

seven million men and women, most of them well-intentioned and law-abiding, are to be forcibly submitted to an annoying and costly application of red tape which will facilitate espionage and petty oppression. After which the funds so secured are perhaps to be used to educate the same men and women! Chivvying the alien as a process of Americanization has never yet worked; as Governor Smith said in a message to a large protest meeting in New York called by half-a-dozen agencies interested in fair play and genuine assimilation for the immigrant:

To subject the alien to a sample of the kind of government which drove him here is a poor way of making him appreciate American institutions.

Similar in spirit are two bills also before the House of Representatives, reembodying provisions already passed by the last House, which facilitate the deportation of aliens found "undesirable." These bills (H. R. 344 and 3774) also lay on the immigrant the burden of proving that he is law-abiding and so entitled to remain in the country of his choice. Under existing laws deportation may take place within five years of the alien's entry, for an offense involving moral turpitude. The new bill would remove the time limit entirely and, retroactively in some cases, make the alien subject to deportation at any time without court review, the commissioner of immigration having final jurisdiction. Conviction of any offense for which a prison term of a year or more is imposed is one of the conditions, but the list of those deportable also includes "an alien who is a public charge from causes *not affirmatively shown* to have arisen subsequent to entry into the United States," and "an alien who has, after the enactment of the Deportation Act of 1926, violated or conspired to violate, *whether or not convicted of such violation or conspiracy*," the white slave traffic or opium laws. The italics are ours: their import is plain. The burden of proof is on the alien, and that burden must be carried to the satisfaction not of a jury of his peers but of an appointive immigration official.

On the credit side of the budget of legislation which the present Congress is considering must be set down the proposals embodied in the Wadsworth-Perlman bills to permit naturalized citizens and declarants to bring their families to this country. These bills would admit outside the quotas the husbands, wives, parents, and unmarried children under 21 of foreign-born citizens or of aliens who came before the new quota law went into effect and have indicated their intention of becoming citizens. The existing quotas are so small that without such a modification of the law there is little or no hope that families can be reunited: the bills should pass, and the indications from Washington are that they will.



**L**EGISLATION which will prevent strikes instead of creating elaborate machinery for their settlement has become the conscious aim of both railroad executives and railway organized labor, and it is believed by both groups that a long step toward the realization of this ideal has been taken in the joint formulation of a measure which abolishes the Railway Labor Board and provides for the settlement

of differences of all kinds by and within the industry itself.

The Railway Labor Board, created in 1920 by the Esch-Cummings Act under which the railroads were turned back to private ownership after the war, is composed of three representatives of the management, three representatives of the employes and three representatives of the public. From the beginning, it has functioned with a good deal of friction within its own membership and in its contacts with the industry. This has been partly due to its anomalous position as a court authorized to "decide" cases, but without power to make its decisions effective. It is also due to the dissatisfaction of the insurgent element within the railway brotherhoods, who have continuously and noisily insisted that the members of the Labor Board were "hand-picked" and represented only the conservative viewpoint both of the public and of organized labor in regard to the questions brought before it.

Under the proposed bill, management and labor, through representatives of their own choosing, shall confer on problems of railroading, and through such conferences enter into collective agreements concerning wages and working conditions, and also adjust differences of all kinds as they arise. A duty is imposed on both parties "to exert every reasonable effort to make and to maintain agreements concerning rates of pay, rules and working conditions."

If a dispute cannot be disposed of to the satisfaction of the parties in a conference, the Act imposes the duty to refer such disputes to the appropriate board of adjustment. There are four of these boards, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, from lists of names presented by the carriers and the unions. The boards are divided, roughly, to deal with matters concerning train service men, shop and mechanical workers, clerical and station workers and maintenance-of-way men, and marine workers.

If a board of adjustment fails in settling a dispute, it may be referred to a board of mediation and conciliation or it may be submitted to arbitration. The board of mediation and conciliation, appointed by the President, is to be made up of five impartial commissioners, who are not associated in interest with either the carriers or the unions. The board may act on the request of either party or on its own initiative. It may try by mediation to induce the parties to settle all disputes as to the application of agreements or in the case of proposed changes of rules or wages. If conference, adjustment, mediation and conciliation have all failed to result in an agreement, this board shall endeavor to induce the parties to submit their differences to arbitration and must help to organize the arbitration proceedings. Arbitration must be entered into voluntarily, but both parties shall agree faithfully to execute the award, which must be filed in the appropriate district court of the United States, and becomes a judgment of the court.

In case of a dispute which threatens to interrupt interstate commerce to a serious degree, the President is authorized to create a board to investigate and report to him within thirty days. After the creation of such a board and for thirty days after its report is made, "no change except by agreement shall be made by the parties to the controversy in the conditions out of which the dispute arose."

At this writing, the chief opposition to the proposed bill is that the public is not a party to the conferences or represented on the boards of adjustment. (Continued on p. 576)

# Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

## "He Restoreth My Soul"

THE words of the Psalmist fit the wonderful play, *The Dybbuk*, by S. Ansky, brought to us from the Hebrew of the Habima production in Moscow to the English of the Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street. Most of us need to have our souls restored for they are faint and lonely. Whatever *re-stores* them with faith and courage is most precious. But we seldom get much help from the theater. We may find gaiety, forgetfulness, sentiment, social satire, psychological smartness, beauty of the senses, but no meat for the spirit. Our second temple—the theater—is empty of any whisper from eternity.

Now in *The Dybbuk*, God is the hero and eternity the *mise-en-scène*. The plot is in solemn truth to "restore a soul" and the villain is "the Antagonist"—in short, the Devil. Henry Alsberg who translated the play says: "It is a mystic melodrama with no villain save fate, and the chief interest centered on the problem of the relation of souls that have passed out of physical existence to those still corporally embodied." It is a "mystery play" in the medieval sense, with its roots in the true earth of all drama—folk-lore and religion. Here the folk-lore is that of the Jew within the pale, and the religion that mystic Hebrew ritual that seeks to bridge the gulf between God and the human soul.

