and hungry boy, stands on a street corner in a strange city, feels the need of food and shelter and considers what he can possibly do about it, is he likely to go to the policeman on the corner to inquire where he may find a glass of milk or a sandwich or where he may get a free bed?
Is it typical of American police-craft that we have the public trained to look upon the police forces of a community as our friends and advisers and as intermediaries for help when in distress? What would happen to the typical hungry boy of America if in his distress the boy asked for guidance from the blue-coat? One wonders if there is not some merit in the thought of putting into the police service of America much of the social service work that is now done external thereto and by so co-mingling the positive that a closer and more friendly contact can be built up between the general youthful public and the police forces. Even as the old man in the blue coat with the brass buttons carefully guides the school children to the safety of the sidewalk, might not all American police forces come to be regarded by the boys of the Nation as their friends and advisers and helpers?

However these things may be, we must admit we have made some progress in improving our forces which first contact with the offender.

J A I L S

Our jails are better now than they were fifty years ago although that, of course, is not saying much. The typical American jail is a disgrace to society. It is dirty and filthy and gives the visitor the impression that it is visited with the mop only on rare occasions. Would anybody stop to wonder why it is that the typical American fire station is so clean and the typical American police station is so dirty? One supposes of course that the answer is that the firemen haven’t anything to do between fires but to shine the brass. But dirty as the American jails are, they are not so filthy as they were fifty years ago. There has come about at least some separation and segregation of inmates. There is not so much of the professional exploitation of women which there once was. There is more attention paid to venereal disease contacts, and there is best of all, some conception of the importance of keeping children away from experienced offenders. We have in many States stopped the practice of permitting women and children being incarcerated in jails at all but of course we have not yet come to have as much regard for adult manhood as we have for
women and juveniles. But in general it may be said that, miserable as the jail is, it doesn't do as much harm now as it did fifty years ago.

Better Courts

Our courts are better now than they were fifty years ago. It will be generally admitted that the type of citizen who is elected a judge is better educated, better prepared, and knows better what it is all about than did the men in the same chair in 1880. If for no other reason our courts are better because we have learned to specialize to some degree. In our own great State of Illinois and in the city of Chicago forty years ago came the conception of the Juvenile Court which is today an accepted institution in every civilized land. There is no question but what the Juvenile Court has saved many youth from contamination with the worst adult offenders, and the Juvenile Court has resulted in the acceptance by the court room of social service, intelligent and trained, as was never conceived in 1880.

And the courts are better than they were fifty years ago because we have invented probation. The principle of probation is philosophically sound, but like all human agencies it may be abused or misused. We have both juvenile and adult probation. Juvenile probation is almost universally accepted in the more advanced American States; adult probation is still on trial. The application of the principle of Juvenile probation is simply bringing into the court room something that every parent has either consciously or unconsciously used in dealing with the offenses of his own children. Johnny in a careless moment throws the baseball thru the kitchen window. The resultant economic damage to the family is one dollar. The father and mother put Johnny on probation. Instead of taking him back into the woodshed and warming him up with a switch, which punishment was meted out upon the theory that Johnny would never be so careless with his baseball again, the parents tell Johnny that his customary Saturday afternoon motion picture experience at twenty-five cents admission will be deferred for four Saturdays until he shall have repaid to the family
budget the dollar of loss sustained by the baseball episode. Is there any parent who would not see how infinitely better this is for Johnny than the scene in the woodshed with the switch? And is it not also better because it brings restitution? The window pane gets put back as it was before the ball went thru it, and is it unreasonable to believe that each of the four Saturday afternoons in which Johnny is deprived of his trip to the motion picture theater, he contemplates the errors of life and comes to really understand better than he otherwise would the proper relationship of human beings to other people's property?

We would be better off if we carried the principle of restitution further into criminal procedure. Two boys steal an automobile. The automobile is recovered the next day with a hundred dollars of damage. Under the old fashioned practice two boys are sent to prison. This is not because going to prison will do the boys any good, but because the punishment must fit the crime and the crime of stealing an automobile is larceny and the punishment for larceny is one to five years in prison. While in prison these two boys, who may not have been at all determinedly anti-social, come in contact with the worst adults in the State and are probably ruined. The probation system, on the other hand, would be to give the automobile back to its owner, convict the boys of larceny, suspend the sentence on condition of a bond or security for the payment of the damage bill to the owner of the car, and deprive the two boys of privileges, or put them to work at some sort of a job until they had earned and paid back the hundred dollars damage done by their illegal act.

There is no question but what probation is in a great majority of instances the proper procedure in dealing with juveniles, but like all human instrumentalities administered by human beings there is the chance of abuse. It is true that not every boy who is arrested for misbehavior should have probation. Consequently there has to be a selection. This selection, in the case of juveniles, can be more readily made correct by an alliance between the court and trained social service workers. But when we get into the field of adult probation we find greater likelihood of favoritism, of
influence on the court, and we find greater public rebellion at the inconsistent treatment of the court of two varying individuals. Two young men steal an automobile. One of these boys, to use an extreme illustration, may never have consciously committed an illegal act. The other may be habitually and bitterly anti-social. When these two boys, confronted in the court and ready to be sentenced, are not given exactly the same punishment, the public grumbles and growls at the distinction shown them. As a matter of fact, the one boy should be put on probation and put to work earning the money to reimburse the owner for the loss he sustained, and the anti-social boy should be locked up and probably kept in prison as long as he lives because he may be one of those whose rebellious spirit will never be broken. The big task for those who seek for improvement in our corrective method is to get the public to accept a program of fitting the punishment to the individual rather than to the crime.

But nevertheless our courts are vastly better than they were fifty years ago.

Better Prisons

Our penitentiaries are better than they were fifty years ago. This again is not meant to indicate that prisons are any good. Rather let us say that prisons do less damage than they did fifty years ago. There will never be anything good about a prison any more than there will be anything good about a case of typhoid fever. The doctor may watch the progress of the typhoid attack and observe the reactions and say that it is a "beautiful case of fever" but of course he is speaking purely from a technical point of view and what he says is no indication there is any merit in the typhoid. In the same way a sociologist might visit one of our penal institutions and declaim about the cleanliness and orderliness and industry of the place and say, "This is a beautiful prison". Let us again observe this is no indication there is any virtue in it.

Prisons are better than they were fifty years ago. They do less harm in that they have more industry. They have a better work program in most instances. If it is true that thru public clamour and the desire of free labor on the outside to deprive
men in the prison or the right to work, the prison in that instance is no better than it used to be. The main reason why prisons have improved is because they have learned to classify and segregate, to separate the feeble-minded and the insane from the mentally normal and to separate the recidivists from the first offenders, and further because they have invented the thing called parole. Parole bears the same relationship to the penitentiary as probation does to the court house. Parole is an experimental release in which the penitentiary keeps its theoretical hand on the shoulder of the offender but gives him an opportunity to earn his own living, support his family, and edge his way back into society. Parole softens the shock of release; parole is a virtuous improvement on former methods of prison operation.