To begin with we see interpreted the life of a synagogue, and there Channon, a young student and mystic, reveals his love for Leah, daughter of the rich Sender. But Sender, despite his pledge to Channon's father, announces the betrothal of Leah to a rich youth. Channon dies, and in act two just as we finish the colorful dancing and approach the ritual of the wedding, he seizes Leah with demonic possession. "The Dybbuk has taken her soul!" The last marvelous scene is the struggle of Rabbi Aesrael and his council of rabbis to restore Leah's soul. This high priest of the Chassidic sect invokes the last terrors of his church to dispossess the Dybbuk. Here the climax comes in the no-man's land between the real and the supernatural and we understand why the play was also called *Between Two Worlds*. Aesrael drives Channon's spirit from Leah's body, but he cannot divorce their souls bound in love. Leah dies—we have all the human poignancy of the Paolo and Francesca motif.

In this last act resides the strength that restoreth the soul. It is so moving and full of spiritual beauty, so patterned with liturgy and the symbolism of candle and scroll and robes, so human in its emotions of father and daughter and lover and so tragic-triumphant at the end that we hearken to a voice from the Hereafter with full conviction and reverent awe. We are tense with drama and yet flooded with a serene peace, inexplicable to me—perhaps

because it is the peace of God that passeth understanding. I do not believe you can explain the mystery of the feeling—nor should you try. But if you are a weary modern, needing a soul but never sure of one, the memory of *The Dybbuk* will be like a plinth of marble or a sheet of gold lent for your altar.

The Neighborhood Playhouse production succeeds beyond belief. Not only in the things seen, the sets and stage pictures like old tapestry, the velvet shadows and gold lights of Rembrandt that pick out the three Psalm-singers, or the Doré grotesquerie of the dancing beggars at the feast, or the exquisite rhythms and coloring of the rabbinical trial, but in the things unseen is the direction of this play as great as any American stage has ever seen. It is clear that this material could easily lend itself to titters—one wig awry, one stroke of farce, and the mood would be shattered. But all is just and in humble sincerity. All is done with reverence for the play, for the Hebrew faith, and for the good intent of the audience. And it is not the least of the blessings we find here that the audience responds.

Such a play is rich in lessons. The movement for spiritual healing in the Protestant Church may find here something of wisdom to study. The young Jew who has slipped into laughing at his ancient faith may see here the secret that justifies the devotion of his fathers. But most of all the average American should see *The Dybbuk*. I hope that some way can be found to send this play abroad in the land. It should go to Detroit and Los Angeles and Miami. The *Miracle* went on its expensive and triumphal tour, and *The Return of Peter Grimm* found an audience for its lesser and more sentimental version of the soul and everlasting life; surely a way can be found to let questing America refresh itself with the mystic beauty of this religious drama. Here is an answer to the propaganda against Jews. For here is the Jews' own answer—a new revelation of their age-long gift of seeing God. It is a challenge to every Jew to live up to the glory of his religion, and to every Gentile to welcome anew the timeless message of the need of the soul's dependence upon some vision of God.

LEON WHIPPLE

## Chicago Reclaims Its Daily News

THE hopes of Chicago have been in painful suspense while the fate of the *Chicago Daily News*, the city's only independent exponent of public opinion, has been hanging in the balance for the past four months. When at the death of Victor Fremont Lawson, founder, owner and publisher of the paper, the discovery was made that no disposition of it had been made by him, and that it was not even mentioned in his will, the public-spirited citizens of Chicago

were fairly stunned. For fifty years Chicago has claimed and used the Daily News as though it were its own. Ever since young Mr. Lawson offered his fellow citizens its truth-telling news columns and public-spirited editorials, they have accepted the Daily News on its face value as the fairest and freest medium for the expression of public opinion.

It is not presumptuous to regard the Daily News as an asset of the city, a vital function of Chicago itself, because Mr. Lawson himself always shared this sentiment. The fact that he owned and controlled this public asset only measured his sense of accountability to the people for making it serve the public welfare. Indeed because it was his, because he had launched and steered it for half a century, because it had acquired its large circulation averaging nearly 400,000 copies daily, because it wielded such a large influence under his guidance, he felt more keenly his personal responsibility for its effect upon public interests and the lives of its readers.

The few of us who knew him best and were in his closest confidence, were aware that he had been thinking of how he could dispose of the paper so as to conserve and carry into the future the ideals and standards which he had made it his life's work to develop and establish. To my own repeated claim that such a life work in public service as the Daily News was recognized to be should not be considered as a saleable commodity, he assented, but perplexedly remarked upon the difficulty in wisely providing for the future of such a public trust. Shortly before he died, however, he intimated to another that his purpose to do so was nearing a plan to carry it out. But death overtook him suddenly in his seventy-fifth year before he did or said anything further. Therefore this his greatest possession, with all his other properties, went into the hands of the Illinois Merchants Trust, as the executor of his estate and the trustee of some of its bequests.

The necessity to sell the Daily News was promptly announced, with an avowal by the president of the bank of his moral obligation to entrust the journal only to such control as would be in accordance with Mr. Lawson's ideals and purposes. This moral obligation was as promptly asserted by the residuary legatees, the principal beneficiaries of the will. The Chicago Theological Seminary, the Congregational Church Extension and Missionary Society of Chicago, and the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association expressed to the executor their preference for the acceptance of the best bidders even though they might not offer the highest bid. This sentiment was shared by Mr. Lawson's brother, who is the fourth residuary legatee. This fine loyalty to the high principles and civic patriotism of Mr. Lawson cleared the way for the acceptance of the bid assuring the continuance of the editorial and business management in the control of the able and experienced professional newspaper men whom Mr. Lawson had gathered and trained to share with him and carry on the public service of the Chicago Daily News. This satisfactory and significant result is due to the confidence that the staff and the financial backers of this bid had in Walter A. Strong, the business manager, who now succeeds Mr. Lawson in the control of the paper. Fortunately there were enough among the many sharing the civic ideals expressed and exemplified by the Daily News, who were able

and willing to stand in the breach with sufficient financial resources to carry over the Daily News from what it had been to what Chicago needed it to continue to be. They were just, as well as generous, enough to offer all that a legitimate investment in the business enterprise warranted. In so doing they must be credited with having rendered a patriotic service to their city.