But like probation, parole is humanly administered and full of error. The chief difficulty with American parole is again the public's insistence, or what the Parole Boards and officers think is the public's insistence, of treating everybody alike. Two men, coming from the same offense, are sent to prison with terms of one year to life. One either should not have gone to prison at all or should have been released in a month. The other should never emerge from prison. There is too much of a tendency on the part of our political authorities to be consistent in the treatment of these two. It is urged that because they both committed the same crime and one is given a sentence of thirty months that the other who never should be released under any circumstances, should not have more than sixty months.

The public has a very wrong understanding of what results from its general insistence that "the punishment should fit the crime". The public has the basic notion that if individual treatment is applied to offenders that it will result in criminals getting out of prison too rapidly. The public has been cheated so many times by public officials who have betrayed it that they think if the public officials were permitted to individualize that thru pull or purchase, men would no longer have to pay the price for crime. The truth about the matter is that if the principle of punishment fitting the individual were put into effect, more than thirty-three and one-third per cent of the
men in prison never would get out. Something like one-third of the men in prison never should get out. What is the sense of turning loose upon the public a man who has committed twenty-five or thirty robberies, who has been sent to prison four or five different times, and who as soon as he is released on parole, goes right back into his old environment, picks up his old weapons and gains practices robbery? If the principle of the punishment fitting the individual were applied to this ease, he would go into the lifer class and that would be the end of it.

You ask why isn't this very obvious change made? The answer is that the public does not have confidence in a politically administered public service. If the public had the same attitude toward our prison officials and our political officials that it has toward the authorities of public education for example, these things would come to be true and millions of dollars which are now collected from tax payers to meet the cost of crime would not have to be expended.

But although the administration of parole is not at all what it should be—being in many states interlocked with politics, it is true in spite of its handicaps that half of the men who come from prison into parole keep out of trouble thereafter. Let us be fair enough to admit that the half who fail are the same ones who would also fail if they were released on definite sentences. Let the cynical critic of America's system of correction who has the idea that social service and parole and probation are all wrong, and that the way to stop crime is "to sock it to 'em good and hard" realize that unless under his plan he is going to keep all men in prison until they die, his plan is less feasible than what we are now trying to do. American methods of correction are full of error because they have not been the beneficiaries of deep study. We shy away from the unpleasantness of jails and police courts and prisons; we do not want to soil our hands by delving into their unhappy depths. The result is a hodge-podge of accidental development from which there will emerge in time a scientific administration free from politics.

The point is that our prisons are better than they were in 1880 as
our courts and our jails and our police forces, and yet after fifty years of improvement with these remedial agencies, we find the rate of incarceration in Illinois twice that of fifty years ago.

**Preventive Agencies**

Having studied the remedial agencies created by society to deal with the offender and having found them all better than they were a half century ago, let us look for a time into the preventive agencies to see what, if anything, can be done to strengthen them in our battle with the criminal. These agencies are the home, the church and the school, and we name them in that order because that is the order in which the child comes to meet them.

**Are Homes Better?**

If we are to agree that homelessness is a common characteristic of the anti-social man to a degree at least when compared to that of his pro-social neighbor, we can best study the home situation by dividing the study between the instances of the homes destroyed by death and those destroyed by divorce. The untimely death of fathers, thereby throwing upon the mothers not only the normal tasks of child rearing but the economic burden as well, has been regarded by many sociologists as a direct cause of delinquency on the part of some of the unfortunate boys of such a home. It has been recognized that the division of responsibility between a father and a mother in the proper rearing of children places essential duties upon each. While the father is out of the home battling with the world to bring in the funds necessary to its operation, the mother finds plenty to do to keep the home in order and to build in it an atmosphere which will stimulate in the growing children a desire for the better things of life. Into such a home when it is broken by the death of the husband, there is likely to enter a state of chaos. The mother, confronted with the necessity of earning an income, finding it impossible to leave the home itself to work outside, in many instances, struggles desperately to keep the rent and the grocer paid, and under such a strain
naturally has little to spare for home making and child development. From such a home boys are likely to escape, to substitute street life for natural home entertainment and to fall into bad habits of various kinds. The recognition of the extra hazard in rearing children under such circumstances is the motivation which is behind the passage by many enlightened American States, of laws providing for MOTHERS' AID or Widows' Pensions as the system is sometimes named.

The theory of the Mothers' Aid statute is that the State or its subdivisions, usually the county, can afford to give funds to the widow with growing children thereby lifting a portion at least, of the economic burden from her shoulders. There is good evidence that if she can be so released from the drudgery of toil, she will be more likely to hold the children within the home and give them incentives to right living. The acceptance of this principle has been developed in many states until it is accepted as a matter of course. Many faults can be found with American administration of Mothers' Aid. In many counties the allocation of funds is so small that the purpose of the law is defeated. In many counties the selection of cases is haphazard and the law is regarded by the administrative officers as some sort of a bonus for widows rather than as a contribution pointing definitely to the building of juvenile character. If the Mothers' Aid Law be professionally administered by case workers who really know how to measure the difference between what the widow has and what she requires, great good can be accomplished with little money.

There are those who feel, however, that our chief fault in the administration of Mothers' Aid in America lies in the fact that we give the mother nothing but money. Obviously if the public invests its money in her children, the public has a right to follow the money into the home and see that the children in whom the public has a partnership interest, have an opportunity to come to know the difference between what is right and wrong and have an opportunity for school and church attendance. If the women's organizations in connection with the churches would work with the administrators of Mothers' Aid to build around each widowed mother who is on the county list a group of
sympathetic women who would supplement the county funds with co-operative and strengthening advice and help, the dollars paid out would be much more effectivelv spent. Frequently thru a failure to practice this sort of sisterhood, the community permits those children whose mother is a beneficiary of Mothers' Aid funds to develop inferiority complexes. If the community be small and the officials in the court house have been careless and give publicity to the fact of the aid, there may be an instance of more damage than good resulting from the payments. No child can be expected to grow into normal social attitudes if he has a feeling that he is reared in disgrace thru pauperism. "A little bit of money and a whole lot of love" has been used as descriptive of the ideal administration of Mothers' Aid coming from kind hands. If all American counties in which the monthly check from the court house is supplemented with social disgrace, will stop and think about the net result, they will realize that the money had better stay in the tax payers' pockets.

Mothers' Aid in any event is better than pauper relief for a family. In the first place it has more of a constructive program behind it. It is susceptible to development into a splendid character building effort. When social service in America comes to be what it ought to be, Mothers' Aid or some development based on the same philosophy, will ameliorate much of the social damage caused by untimely death.

Previously in this study comment has been made about the efforts of fraternal societies and churches to rescue and salvage orphan children. When we have succeeded in putting away forever some of our present religious prejudices and are willing to effect co-operation between our churches, our fraternal halls and our court houses in a common sense way, the public thru its officers administering relief will form partnerships with fraternities and churches in the salvaging of children from broken homes. This will be more likely to come about when welfare is administered by non-political, trained people rather than by political workers. The average elected official hesitates to be caught in the complications which might arise from dealing with church groups who are attempting virtuous activities toward orphan children of their respective faiths.
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The institution of life insurance has now reached a maturity which results in the distribution annually of vast sums of money to ameliorate the economic damage caused by the untimely death of fathers. No one can calculate what a tremendous increase in our social problem would result, and what a much more serious angle our fight against poverty would take, if the millions saved in life insurance investments were not now pouring into the broken homes of America.

But homes are broken by causes other than death. Reference has already been made in this chapter of the cynical attitude of sociologists who aver that incompatibility among parents destroy the lives of many children. There is no way to measure the disaster following a misconception of the responsibilities of parenthood. When separation appears to be inevitable, the rupture of marriage ties and the consequent destruction of the home comes with the greatest ease to him who did not in the first place have a proper conception of the responsibility of fatherhood. After all, what a presumption it is! For any man to presume to be responsible for calling to service on the earth the human soul and to give that soul lodgment in a body with all the potentialities for good or for evil which may be consequent thereto, gives serious concern to a right-thinking man. If the parents of America could be brought to see the advisability of instilling into boyhood a much better understanding of the responsibilities of parenthood and could cause them to see the presumption involved in it, there would be less destruction of childhood thru divorce. The extent to which the anti-social manhood of America is the result of homelessness caused by death and divorce, is only speculative at the best.

The Dignity of Labor

The boy who is growing into adolescence without a father is much less likely to develop the right attitude toward honest work. A father who has himself striven mightily in the battle of life and has earned his place by hard labor, is far more likely to succeed in leading his sons into a proper attitude toward work than may a widowed
mother made hysterical by the tasks essential to her existence.

Place of the Church

Attention was called in the diagnosis of the 75th man to an absence of church association. America has not yet come to accept the church as a social service agency to the degree which would be possible if thought were given to the matter. Too many of us regard religious observance as nothing other than a preparation for a future life and fail to see in it an organization of tremendous cultural value.

Only half of the people of the United States see fit, when the census taker rings the door bell, to charge themselves with affiliation with any organized religious group. It is generally true, or at least close enough for discussion purposes, to aver that only half of the half who name a church are sufficiently close to it to take advantage of its educational facilities for the cultural development of their children. This is another way of saying that only one-quarter of the children of America have Sunday School registration. When we look at the further fact that Sunday School attendance is only about fifty per cent of the family registrations for it, we discover that one-eighth of the boys of the United States receive fifty-two hours a year of religious and moral training from the church. This means that the average boy in the United States has less than seven hours a year of religious training. And of course we all realize that in many instances these precious hours are inexpertly used in teaching conducted by the most immature and unskilled teachers. Can any citizen doubt that if all of the boys of America had even five years of continuous expert religious teaching in American churches, that there would be a tremendous reduction in the volume of crime? How can this be brought about? Governmentally we are so fearful of alliance between church and state that we prohibit the State from using the church as a character building agency in alliance with the public school system. Even in those few cities in which religious instruction has been made an integral part of the public school system the program has had to be in every instance tempered with the perfect freedom of the parent to exclude the child from any such religious observance.
In Illinois, for example, it is generally understood by school authorities that the use of the Bible in the public schools is prohibited by law. Those who have gone into the subject with more care insist that such is not the case. But the impression is so generally extant that in many communities it is possible for a child to grow to maturity without ever coming from any source to know of either the precepts or the literature of the Bible. So long as this philosophy of separation of church and state is permitted to go to the extent that it has gone, particularly in Illinois, society will continue to pay the price for its neglect of this great leavening and socializing agency. Prisons of America are not filled with Sunday School students. A youthful association with religious life is very likely to save the citizen from future clashes with the law. Will America some day see the wisdom of capitalizing the socializing influence of organized religion and use it as it might be used to reduce delinquency?

Another point. The one-eighth of American childhood which is in regular attendance at our church schools is as a rule made up of boys and girls from our best homes. They are the boys and girls who need religion the least, if we look at it from the viewpoint of deportment. If it were possible to give these precious Sunday School seats to the homeless and schoolless boys of America, we would soon feel the result in a reduced delinquency.

Cost of Crime

Before taking up the study of the place of education in crime prevention, let us pause to calculate momentarily the cost of crime to the people of America. It has been estimated by various students of the subject as falling some place between ten and sixteen billions of dollars annually. This variance comes about thru the inclusion in the larger figure of the economic value to society of the lives of men engaged in crime if they were engaged similarly in honest pursuits. The smaller figure only covers the direct damage of crime reduced to dollars and cents, together with the correctional and judicial systems provided to cope with crime. The cost of the police forces, jails, penitentiaries, courts and all of their appurtenances, run into tidy sums, and billions
of course are lost thru the destruction of life and property by anti-social people. Let us in this study be conservative and take a figure even lower than the customary estimates. Let us in considering the relationship of education to crime prevention, conclude that America is spending today nine billion dollars a year thru having in her midst the 75th man of society who is anti-social.

The Place of Education

Bearing in mind that the mental capacity of man in prison is only slightly, if any, less than the mental capacity of men who have never been in prison, let us comment upon the fact of the startling lack of education apparent in the composite of the 75th man. Only one per cent of him is a high school graduate and his average educational attainment is less than the fourth grade of the public school.

To the citizen who can conceive of it there is no more thrilling picture than the master of the six year olds of a nation at the inauguration of a school year. From the byways and highways of city and country alike we see these hundreds of thousands of little fellows trudging manfully from their homes to experience their first thrill in the school house. They are a brave lot. Some of them have had their hair combed and their faces washed in honor of the day to which they have so long looked forward. Full of hope and faith they line up for inspection before the sergeants and corporals of American public education ready to inaugurate the sixteen year period of development which we have invented to make them into good citizens. Having ranged them in the school houses we recognize them as newcomers and ask them how old they are. Having separated all of them who admit to six years of human existence, we group the six year olds into companies of forty and hire some young lady for seventy-five or a hundred dollars a month to take them in hand and proceed as rapidly as possible to make them into presidential material. The teacher, because she is an integral part of American public education, knows that because all these children were born six years ago that they are all just alike. She has a
course of instruction which has come to her from her superintendent telling her just about what to do with these children. This has been supplemented with three or four days a year of attendance upon a county institute where somebody has demonstrated the latest styles in room decoration and window display, and at which songs and games have been taught her for the entertainment of her charges. Inspired by their own youthful enthusiasm this valiant company of forty march out bravely upon the road of public education inaugurating the first of sixteen venturesome years. It is a thrilling conception; it is the world's greatest agency for human advancement starting to enmesh its gears and plow under the weeds of ignorance.