Had such Chicagoans lost control of the Daily News, the aggressive civic agencies, such as the Municipal Voters' League, the Citizens' Association, and the Bureau of Public Efficiency might have been deprived of their best publicity and their strongest support. The independent voters within party lines, who have achieved all Chicago's political gains, would also have been left without any independent medium of communication and cooperation. And had the Daily News gone wrong, it is not too much to say that it might have done more harm than could have been counteracted, much less prevented, by all the good which the beneficence of Mr. Lawson's philanthropic bequests could have possibly achieved.

Characteristic of Chicago's public-spirited citizenship is this indomitable will to serve the safety and welfare of the city. And now again, as ever before, it is those citizens who stay on the job of their citizenship continuously who can and do rise to meet such an emergency, promptly and unitedly enough to do so effectively. Chicago's good will has risen in its might to its height once again, justifying the faith and hope, service and sacrifice of its citizens—dead, living and yet to be born.

GRAHAM TAYLOR

## Negroes of "Ainshun Days"

AS recently as 1911 the folksongs of the United States were represented in Granville Bantock's collection of folksongs of all nations by Old Folks at Home, Tenting on the Old Camp Ground and Dixie. The pendulum has swung so far in another direction that in a course of public lectures on American art to be given in New York, this winter, our folk music is to be covered by a talk just on Negro spirituals. One approach is of course as limited as the other. Negroes do, however, form the largest group and the one most intuitively musical to have made a folk contribution. Besides, we have a natural inclination towards their songs because of long acquaintance with their rhythm and themes through our popular music.

Following the recent revival of spirituals came a demand for books of these songs. There are still in this radio-victrola-pianola age those who play and sing for their own pleasure and information as they would read. What was there to choose? The Hampton Religious Folk Songs of the Negro was a little volume like a hymnal in size and simplicity of accompaniment. Krehbiel's book on Afro-American folksongs, also not the practical size for the piano-rack, emphasized text rather than music and devoted much space to the unfamiliar Creole songs. Natalie Curtis-Burlin's series of Negro spirituals and work and play songs were recorded from Hampton part-singing and the accompaniment was merely a guidance for rehearsal. There were occasional spirituals arranged by such Negro pioneers as Burleigh and a few musicians of Southern birth for concert use, and published separately. In 1924 Frey made a beginning with a collection of twenty-five spirituals.



J. Rosamund Johnson and Lawrence Brown have now made a volume of these songs that is adequate for general use. It contains sixty-one spirituals and includes most of those with which the public has become familiar and a great many that it will want to know. James Weldon Johnson has written an informative but not over-preponderant preface that gives the history, explanation and an estimate of American Negro music. The accompaniments are not too elaborate and intend to suggest the additional harmonies that come in part-singing. The words are for the most part suggestive of Negro dialect.

It would be easy to find flaws in the collection. It is still not the ideal one-volume collection of Negro spirituals in accompaniment and words. But it is a question whether spirituals or other Negro songs can be put on paper satisfactorily; so much of the flavor of Negro music comes from the unaccompanied singing with its ever-changing variations according to the whim of the singers, and the inimitable timbre of the Negro voice. No one who has heard the Southern Negro singing as he works or plays or prays is satisfied with the captured music.

But this same cavilling can be made against the recording of any folk music, wherever there is familiarity with the original. Wider knowledge and appreciation and the preservation of folksongs are important as well as perfection.

At the same time comes another volume of comfortable piano size, *Mellows*, a book of many Negro work songs, street cries and spirituals recorded by R. Emmet Kennedy, a Louisianian. It is attractively illustrated in black and white and has an amusing cotton cover that suggests a red bandanna. The songs are for the most part less familiar than those of the Johnson-Brown book because of their limited source. This volume contains the fine dirge, *Go Down, Death*, which is missing from the other book. *Mellows* is not so strictly a musician's volume. Each song is given in a setting that recalls the author's previous book of Negro anecdotes, *Black Cameos*; they both are reminiscent of the one-man entertainment which is a little too erudite for vaudeville, a little too informative for the sophisticated. But the settings will interest some and can be ignored by others. With the dialect Mr. Kennedy's task was easier than that of Rosamund Johnson and Lawrence Brown, for he could set down that of the Louisiana Negro while they had to indicate the speech of the Southern Negro generally.

Neither of these volumes is exactly the one that lovers of Negro music were seeking but they have come on the crest of the popularity of this music and they are being welcomed with perhaps more enthusiasm than they justly merit.

There has recently, however, been published a story of Negro life that deserves all the attention it can receive. This is *Porgy*, a study of a crippled Charleston beggar, written by Du Bose Heyward, who is not a Negro and who has hitherto not been widely known. The material of *Porgy* suggests Gorki's *Lower Depths*. Mr. Heyward has been able to sketch with brief, sure words the vivid Negro tenement life in a decayed old mansion of other days in its joyousness, misery, vice, friendliness, ignorance. Barbaric superstition and Christianity, tragedy and the parade and picnic among the palmettos of *The Sons and Daughters of Repent Ye Saith the Lord*, the flood that sent Catfish Row under water, *Porgy* and his offensive goat-chariot—all are blended in an unforgettable little tale.

Only the fact that he is a Caucasian has hindered Mr. Heyward in writing a genuine classic. The "buckra" intrudes, sympathetic though he is. Mr. Heyward will fully understand why he has failed, though it is a splendid failure. He himself narrates: "The court had been full of the many-colored sounds that accompanied its evening life. Now, gradually the noise shrunk, seeming to withdraw into itself. All knew what it meant. A white man had entered. The protective curtain of silence which the Negro draws about his life when the Caucasian intrudes hung almost tangibly in the air. No one appeared to notice the visitor. Each was busily preoccupied with his task. Yet the newcomer made no move that was not noted by fifty pairs of inscrutable eyes."