Why the Loss?

But strange things happen to this little company of forty. Theoretically they will remain together for sixteen years, but practically something else takes place. Except for a few removals which are balanced by intake from new families, the little group remains fairly compact for three or four years. And then when we visit it we are startled to discover that quite a number are missing. We cannot understand this because the whole group is still under twelve years of age and we find upon perusing the laws of the State in which the school is located that education is compulsory for at least eight years. If we go to the undertaker who serves the community, we do not find that these children have been dismissed through death. Nor are they found to be hopeless invalids in homes or in hospitals.

Those of us who deplore school lapsation can turn to a scene which took place in the middle years of the nineteenth century in the little town of Milan, Ohio. In a modest four or five room house standing on the brink of a deep ravine, a mother waits for her little boy to come home from school. It is Spring time and the day on which the schools are to close for the summer vacation. The mother is busy with her household duties but pauses every now and then to listen in anticipation for the footfall of her little son who will shortly come home to display with pride his promotion card to the sixth grade. With her the matter is important because a year before her
boy had been told that he could not be promoted, and the fact of the repeating of the fifth year of school was a matter of unhappiness to both of them.

Meanwhile, trudging up the hill, clutching in his hand the pitiful evidence of his ignorance, stumbling thru the blindness caused by tears, comes the Failure. He sobs with the pain of disappointment, but more than anything else he sobs at the thought of the pain he is about to bring to his mother. He enters the cottage, breaks his sad news and weeps in his mother's arms.

It is a scene which has its counter part in millions of American homes, the tragic disappointment to parent and child alike at this concrete evidence of human inability.

But this mother was somewhat exceptional. There was no recrimination, no scolding, no punishment. She put her arms about the shoulders of the sobbing boy and tried to comfort him. "Don't you cry, Tommy", she said, "I know it hurts....It hurts me just as much as it does you. I had the thought that some day you would graduate from this school and maybe we could find the money to send you away to high school or college. I didn't know but what you might some day be able to go to Yale or Harvard and that some day you might be President of the United States even....But don't you cry, Tommy. It is evident that you can't understand what they have in those books over there in the school house, but no doubt there is something in the world which you can come to understand, and you and I will keep on trying until we find it. Maybe you will never be a great scholar but maybe you can be a great worker. Don't you cry....there is something which you can do in this world and you and I will find it."

And when he died the other day the flowers were piled so high above his tomb that the very sepulchres in the graveyard were hidden and the whole world knelt in spirit at his tomb and testified that with the exception of Jesus of Nazareth, no man had ever brought to the people of the world as much comfort and happiness as had Thomas Alva Edison.....the boy who couldn't pass the fifth grade of the public schools of Milan, Ohio.

Now is there any person who, knowing the accomplishments of Edison, would
insist that the failure of this boy to pass was the fault of the boy? Is it not to be admitted that this failure of adjustment was rather the fault of the school?

While the same thing might happen today with a similar genius, there would be far more likelihood that the Tommy Edison of the twentieth century would find in the school house something which could hold him.

The American educational system should not be criticized in an unfriendly adverse way. After all it is only a hundred years old and it takes a long time to find out how to do the world's biggest job. It was invented at a time when the leaders in education thought that the purpose behind the public school system was to train people in the art of thinking. Its inventors had largely come from European soil, where thru social class distinction the children of the upper classes had been trained to think and the children of the lower classes had been trained to work. When they launched the great American Public School System with its vision of universal education, they, being good democrats, knew that the poor man's boy had just as good a right to be trained in the philosophies as had the rich man's boy. The thing they overlooked was that the world advances just as much by work as it does by thought, and they forgot that they had thrown overboard from the decks of their immigrant boats the systems of apprenticeships which has supplied England and other European countries with workers for centuries. They laid a plan for the sons of all men to have equal opportunity, and because they had the general basic conception that the thinkers are better off in the world than the workers, their democracy caused them to provide only for the development of the thinking group.

Under this mistake we struggled for fifty years. It then became clear to the more intelligent of our educators that more people make their living by working than by thinking, and that if public education were to do its full duty by humanity, a goodly part of the school curriculum should be spent in training workers to work. This change in attitude brought about the forward movement for vocational training which began to appear in the early days of the twentieth century and which has developed
until today it is true in the more enlightened and larger cities that a mechanically-minded boy can find enough in the school to hold him in the school house until he grows to manhood, and at the same time the academically-minded boy still finds there materials for his own development.

This study is one primarily of crime prevention and not of the criticism of education for its own sake. The thought underlying the argument is that if there are no high school graduates in prison, crime could be prevented by causing everybody to become a high school graduate. Realizing then that it would be impossible for mechanically and manually minded boys to receive the same educational process as the academic workers, it follows as a natural conclusion that all boys may not become of the status of high school graduates unless the high school curriculum, and also the grade school curriculum supporting it, be made broad enough to hold all types of minds which come to it for treatment.

An Illustration

An illustration of the failure of American education to hold its children can be built about a transcontinental trip of a great railroad train. Let us study for a moment the operation of the Broadway Limited. This magnificent carrier of human beings departs at noon time each day from the Union Station in Chicago and dashes to the Atlantic Sea Board. Let us liken a trip of this train to the operation of the typical American public school. Let us run the train one trip the way we run public education. When the train leaves the Union Station in Chicago it is packed with passengers. It dashes down thru South Chicago and into the sand dunes of Gary, and about the time it is leaving the Gary suburbs we notice that a window is raised and a passenger is thrown out on his head. He lands on the right-of-way, turns a couple of somersaults and lands up against the fence. The train doesn't stop. In a few minutes another window is raised and another passenger is thrown out. This process of helter skelter dismissal of passengers continues. At Fort Wayne we find ten per cent of the passengers have gone, at Lima twenty per cent, at Pittsburgh thirty per cent, and at
 Altoona half have been scattered along the right-of-way. At Philadelphia the train makes a stop, (the break between high school and college) and some of the passengers alight in more or less orderly fashion. Ten per cent of the passengers are still in their seats when they start across the Jersey marshes. Half of these are thrown overboard in New Jersey, and when the train pulls into the Union Station at New York City, five out of every hundred of the original passengers are still sitting in their plush-lined seats.

Nobody would urge that that is a good way to run a railroad. But you ask what better plan could there be? The answer is, is it not, that as soon as the train starts from Chicago the conductor should go thru the train and look at everybody's ticket and see how far they can ride. Having so classified the passengers he proceeds to put them in coaches according to their destination. When the train gets to Fort Wayne, it should make a stop and all of the passengers who cannot proceed on that main line any further should have their coach shunted on to the pre-vocational side track which also leads to New York. Similar procedure should follow at reasonable stages along the road, all of those denied further transportation on the main line being hooked up with vocational transportation after having received all of the main line travel to which their tickets entitle them.