FLORENCE LOEB KELLOGG

THE BOOK OF AMERICAN NEGRO SPIRITUALS. Edited with an introduction by James Weldon Johnson. Musical arrangements by J. Rosamund Johnson. Additional numbers by Lawrence Brown. The Viking Press. 187 pp. Price \$3.50 postpaid of *The Survey*.  
 MELLOWS, by R. Emmet Kennedy. Albert and Charles Boni. 183 pp. Price \$5 postpaid of *The Survey*.  
 PORGY, by Du Bose Heyward. George H. Doran Company. 196 pp. Price \$2 postpaid of *The Survey*.

## He Remains an Englishman

**L**ORD EDWARD GREY'S memoirs, *Twenty-five Years*, may be a greater book than you think. It is not the monumental document we might once have looked for from the man who sat in the conning tower of the world—the British Foreign Office—for the eleven years, December 11, 1905 to December 11, 1916. It gives no fact or viewpoint that has not already been threshed out; it retails no back-stairs gossip, nor has it the facile and impudent charm of the Page letters; sadder still, it has no flashes of sub-depth illumination or personal interpretation. Its author does not stand forth as any wielder of destiny who knew all the facts and plotted a cosmic course. Instead he appears as a somewhat confused, but painfully honest and well-intentioned English gentleman who worked industriously to preserve British imperial interests throughout the world, and who struggled to keep the peace among nations both because he hated war and because he judged it would endanger England. His book is an apologia. Volume I tries to explain why England's relation to the Continent and the threatened war was not clear, especially on August 1, 1914. Volume II tries to explain the diplomacy of the War, especially some of England's failures and the problem of the neutrals among which, of course, the United States was chief. Here are chapters on America and the War, the Wilson peace mission of 1916, and some correspondence with Roosevelt. They are interesting but don't cut very deep. Lord Grey's client was not, after all, the United States!

On the only two questions for which World War books are now read seriously—what were the causes? what are the cures?—Lord Grey is either superficial, dealing only with the diplomacy and not the motives, or else lacking in concreteness of plan or procedure to prevent war. His preface states that he is telling his story to help the younger generation avoid such another catastrophe; but his advice as an elder is one brief chapter at the end, and all the rest a kind of diplomatic panorama of dispatch-boxes and conversations, and conferences that never reveal the passions and greed and human struggle underneath. He tries to tell the

truth, but his training never permits him to. He knows what brutal realities he is talking about in these formula, but his readers may not unless they keep jabbing their minds awake, saying "That means they shot some natives," or "They stole a country because there was oil there." The abominable false simplifications and pseudo-courtesy of the diplomatic method cannot present the facts on which the next generations must base any war against war.

But Edward Grey's conclusions are real, and they have the significance of coming from a man who knows, and who has been through Hell for his wisdom. He does not see any hope in the "new diplomacy" for that may be just as dishonest as the old. Nor does he linger over the distribution of "war guilt," though he believes that Prussian militarism was the precipitating agent for the débacle. Regardless of Germany, he asks:

With Europe an armed camp, could peace have been preserved much longer? Every country had been piling up armaments and perfecting preparations for war. The object in each case had been security. The effect had been precisely the contrary of what was intended and desired. Instead of a sense of security there had been produced a sense of fear . . . and fear predisposes to violence and catastrophe.

He goes on to show that "the notion that Germany can be kept permanently disarmed by temporary expedients, such as foreign missions of control, is an illusion." In the long run there can be no security in Europe without a Germany that is genuinely working for peace, but it remains for the victors to start on the better way and give Germany a chance to join:

The lesson of European history is so plain. It is that no enduring security can be found in competing armaments and in separate alliances; there is no security for any power unless it be a security in which its neighbors have an equal share.

That is the high note in Lord Grey's book. It was written before the signing of the Locarno treaties, but it might have been the charter behind them. How then is this lesson to be applied? Partly by good will and partly through the solemn realization that unless man can learn by his experience he will perish:

War used to imply a contest between armies; it will henceforth by common consent mean the destruction by chemical agencies, of the crowded centers of population; it will mean physical, moral, and economic ruin. . . . There will be no secure peace until the great nations of the world have a consensus of opinion among them sufficient to inspire confidence that they will stand by each other to avoid, to suppress, or to localize and insulate war.

He believes that though England and her dominions are shy of pledges to the League of Nations and the United States refuses to join, yet public opinion is in fact deeply concerned and slowly grasping the truth that competition in armaments does not lend security. The next step is the realization that a sense of security will prevent armaments. Then the final problem will be faced, how to produce this unmistakable feeling of security. "The solution of this problem is the supreme need of civilized mankind."

Lord Grey's book will not help much toward solving the problem, though his stern testimony as to its nature is a beginning. For throughout the book the real causes of the feeling of insecurity—little matters of trade routes, concessions, colonies, land hunger, racial enmities, and the whole system of economic imperialism—all are veiled under phrases like "England's honour" or "our interests." They had to

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be protected, he honestly thought. Well, that's why so many other people felt insecure, or at least, vastly envious! The man never seems to have faced reality all his life.

That's why I began by saying this may be a great book. It is such a marvelous picture of the dual personality that makes England—that priceless, irritating, subconscious gift of believing opposing things at once, of talking morals and meaning money, of loving gardens and turning buccaneer, of being able to deny there was any alliance with France at the very moment recognized "military and naval conversations" were putting the English fleet on guard for the Channel coast of France and planning the Expeditionary force. Grey is a fool to talk like this, or else he thinks the rest of us are fools. The metaphysics of the book leaves your head in a whirl. Let your critical spirit droop for a moment and Grey will have slipped the anodyne in your cup, and you will die believing that England was always fair, just, honorable, peaceful, and far far more altruistic than any other nation. It may in part be true, for there was that humanitarian streak in English liberalism as Grey shows; but he seems to regret not Abdul the Turk's massacres of Christians, but that cynical Germany got the concessions when England tried to protest. This balancing of the humane and the profitable produces sentences that sound like Shavian parody:

Lord Cromer's work was too important to be given up without loss or prejudice to British interests; it was also too intrinsically good for Egypt, both financially and humanely, for us to think of abandoning it without a sense of shame.

It sounds precisely like Napoleon's description of the English in Shaw's *Man of Destiny* just put on by the Theater Guild. Nobody but an Englishman can think that way. No wonder the mathematical Germans never understood.

Grey himself was dual. He avers he had little interest in politics, yet for twenty-five years or more he swotted away in Commons or Cabinet. He wanted to be a country gentleman in a garden who knew all the trees and the bird calls. He fled secretly from London for week-ends in his solitary cottage, and laments one international crisis because it kept him from an annual picnic-tryst with a favorite beech-tree. He and his confrère Lloyd George ruled half the world yet thought it a joke that they could not speak decent French. He apparently kept himself in deliberate ignorance of what the military and naval branches were promising to France. In other peoples this would be hypocrisy; in the English it is a gift, and so Lord Grey appears perfectly honest, full of good intentions, and disposed to peace. In short, he "remains an Englishman" and his memoirs will be to the future historian not a source book of fact but a full-length study in racial psychology.

LEON WHIPPLE

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS: 1892-1916, by Viscount Grey of Fallodon. Frederick A. Stokes. 2 vols. 331 pp. and 353 pp. Price \$10 postpaid of The Survey.

## EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 571)

**D**RAMA, with promise of a happy ending, appeared in a series of headlines in the New York Times a few weeks ago over dispatches from Tampa, Florida.

January 4: No Smallpox Alarm. Tampa Officials Sure the Local Outbreak is Curbed.



- January 7: Circularizes Tampa to Combat Smallpox. Health Officer Complains Newspapers, with Epidemic Near, Do Not Give Publicity.
- January 9: More Smallpox in Tampa. Six New Cases Brings Known Total Up to 39.
- January 11: Vaccinations in Tampa. Authorities Act to Protect 30,000 Children Against Smallpox.

Under those headlines the details of the story become clearer. The second dispatch reported that the Kiwanis Club had gone on record as opposed to any publicity as to the number of smallpox cases in the city, naming a physician, a member of the Florida Board of Medical Examiners, to call on the publishers. This action, according to the remarks attributed its supporters, was due to "Tampa getting unfair advertising through the reports which are exaggerated by people of the North spreading propaganda adverse to Florida and Tampa."

The next day, if the accounts are correct, the health officer countered with a plan to send printed circulars into the homes by the school children. Then the state health officer came in to confer with the city officials, and remarked justly that a threatened epidemic could be handled locally, and that Florida as a whole had far fewer cases of smallpox than other states about which no fuss had been made. With that, and the forty-third case of smallpox, came the plan to vaccinate the children in the schools, while a member of the City Commission denied the published reports that he would demand the health officer's resignation, but reiterated his displeasure with his methods.

There are past chapters in public health history in other states from New York to California which make it possible to guess what the outcome would have been if the Kiwanis Club had had its way, and others to prove that with universal understanding and vaccination smallpox can be speedily checked. Tampa is fortunate in having had in such an emergency one of the veteran city health officers of the country, a former president of the American Public Health Association, Dr. E. C. Levy, for many years in Richmond, Virginia, well acquainted with the specious public sentiment which would keep skeletons in the civic closet.



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### MY APPRENTICESHIP

HERBERT SPENCER: and MY SEARCH FOR A CREED

(Continued from page 553)

thousands who vanish unknown around us. Either "the all" is so inexpressibly sad that there is no room for an increase of sadness through personal affliction; or else there is a mysterious meaning which, if we could divine it and accept it, would hallow all things, and give even to death and misery a holiness which would be akin to happiness. And the result of this ultimatum, presented by the thoughtful to the practical part of my nature, was a partial reversion to religion; I was satisfied that this would be the last word of thought unaided by experience gathered in action. The question remained, how am I to live and for what object? Is the chopped-up happiness of the world worth anything if the first alternative be true? Physical annihilation is impracticable. One's own life and one's own nature are facts with which one must deal; and with me they must be directed by some one consistent principle.

Even if the instinctive faith in a mysterious goodness is a fiction of the mind, would it not on the whole be happier to live by the light of this delusion, and blind oneself wilfully to the awful vision of unmeaning misery? Perhaps it would be difficult to direct a life on this negative basis. In truth one

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has a faith within one which persists in the absence of direct contradiction. [January 2, 1883.]

Thus the long-drawn-out controversy,<sup>1</sup> between the Ego that affirms and the Ego that denies the validity of religious mysticism, ended, not in a reversion to the creed of Christianity, not even in an affirmation by the intellect of the existence of a spiritual power with whom man could enter into communion, but in an intuitive use of prayer as, for one of my temperament, essential to the right conduct of life. A secularist friend once cross-examined me as to what exactly I meant by prayer; he challenged me to define the process of prayer, to describe its happening. I answered that I would gladly do so if I could find the words. The trouble is, as Tagore observed about poetry, that words have meanings, or, as I should prefer to say, *predominantly intellectual meanings*; and that in prayer, even more than in poetry, it is emotion and not reason that seeks transmission. Religion is love; in no case is it logic. That is why, down all the ages of human development, prayer has been intimately associated, whether as a cause or as an effect, with the nobler and more enduring forms of architecture and music; associated, too, with poetry and painting, with the awe-inspiring aspects of nature, with the great emotional mysteries of maternity, mating and death.

In another place I may try (and probably fail) to express, by the clumsy mechanism of the written word, the faith I hold; that it is by prayer, by communion with an all-pervading spiritual force, that the soul of man discovers the purpose or goal of human endeavor, as distinguished from the means or process by which human beings may attain their ends. For science is bankrupt in deciding the destiny of man; she lends herself indifferently to the destroyer and to the preserver of life, to the hater and to the lover of mankind. Yet any avoidance of the scientific method in disentangling "the order of things," any reliance on magic or on mystical intuition in selecting the process by which to reach the chosen end, spells superstition and usually results in disaster.

But this metaphysical resting-place was not reached until middle life. At this point in my narrative it suffices to record the fact that, during the ten years intervening between my mother's death (1882; æt. 24) and my father's death and my own marriage (1892; æt. 34)—crucial years during which I acquired the craft of a social investigator, experienced intense emotional strain, and persisted in continuous intellectual toil under adverse circumstances—it was the habit of prayer which enabled me to survive, and to emerge relatively sound in body and sane in mind.