Leaving the railroad illustration and returning to educational parlance this would mean that during the first four years of the operation of any public school each child would be subjected to intelligence tests to discover the quantity and quality of his mind. These intelligence tests are not infallible but when supplemented with the individual statements of four different teachers as to the tendencies and bents and interests of the individual, there would be built up in his case report by the time of the fourth grade a pretty fair indication of what lines he should follow to get thru to success. It is agreed that these tests and reports would not prove that he would make a better lawyer than minister, nor make a better carpenter than plumber, but they would at least make it clear that he would culminate in a better plumber than lawyer, or a better minister than carpenter. The great basic differentiation between the
academically and mechanically minded would be set up and made clear.

In other words, if the American public school system is to do for it what our taxpayers expect, it must find the money and the brains to get away from the class system and build as a substitute a program of individual case work education. It must come to provide for the child that same thing which has been frequently stated in this book and that is, that it must supply to the child the difference between what he has and what he requires to bring about an adjustment resulting in a comfortable and happy life. In still other words, public education which was started to train thinkers how to think and was later developed to train workers how to work, must come in time to train all children how to live.

What will it Cost?

Right here is a good place to compare our waste for crime with our possible savings thru education. Public education has not, at least to within the last decade, spent as much as two billions in one year in the United States of America. Account should also be taken of the great systems of supplementary private and parochial schools which, finding their money in other sources than taxation, supplements the public school system. It is certainly conservative to say that both public and private education does not expend in America to exceed three billion dollars a year. We have therefore a great nation which spends three billions of dollars on education and nine billion dollars on crime. Is there any citizen who can doubt that if we would begin spending six billion if necessary, on public education and get as a result a social machinery which would hold all boys under the socializing spell of the school house until they are eighteen years old regardless of what course they may take in the school house while they are growing up, that the nation would in a few years not only get back the additional three billion by saving in the crime record, but would save the unhappiness not calculable in dollars which constantly accompanies anti-social action?

Rural versus Urban

This is a good place perhaps to bring out one other differentiation between
the 75th man and his seventy-four neighbors. The study of the composite criminal shows that the sixty per cent of Illinois which is urban produces eighty-seven and one-half per cent of our criminals, and the forty per cent of Illinois which is rural produces only twelve and one-half per cent of our criminals. This fact appears to the writer to bear out the contention that thought training and work training should go hand in hand. The farm boy's educational experiences are vastly different from those of the city dweller. The farm boy helps milk the cows before he goes to school in the morning, or takes ten turns around the corn field on the riding plow before the bell rings. He jumps from the back platform of the school house on to the plow for another spell before supper and ends up his day with another round of milk production. It is not necessary to preach any sermons to the farm boy about the dignity of labor. He knows that if you want to eat you have to work. He takes as a matter of course the routine of food production with its attendant tasks. While it may not exist in the physical, it is clearly understood in his mind that over the lintel of the farm house in which he dwells is deeply engraved that somewhat inelegant but very forceful old Hoosier aphorism "Root hog, or die!"

But it is very different with the city boy, especially if he is in that city which is too large for agricultural opportunities and too small for modern pre-vocational and vocational training. He is all too likely to come to want to live softly. He is not so likely to wax as enthusiastic over the vision of the plumber returning home on Saturday afternoon in his dirty overalls with seventy-six dollars in his pocket, as he is at the vision of the fifteen dollar a week floor-walker in the department store with the English walking suit and a carnation in his buttonhole. In the still larger city where the school contact has been broken, he may be so unfortunate as to come to envy the diamond-bedecked gangster in his limousine. He may come to develop in his mind the cynical thought that the smart and clever people in the world can live in comfort and elegance without the physical pain which characterizes hard labor. If the school contact for such a rural boy be broken, it merely means that he stays on the corn cultivator all day long. If the school
contact be similarly broken with the city boy, there is the danger of the questionable associates of the street corner.

Is it not clear that one of the great incentives to less delinquency would be to adopt the rule that every boy should be sure to go to work when he no longer goes to school?

The Workers are Essential

Let us hope that no one would so misunderstand this argument as to see in it a plea for universal college education. There are a few things which would be any worse for America than to have everybody graduate from college, at least until the time can come when the colleges can give vocational training in something other than the law, the ministry, and the medical and dental professions. There is a great danger in any country in training its potential workers into the delusions that they are its potential thinkers. Work is essential to the development of any nation and how beautiful it is that nature sends us such a diversity of mental equipment in our boys as makes just about the right number content with manual or mechanical pursuits, if we could be sufficiently clever to discover the right adjustment in each case. America cannot live without plumbers and plumbers cannot live without ditch diggers, and one fears for the future of a nation which would have to depend for its ditch digging upon bachelors of arts of our Universities. It is to be feared that not only would these college trained ditch diggers perform pitiful operations with their picks and shovels, but it is even more to be feared that the whistle of closing time would not have been blown many minutes before they would be assembled in the meeting place over somebody's livery stable organizing to reconstruct a government which so totally failed to recognize genius when it was in its midst.

Case-work Education

There are reasons other than the divergence of human mentality why we should find the money to make education individual. Here is a case in point. Two boys sit side by side in the front row of a fourth grade public school. One is the son of the
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minister of the local church. He has heard grace said at every meal since he was born, and he has not gone to bed at night without a period of family devotion and prayers. He has a father and mother who have sedulously trained in his mind the truth that honesty is the best policy and that the way of the transgressor is hard. He has basically the same differentiation between right and wrong that is conceived by his parents.

The other boy comes to school, when he comes, from a house-boat hidden behind some willows in a tributary to the river a mile down stream. The man and women in this house-boat cook alcohol, from which they mix intoxicating drinks for the vilest characters of the community. On Saturday night the house-boat is a booze den of the vilest kind and the boy, ever since he can remember, has fought his way thru cursing, drunken humanity to the corner where he slept. His attitude toward the law is the one impressed upon him by his father, and its essence is that policemen are busy-bodies who interfere with human rights and have no function in life other than the deprivation of human liberty. The boy is made to see in the policeman a potential enemy to be sneakingly avoided so he may not be attacked.

Is there any person who would urge that these two boys will adjust to safe and sane citizenship with the same curriculum of social treatment in the school house? Do we owe it to ourselves to see to it that the boy who has never been inside of a church and whose social attitude is fundamentally wrong, is given, in addition to the ordinary school curriculum, those truths which the first boy so readily secured from his parents? Are we going to adhere forever so strictly to the principle that the citizen's home is his castle, that we permit anti-social citizens to be created from children reared in vile and impossible atmospheres? When are we going to exhibit, with insistence, our position that the child is enough the child of the State to give to public education the right to invade houses where homes in their better sense, do not exist, at least to a degree sufficient to tell the children the truth?