## II.

UNLIKE my sister Kate, who had toiled for six years as a volunteer rent-collector, I was not led into the homes of the poor by the spirit of charity. I had never been moved by the "hard cases" which, as I thought, "make bad law." Why then did I select the chronic destitution of whole sections of the people, whether illustrated by overcrowded homes, by the demoralized casual labor of the docks, or by the low wages, long hours and insanitary conditions of the sweated industries, as my first subjects for enquiry? What impelled me was the state of mind in the most vital centers of business enterprise, political agitation and academic reasoning. In the 'eighties and 'nineties there were, in fact, two heated controversies raging in periodicals and books, and giving rise to perpetual argument within my own circle of relations, friends and acquaintances; on the one hand, the meaning of the poverty of masses of men; and, on the other, the practicability and desirability of political and industrial democracy as a set-off to, perhaps as a means of redressing, the grievances of the majority of the people. Was the poverty of the many a neces-

<sup>1</sup> The reader must be referred to Mrs. Webb's forthcoming book for the entries which illumine this internal controversy. The two citations on the deaths of her mother and of the philosopher of the hearth (pp. 553, 555) representing two poles of thought present from her childhood days when she listened to their discussions, suggest the sequence. Editor Survey.



sary condition of the wealth of the nation and of its progress in civilization? And if the bulk of the people were to remain poor and uneducated, was it desirable, was it even safe, to entrust them with the weapon of trade unionism, and, through the ballot-box, with making and controlling the government of Great Britain with its enormous wealth and its far-flung dominions?

In my first paper I described how, in my childhood and youth, the outlook of the family circle, though unusually extended and diversified, did not include the "world of Labor." "Water plentiful and labor docile" was a typical sentence in a company-promoter's report. But in 1879 my father resigned the presidency of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, and became once more actively engaged in British business enterprises. To an alien railway administrator, speeding over the vast spaces of a continent that was steadily filling up with immigrants of all races, white and yellow, brown and black, the conception of the manual workers as so many "Robots" was natural, perhaps inevitable. To the manufacturer or merchant of Great Britain, as to the financiers standing behind them, faced as they were in 1879-85 by lock-outs and strikes conducted by trade unions of undeniable power; having to meet in official relations the workmen leaders, not only as negotiators on equal terms, but also as members of the House of Commons, even in 1885 as part of the Administration—the term "Labor" had come to mean no abstraction at all, but a multitude of restless, self-assertive, and loss-creating fellow-citizens, who could no longer be ignored and therefore had to be studied.

Hence there began to appear on my mother's boudoir table pamphlets and treatises for and against the wage-fund theory; whilst my father, with a puzzled expression, sought enlightenment from Carlyle's *Past and Present*, and began to take an interest in the experiences (as a volunteer rent-collector in the East End of London) of his daughter Kate, and in the conversation of such co-workers, thus introduced into the family circle, as Octavia Hill and Samuel and Henrietta Barnett. Moreover, it happened to be during these years that three political-minded brothers-in-law joined the family group.<sup>1</sup>

Of more immediate significance to myself was my deepened friendship with my cousin Mary Booth and with her husband Charles Booth, whose outstanding enquiry into the life and labor of the people of London I shall describe in my next paper.

"WHAT is outside Parliament," wrote Mr. Gladstone to Lord Rosebery in the first year of the triumphant Gladstonian Government of 1880-1885, "seems to me to be fast mounting—nay, to have already mounted—to an importance much exceeding what is inside."

For half a century British politics had been based on a continuous rivalry between Whig and Tory; between landlordism on the one hand, rooted in privilege and protection, and on the other, capitalism claiming unrestricted freedom of enterprise in pursuit of pecuniary profit. To these must be added the distinct but parallel conflict between Nonconformity

<sup>1</sup> There was Henry Hobhouse (afterwards one of the members for Somerset and the chairman of its county council and quarter sessions), who married my sister Margaret in 1880, and brought with him the cultivated refinement and sense of social obligation characteristic of such country gentlemen and public-service families as the Hobhouses, Farrers, Aclands and Stracheys. There was Charles Alfred Cripps, who married my sister Theresa in 1881; a brilliantly successful young barrister, an accomplished dialectician, with a tolerant and benevolent outlook on life; in after years destined to become a Conservative M.P., and eventually, as Lord Parmoor, owing to his hatred of war and distrust of "capitalist imperialism," to swing into sympathy with the labour and socialist movement, and to enter the short-lived Labour Cabinet of 1924. I delighted in arguments with him. And, last to join us but eldest and most outstanding of the trio, Leonard Courtney, then financial secretary to the treasury in Gladstone's administration, won my sister Kate from her philanthropic work in 1883, and brought to bear on our discussions a massive intelligence and an amazing memory, combined with the intellectual integrity and personal disinterestedness of a superman.

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and the Established Church. From time to time there had arisen a demand for a further extension of the suffrage, and hot had been the disputes between the two great parties as to the exact amount of property or degree of social position necessary to fit a man for the exercise of the suffrage, and as to the devices that might be invented for curbing the power of majorities.

Now it was these old forces that were, in the main, represented by the House of Commons elected in 1880. Yet, as Gladstone had realized, there were already portents of politics of a new type. Lord Randolph Churchill, with his queerly assorted three fellow-benchers, Arthur Balfour, Drummond Wolff and John Gorst, was feverishly stimulating the organization of the Tory workingmen into a ubiquitous electoral network which would enable him, from time to time, to shake his fist at Lord Salisbury. And there was Joseph Chamberlain, already controlling a powerful Radical caucus, who had administered Birmingham on the bold principle of "high rates and a healthy city," and who was now talking of taxation as a ransom due from those "who toil not neither do they spin," and who was demanding in his new role of cabinet minister, adult manhood suffrage, free secular education, and three acres and a cow for those who preferred individual production on the land to work at wages in the mine or factory. "There is a process of slow modification and development, mainly in directions which I view with misgiving," wrote the veteran statesman to Lord Acton in February 1885.