There is one marked differentiation between the 75th man and his seventy-four neighbors. The 75th man fundamentally believes that dishonesty is clever and smart, and that honesty, if surcharged with slavery is silly and to be despised. The seventy-four
neighboring men believe just the opposite.

The 75th man believes that the way of the transgressor is easy, and that the clever and wise citizen can secure the comforts of life and its attendant joys, without the monotony of hard work. The seventy-four who live about him believe fundamentally that the way of the transgressor is hard; that wrong-doing and anti-social action bring destruction; that the only happiness is in a degree of comfort acquired by honest means.

Can we so amend our national attitude toward our homes, our churches, and our schools that each and every boy who comes to live in America shall come to receive, from some source or other, the knowledge of the truth?

Can we entrust to public education, with its mandate for compulsion, the job of diagnosing our youth, discovering the budding germ of anti-social tendency and converting it into adjustment thru a teaching of the truth?

May we hope for an ultimate America in which every boy -- white, black, brown, or red, regardless of his language, racial or religious handicaps, shall come to know, from some source or other, the undeniable truths of life?

If we may not hope for this, let us prepare to continue to pay for Crime.
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Big Brothers

One lesson which the student learns from the study of the whole question of correction is that neglect of youth is an important cause of crime. This neglect may come from a poor home, or from the failure of church or school contact, or from the failure of right treatment if either of these contacts are made. It seems advisable to suggest a practical and working method of crime prevention from the standpoint of improving these contacts. There are in every community socially-minded people who are willing to give of their time, if not of their money, to save boys. Every civic luncheon club is inspired by such a wish. Is there then some practical and workable program by which an intelligent outlet for these energies can be found, and by which these energies can be brought to serve the boys who need help?

Some three years ago it occurred to the writer that interested Big Brother groups could be built around churches and juvenile courts, and there was organized in Illinois in 1931 the Big Brothers Association. This enterprise has met with very remarkable success. It has reduced commitments to correctional institutions in the State in a very startling way. A survey of the St. Charles School for Boys made by the writer in 1931 showed that three-fourths of the boys who attended that school, and who were later paroled back into the metropolitan districts of Chicago, continued lives of crime; and that more than half of those coming from the downstate districts and returned on parole to downstate districts, likewise failed. This seemed to indicate the possibility at least, that the school was doing more harm than good, and the Department of Public Welfare undertook as a program the retention of boys in their own community with individual treatment from Big Brothers. The start was made in Peoria County where a sympathetic county judge was surrounded by some splendid recruits drawn from the Y.M.C.A., the Rotary and Kiwanis and similar organizations. Peoria County had, up to that time, kept a consistent population
of something like twenty-five boys at the St. Charles School. Since the organization of the Big Brothers, this population has shrunk to practically nothing. In the whole State during the two years of operation the population of the school has been reduced more than one-half although other social forces may account for some of the reduction.

The methods followed in the organization of Big Brothers are to convince the Juvenile Court of the advisability of co-operating with the business men and the social workers who will agree to take the responsibility for supervising the lives of certain boys who without such an agency, would be committed to the State School. These Big Brothers are not asked for money; they are asked for interest, service, advice, counsel. Church delegates are interwoven in some instances, and in some of the counties Catholic Brotherhoods operate their groups independent of the Protestants, whereas in some counties the setup is purely geographic with co-operating groups drawn from all sources. The whole program gets its inspiration from a trained worker attached to the State Department office at Springfield, who organizes the groups and acts as secretary of the Central organization. The third annual Convention of the Big Brothers held in September 1934, showed that the number of boys incarcerated per 100,000 population had steadily reduced from a high of 10.30 from July 1st, 1929, to 5.75 of January 1st, 1934. It may be a coincidence, but it is an interesting fact that this reduction of 4.55 boys per 100,000 of population was graduated in almost exactly the same proportion as the Big Brother enterprise grew in consequence.

During the same period as has been noted elsewhere in this chapter, there was a steady increase in the rate of incarceration in the prisons.

One might ask why the Boy Scouts do not perform this service. They do. The Boy Scouts, however, are not now, have not been and should never be a rescue organization. They should not be called upon to enter the previously polluted areas and bring boys already anti-social into association with normal boys. Scouting has
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a big constructive place among the character building agencies, but we should not take the chance of soiling it in rescue work.
The Negative side

The best way to reduce crime is to work with boyhood to prevent it, but while we are busy at prevention we must not lose sight of the field of correction. So long as we have prisons and prisoners we must deal with them.

What should be done with the offender when he is apprehended?

Some suggestions

The five elements in correction are probation, incarceration, parole, public co-operation and proper sex segregation:

I. Probation

A. Probation should be standardized. It should be administered by the county, supervised by the State, and the cost borne jointly.

B. Selection of Subjects

Society's primary interest in the individual charged with a crime is that of determining his innocence or guilt in order to know whether it is necessary to take precaution against the individual in question. Having determined his guilt; the question of next importance is how to so treat the individual as to best protect society. The best protection at a minimum cost will accrue from the treatment which will re-establish him in the community in the shortest period of time and on a social basis. Probation is, therefore, the first measure to be considered.

Experience has proved that one out of five of all persons convicted for crime should never be incarcerated. Can science tell us how to discover the one of the total of five before incarceration has been used? Those persons trained in the Institute for Juvenile Research and elsewhere in the study and treatment of problem cases should be in touch with committing judges and psychiatrists should also be supplied for easy
contact with committing judges in order that the best benefits of
science might be brought to the judge when he is confronted with the
problem of deciding whether probation or incarceration should follow
conviction. Such decisions should be individual and not group
determinations. While probation should be used more liberally on
smaller offenses, there should be no limitation on the courts for the
use of probation.

C. Minimum Standards of Probation Supervision

Members of the police force and of the sheriff’s office should not
serve as probation officers. No juvenile should be placed in jail.
It is contrary to law and public welfare. Nor should youth be placed
in almshouses except as a last resort. Investigation will prove that
in every county respectable homes can be found where delinquents can
be boarded at county expense, temporarily or over some considerable
period of time. Probation officers should be well trained and chosen
with exceeding care by the State Civil Service Commission in examinations
conducted by it in conjunction with the Department of Public Welfare.
Probation officers should be familiar with probation law and organization;
should know social case work, and be able to make intelligent use of the
social resources of the community. They should have a definite objective
in the supervision of each probationer and know how to assemble these
resources in the program of rehabilitation. Reporting by a probationer
to the office should never be a substitute for home visiting and
constructive supervision. Home visits should be made at least bi-monthly.
Case load ought not to exceed fifty probationers. There should be a
minimum probation period of at least six months.

Men probation officers should look after men and older boys, while
women officers should always have charge of women, girls and younger boys. There should be an interchange of ideas between courts and probation officers so each may profit by the mistakes and successes of the others.

II. Incarceration

A. Commitment
Commitment should be to the Department rather than to the specific institution, or the law should provide for unlimited right of transfer, and all sentences, save death, should be indeterminate.

B. Classification of Prisoners
In addition to good custodial care, classification should characterize incarceration. First offenders should never be able to associate with repeaters, or at least chronic offenders. These classifications should also separate first offenders who have different basic difficulties. Offenders against the person should constitute one group; offenders against property a second; and sex offenders a third, always bearing in mind that individual study is essential. A further study of the question would no doubt suggest still other proper subdivisions.

C. Education in Prison
All incarcerated persons should be examined upon receipt, to determine educability and facilities should be in each reformatory for providing some advancement in the educational record of the committed person, at least far enough to determine what educability was in the prisoner. Education should also be used to supply the difference between the manpower in the reformatory and the tasks which may be supplied through a policy limited to state use.
D. Vocational Guidance and Placement

Vocational training should be established in each reformatory and this vocational training should be guided by the psychologist, psychiatrist who makes the examination of the prisoner at commitment.

The labor market of the state should be studied and guidance in vocational training should be for the purpose of placement. Placement should, of course, be effective and to meet the demand of trade. Placement as well as vocational training, should take into account not only the mental and physical ability, but the social status; the question as to whether the prisoner will be dependent or independent after release, and what line he will be likely to fit into best.

E. Prison Labor

Labor for its own sake in prison should be first to accomplish the necessary tasks which the life in the prison affords, and all surplus labor should go to produce for the state and the political subdivisions of the state those things which those political subdivisions are in the market to buy. The sales price should be such as to bring no loss to the state, but should bring no profit over and above a reasonable overhead, because the prisoners fed by the state in that manner rebate to the taxpayers of the state the cost of their own sustenance.

When, however, a system of remunerating prisoners or their dependents while the prisoners are incarcerated, can be made effective, it is fair to increase the price of the product to the point that the market will bear if such surplus income is used to meet the living expenses of the dependents of the prisoner and, of course, proportionate remuneration for prisoners engaged in
maintenance work. This is also a rebate to the taxpayers, because if the dependents of the prisoner are left without support while he is incarcerated, society will have to keep them during the period of incarceration. In any event, no physically fit man should ever spend a single idle day in prison.

F. When Release Should Come

One effect of incarceration should be to develop penitence. Psychiatry and psychology should be worthwhile agencies in determining when a genuine social reaction is actually reached and to distinguish between the genuine and the feigned. No prisoner should be released until this genuine social reaction is reached and all prisoners should be released into parole as soon as it has been reached, bearing in mind, of course, that all incarceration should be on such a minimum as will assure a safe deterrent to other citizens against the commitment of crime.

G. Education for Parole

The whole purpose of incarceration should be to prepare for parole. It is in parole that the constructive rehabilitation of the prisoner is possible because he has there met with temptation and has come in contact with other units of society. The constant lesson to be taught by the officers of incarceration should be to impress the importance of proper conduct and effort while on parole. In preparation for parole incarceration should be gradually relaxed in severity toward the end. Privileges should be increased as well as personal responsibility. Careful observation of the reaction of the individual of this increased privilege and responsibility should be made in order to determine fitness for parole.
III. Parole

A. Length of Parole

Parole should be state administered, should be long, should be exacting in its early stages and should be characterized by a gradual release of pressure. When the child learns to walk, he needs more help from the supporting hand at first and he should not be urged to run until he gets his legs trained. The requirements of parole should include temperance, abstinence from bad associates, constant and industrious labor, a proper relationship to family and the due observance of the technicalities of parole. Parole should be so exacting at first that the prison will not feel much sense of release when he first enters upon it. Hard labor, good wages and good associates are the three chief elements in successful parole.

IV. Public Co-operation

The part which the public should be educated to play in co-operation with the parole system should be most carefully studied, and the plan for educating the public in co-operation should be effectively laid down.

V. Sex Segregation

The sexes should be treated separately in every field of correction. In order to co-ordinate treatment of female offenders, a female board on corrections should be established to co-ordinate the administration of probation, incarceration and parole.

The foregoing is an idealization. It has been read by scores of the best students of the subject both among the practical administrators of our prisons and our teachers of criminology. It has received general acclaim as a statement of the best course we can outline with our present knowledge. It
follows the philosophy that punishment should be made to fit the individual rather than the crime.

No government in the world has yet reached the advanced point reflected in this program. Perhaps none ever will. It may, however, serve as a guide to progress.
Merit System in Public Service

The State must Serve

As has been noted elsewhere in this work, there is a great variance of opinion as to the degree in which Government should enter into service, but it is at least reasonable to believe that we will all agree that Government must serve the people in the matter of incarceration of mentally deficient, insane, and criminal groups. Therefore, by the very nature of things, citizens must be selected from among the general public to serve the State in this work. There are in the United States close to one hundred thousand people who give of their time as guards, attendants, nurses and assistants in State institutions.

The Political Party System

And at the same time it is true that the American Constitution, and the constitutions of the various States, was written on the theory that volunteer groups from among the citizens would organize into political parties to tender to the voters principles and candidates for suffrage action. But while it is true that the political party is an essential part of government, it is also true that there is no provision in the government schema for the payment of citizens to conduct its activities. Few people realize the great extent of these activities. For every five hundred voters approximately in the United States of America there is a precinct organization of at least two political parties, which is another way of saying that one out of every two hundred and fifty adults in this country is to a greater or less degree a party worker. The routine work of these political parties is of great consequence. Furthermore, it is of great value to the Nation. The precinct committeemen of the political party is the salesman of government. It is he who reminds the citizen of his duty as a voter. While he may not be able or trained to expound intelligently to the citizen the variation in the political
platforms of the parties, or to intelligently differentiate between the candidates, he at least advertises the fact of an election. He is the Government's contact man. Without him, no doubt the record of American citizenship in voting would be less creditable than it is.

If every precinct committeeman does his job properly, he makes at least two canvasses of every house in his precinct during election year, taking the census of possible voters and preparing himself against protests of illegal votes. The framers of the Constitution probably felt this service would be rendered as a voluntary service without remuneration and there are many sections of America in which the job of precinct committeeman is so respected and commands such a leading place in the community that it is much sought after, and the holder of the place would be highly insulted if tendered funds for either his time or his expenses.

But as we become more politically conscious and competition becomes keener between parties, the efficiency men in political organizations see the advisability of encouraging greater effort on the part of the precinct committeeman by offering rewards. These rewards sometimes take the form of money, and sometimes of political patronage.