'Tory Democracy' . . . is demagogism; . . . living on the fomentation of angry passions, and still in secret as obstinately attached as ever to the evil principle of class interests. The Liberalism of today is better . . . yet far from being good. Its pet idea is what they call construction, that is to say, taking into the hands of the State the business of the individual man.

It was this demoniacal constructiveness that a few years later the aged and weary leader anathematized as "whole vistas of social quackery."

Why this demand for state intervention from a generation reared amidst rapidly rising riches and disciplined in the school of philosophic radicalism and orthodox political economy? For it was not the sweated workers, massed in overcrowded city tenements or scattered, as agricultural laborers and home workers, in village hovels; it was not the so-called aristocracy of labor—cotton operatives, engineers, and miners—who were, during this period, enrolling themselves in friendly societies, organizing trade unions, and managing their own cooperative stores—it was, in truth, no section of the manual workers that was secreting what Mr. Asquith lived to denounce in the 1924 election as "the poison of socialism." The working-class revolt against the misery and humiliation brought about by the Industrial Revolution—a revolt, in spasmodic violence, aping revolution—had had its fling in the 'twenties and 'thirties and its apotheosis in the Chartist Movement of the 'forties. During the relative prosperity of the 'fifties and 'sixties the revolutionary tradition of the first decades of the nineteenth century faded away; and by 1880 it had become little more than a romantic memory among old men in their anecdotage. Born and bred in chronic destitution and enfeebling disease, the denizens of the slums had sunk into a brutalized apathy, whilst the more fortunate members of skilled occupations, entrenched in craft unionism, had been converted to the "administrative nihilism" of Cobden, Bright, and Bradlaugh.

THE origin of the ferment is to be discovered in a new consciousness of sin among men of intellect and men of property; a consciousness at first philanthropic and practical—Ostler, Shaftesbury, and Chadwick; then literary and artistic—Dickens, Carlyle, Ruskin, and William Morris; and finally, analytic, historical and explanatory—in his latter days John

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Stuart Mill;<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and his English interpreters; Alfred Russell Wallace and Henry George; Arnold Toynbee and the Fabians. I might perhaps add a theological category—Charles Kingsley, F. D. Maurice, General Booth, and Cardinal Manning. "The sense of sin has been the starting-point of progress" was, during these years, the oft-repeated saying of Samuel Barnett, rector of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, and founder of Toynbee Hall.

When I say the consciousness of sin, I do not mean the consciousness of personal sin: the agricultural laborers on Lord Shaftesbury's estate were no better off than others in Dorsetshire; Ruskin and William Morris were surrounded in their homes with things which were costly as well as beautiful; John Stuart Mill did not alter his modest but comfortable way of life when he became a Socialist; and H. M. Hyndman gloried in the garments habitual to the members of exclusive West End clubs. The consciousness of sin was a collective or class consciousness; a growing uneasiness, amounting to conviction, that the industrial organization, which had yielded rent, interest and profits on a stupendous scale, had failed to provide a decent livelihood and tolerable conditions for a majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain. "England," said Carlyle in the 'forties, "is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition." " . . . So long," argued the American advocate of taxation of land values, some forty years later, "as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come." "At this very time," wrote William Morris and H. M. Hyndman in 1884, "official returns prove conclusively that vast masses of our countrymen are living on the very verge of starvation; that much of the factory population is undergoing steady physical deterioration; that the agricultural laborers rarely get enough food to keep them clear of diseases arising from insufficient nourishment; . . . all subject to never-ceasing uncertainty of earning a livelihood, due to the constant introduction of fresh machines over which they have no control, or the great commercial crises which come more frequently and last for a longer time at each recurrence. There is therefore complete anarchy of life and anarchy of production around us."<sup>2</sup> "The state of the houses," declared Cardinal Manning two years later, "families living in single rooms, sometimes many families in one room, a corner apiece—these things cannot go on. The accumulation of wealth in the land, the piling up of wealth like mountains

<sup>1</sup> "In those days I had seen little further than the old school of political economists into the possibilities of fundamental improvement in social arrangements. Private property, as now understood, and inheritance, appeared to me, as to them, the *dernier mot* of legislation: and I looked no further than to mitigating the inequalities consequent on these institutions, by getting rid of primogeniture and entails. The notion that it was possible to go further than this in removing the injustice—for injustice it is, whether admitting of a complete remedy or not—involved in the fact that some are born to riches and the vast majority to poverty, I then reckoned chimerical, and only hoped that by universal education, leading to voluntary restraint on population, the portion of the poor might be made more tolerable. In short, I was a democrat, but not the least of a Socialist. We [Mill and his wife] were now much less democrats than I had been, because so long as education continues to be so wretchedly imperfect, we dreaded the ignorance and especially the selfishness and brutality of the mass: but our ideal of ultimate improvement went far beyond Democracy, and would class us decidedly under the general designation of Socialist. While we repudiated with the greatest energy that tyranny of society over the individual which most Socialist systems are supposed to involve, we yet looked forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat, will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; when the division of the produce of labor, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice; and when it will no longer either be, or be thought to be, impossible for human beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to." "The social problem of the future we consider to be, how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action, with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor."—*Autobiography John Stuart Mill, World's Classic Edition*, p. 195-6.

<sup>2</sup> A Summary of the Principles of Socialism, by H. M. Hyndman and William Morris, published 1884.

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in the possession of classes or of individuals, cannot go on if these moral conditions of our people are not healed. No commonwealth can rest on such foundations."<sup>1</sup>

This class-consciousness of sin was usually accompanied by devoted personal service, sometimes by open confession and a deliberate dedication of means and strength to the reorganization of society on a more equalitarian basis. One of the noblest and most original of these latter-day confessors, Arnold Toynbee, expressed, on the eve of his premature death—in words charged, it may be overcharged, with emotion—at once his penitence and his hope for a nobler life for the mass of his fellow-countrymen.<sup>2</sup>

We—the middle classes, I mean not merely the very rich—we have neglected you; instead of justice we have offered you charity, and instead of sympathy we have offered you hard and unreal advice; but I think we are changing. . . . We have sinned against you grievously—not knowingly always, but still we have sinned, and let us confess it; but if you will forgive us—nay, whether you will forgive us or not—we will serve you, we will devote our lives to your service, and we cannot do more. . . . We will do this, and only ask you to remember one thing in return. We will ask you to remember this—that we work for you in the hope and trust that if you get material civilization, if you get a better life. . . . you will . . . remember that it is not an end in itself. Remember that man, like trees and plants, has his roots in the earth; but like the trees and plants, he must grow upwards towards the heavens.