If political parties are to be permitted to pay for the routine work of elementary political organization, there must of course be a source of funds; and if Government refuses or neglects to pay such a bill by including it in the list paid for by taxation, it is obvious that the funds will be raised by solicitation. This again brings us into difficulties, because if one citizen who happens to have more money than another sees fit to make a contribution to a certain party for his political work, he will expect in return favors from Government to a greater degree than will his less fortunate neighbor. Realizing that America is not ready to take the position that the rich man should have a greater vote than the poor man, we flinch away from the delicate subject of financing of political party organization.
**Patronage System**

We have then two separate social forces at work. The first, the necessity for selecting certain citizens to do the State's work for it; and second, the necessity for providing a willing personnel for political parties. When these two social demonstrations come together, there is a tendency to use one to offset the other. As a result, we have created the system known as political spoils. Almost one hundred years ago the doctrine "To the victor belongs the spoils" was made a part of American political life, and steadfastly thereafter for a half century it grew upon America until in some sections of the country the whole scheme of governmental service was transformed after each election. There are places in the United States where fifty years ago the change in a township trustee meant the change of every school teacher in the township. The school teacher was the ideal political worker because he contacted all of the families of his district through their children. The mail carrier was another ideal subject for political consideration. Even as the school teacher contacted the families vertically, the mail carrier contacted them horizontally. The mail carrier could do his precinct committeeman job with the expenditure of no effort at all, and instead of making two canvasses of his precinct for each election, he made hundreds of possible contacts.

In the latter days of the nineteenth century the public took umbrage at the destruction of its educational system through political patronage, and barred the mail carrier and school teacher from political activity. At least two motives activated the public in the step. One was the fear of despotism through the creation by one political party of a machine which would be unbeatable, and the other was the public's distaste of having an educational program embarrassed by political parties brought about for entirely different reasons.
Civil Service

These reactions in the public mind led to the adoption of the program of the Merit System, generally known as Civil Service. The program was based upon the theory that the government should exercise the same care in the selection of its employees as would any private employer. The scheme was worked out in different methods in different States, and by the end of the century was generally accepted in the Federal Government, the service of the States, and many of the larger cities. The general practice was to provide for a non-partisan examining board which would administer a merit system law, hold examinations to select individuals falling within the scope of certain specifications written by administrative officers. The movement for civil service reform was generally accepted although throughout its entire history it has been vigorously attacked by some political leaders who saw in it both an embarrassment of the political party system, and also observed some of the mistakes of administration which it itself made.

It is not the purpose of this effort to go deeply into the history or the philosophy of civil service, but to point to some of the injury to social service work brought about by the neglect of its enforcement. In State service it was the practice to pass regulatory statutes conferring semi-judicial powers upon a civil service commission representing both political parties. Administrative officers in charge of the different Governmental services were then required to write specifications of eligibility under which examinations were held and selections were made in the order of their grades. In Illinois during the early days of the twentieth century most of the employees of the welfare services of the State were so selected. Following that came a reaction. A Governor was elected who frankly expressed his opposition to civil service as a principle and appointed a commission which he instructed to disregard it in its entirety. A different Governor was then elected who likewise was opposed to civil service, but who ordered its operation because of the facts of its statutory existence.
The destruction of Institutional Morale

Even if it were true that a State official could select the personnel for the operation of a State hospital for the insane for example, in a better way than is possible for a Board of Examiners under specifications drawn by the administrator, there are certain reasons why the personnel selections, if made following a change of administration, do not result in good service. Let us take for example the State hospital of which the Managing Officer is of such high grade that he is assured of continuance in service by a newly elected Governor. This new Governor represents a new political party from the one during the administration of which the managing officer was originally appointed. The new Governor approaches the managing officer and inquires with what rapidity changes may be made in the personnel of the hospital force without injury to the service. The managing officer has five hundred employees of whom three hundred are meagerly paid attendants. He holds out for the retention of his technical staff and is generally successful. He recognizes the fact that the attendants are, after all, routine workers themselves untrained. He knows that there has not yet been developed in America any school for the training of hospital attendants, and even if there were, that the pay is so small that not many would be attracted to take the courses. He agrees therefore to the acceptance of a turnover of five per cent a month of his attendant force.

Shortly thereafter the political headquarters at the capital send him twenty new workers. These are subjected to examination and fifteen pass as being mentally and physically able to do the work. The fifteen take up their duties in the hospital. Their pay is from forty to sixty dollars a month with maintenance. And among the fifteen there are not likely to be many political philosophers who have a comprehension of the reasons why the new governor whom they helped to select, retains the services of the managing officer. The group of fifteen organizes. It holds its more or less surreptitious meetings on the grounds or in the adjacent cities. It vigorously protests against the retention of a managing officer and a
a staff group whom it regards as political enemies. Failing in its original effort to induce the Governor to discharge the managing officer, it organizes to trap him, to build pitfalls to embarrass him. And if it fails to succeed by these methods, it may go farther. As it is augmented by the survivors of succeeding groups sent to it month by month to take the places of the affiliants of the former political power, it grows and grows in effrontery and daring. It may in some instances reach the ultimate conclusion that if it can destroy the service of the hospital and make it such a failure that executive action is forced, that the first blow will fall upon the men most responsible, namely, the managing officer, and that by that means if by no other it can bring about his discharge.

All of this costs money. All of this tends to the destruction of the esprit du corps of the institution, and substitutes therefor a rebellious, non-co-operative group of persons careless in the performance of their duties. Sweetness and affection become unknown in the ranks of the workers. Instead of trying to see how happy they may be able to make the lives of the inmates, they consciously or unconsciously contribute to misery and unhappiness.

When will our Patience end?

The same objections which caused the republic to rebel and refuse to be further aggravated by political school teachers and mail carriers, will some time result in a like determination with regard to the care of our people afflicted with insanity. The reason the American public has been so slow about it is that the American public has kept so far away from the problem of the operation of insane hospitals that it has never come to know the misery that these conditions bring about. As the social sense improves among the people, a rising demand for better methods in hospital operation will follow, and America will refuse to contribute to the misery of its unfortunate insane by permitting a continuation of political methods.
Constructive Possibilities

Two things in this regard need to be done. First, is to raise the standard of the work of attendants in the State hospital for the insane and make it a profession rather than a casual matter. Schools for social service are today characterizing our educational establishments to a greater degree than ever before. Some of these days someone will devise a practical plan by which clinical practice in hospitals may be given for attendants the same as it is now given for physicians and nurses. Along with the psychiatrist and the psychiatric nurse we will have the psychiatric attendant. A man and woman who hold such jobs will draw pay enough to make the job attractive, and with the high quality of the employee the number necessary will be greatly reduced. Many menial tasks today done by the attendants will be transferred to the inmates. The community will become less of an institution and more of a village. Occupational therapy will be developed among the insane and mentally deficient until the number of mentally normal employees will be greatly reduced. These changes must come or the price for the continuation of the treatment will become prohibitive.

Secondly, we must arrange for the doing of the essential tasks of political parties by persons who are willing to serve without cash payment.