NOW what infuriated the philosophic individualist, what upset the equanimity of Tory squire, Whig capitalist, and Conservative professional man, was not the vicarious conscience of a pious peer or philanthropic employer, it was not the abstract or historical analysis of the industrial revolution by heterodox thinkers and rhetorical authors, still less the seemingly hysterical outpourings of university dons and sentimental divines; it was the grim fact that each successive administration, whether Whig or Tory, indeed every new session of Parliament, led to further state regulation of private enterprise, to fresh developments of central and municipal administration, and, worst of all, to the steadily increasing taxation of the rich for the benefit of the poor.

The reaction against the theory and practice of empirical Socialism came to a head under Mr. Gladstone's administration of 1880-1885, an administration which may be fitly termed the "no man's land" between the old Radicalism and the new Socialism. For this ministry of all the talents wandered in and out of the trenches of the old individualists and the scouting parties of the new Socialists with an "absence of mind" concerning social and economic questions which became in the following decades the characteristic feature of Liberal statesmanship. Hence it was neither in Parliament nor in the Cabinet that the battle of the empirical Socialists with the philosophic Radicals was fought and won. Though the slow but continuous retreat of the individualist forces was signaled by annual increments of Socialistic legislation and administration, the controversy was carried out in periodicals, pamphlets, books, and in the evidence and reports of royal commissions and government committees of enquiry.

Foremost among the defenders of the existing order—shall I say the passing order?—was my old friend Herbert Spencer, in the early 'eighties at the zenith of his world-fame as England's greatest philosopher. Under challenging titles—*The Sins of Legislators*, *The New Toryism*, *The Coming Slavery*, and *The Great Political Superstition*—he contributed a series of articles in the *Contemporary Review* of 1884, published a few

<sup>1</sup>*The Rights of Labour*, by Cardinal Manning, republished and revised in 1887, quoted in *Life of Cardinal Manning*, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, vol. ii. p. 647.

<sup>2</sup>Arnold Toynbee, M.A., on "Progress and Poverty": a Criticism of Mr. Henry George," being a lecture entitled *Mr. George in England*, delivered January 18, 1883, in St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, London.

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months later in *Man versus The State*, in which he ingeniously combined a destructive analysis of current legislation and a deductive demonstration of the validity of individualist economics and ethics, with a slashing attack on the Liberal party for having foresworn its faith in personal freedom. The gist of his indictment can best be given in his own words:

Dictatorial measures, rapidly multiplied, have tended continually to narrow the liberties of individuals; and have done this in a double way. Regulations have been made in yearly growing numbers, restraining the citizen in directions where his actions were previously unchecked, and compelling actions which previously he might perform or not as he liked; and at the same time heavier public burdens, chiefly local, have further restricted his freedom, by lessening that portion of his earnings which he can spend as he pleases, and augmenting the portion taken from him to be spent as public agents please. . . . Thus, either directly or indirectly, and in most cases both at once, the citizen is at each further stage in the growth of this compulsory legislation, deprived of some liberty which he previously had. . . .

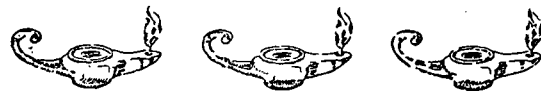
He defined the distinctive policies of Whig and Tory parties throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: "In the one party there was a desire to resist and decrease the coercive power of the ruler over the subject, and in the other party to maintain or increase his coercive power." . . . The degeneration of Liberalism the indignant philosopher attributed to a mistaken belief in the validity of democratic institutions:

The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliaments. The oil of anointing seems unawares to have dripped from the head of the one on to the heads of the many, and given sacredness to them also and to their decrees. . . . The function of Liberalism in the past was that of putting a limit to the powers of kings. The function of true Liberalism in the future will be that of putting a limit to the powers of parliaments.

A QUEER, deep-rooted fallacy lay at the very base of Herbert Spencer's administrative nihilism; an error in reasoning pervading the capitalist world in which I was brought up. Herbert Spencer asserted, and every capitalist assumed, that the system of profit-making enterprise with which we were all familiar, belonged to "the natural order of things," whereas any activity on the part of the state or the municipality, or even of the trade union, such as factory acts, public health administration, compulsory schooling and standard rates of wages were "artificial" contrivances; or, to use the Philosopher's own words, "clumsy mechanisms devised by political schemers to supersede the great laws of existence," and therefore bound—because they were "against nature"—to be social failures. For instance, a rate of wages determined by unrestricted individual competition was a "natural rate of wages"; a rate of wages determined by combination or by law was an "artificial wage," and therefore injurious to the commonweal.

Today it is difficult to understand from whence came this curious fallacy; probably it arose, like so many other fallacies, from a muddle-headed use of words. For when we talk about things being natural, on the one hand, and artificial on the other; when we say, for instance, that a waterfall or a lake is natural or that it is artificial, we attach to these two adjectives definite meanings: in the one case the lake or the waterfall happens without the intervention of man; in the other case it is due to human artifice. But there is no such thing as social structure apart from human beings, or independent of their activity. Thus, strictly speaking, every development of social structure and function, (Continued on page 585)

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**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**—Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York. Industrial, agricultural investigators. Works for improved laws and administration, children's codes. Studies child labor, health, schools, recreation, dependency, delinquency, etc. Annual membership, \$2, \$5, \$10, \$25 and \$100 includes monthly publication, "The American Child."

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**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN**—2109 Broadway, New York. Miss Rose Brenner, pres.; Mrs. Estelle M. Sternberger, ex. sec'y. Promotes civic cooperation, education, religion and social welfare in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Europe. Department of Immigrant Aid—799 Broadway. Miss Florina Lasker, chairman. For the protection and education of immigrant women and girls. Department of Farm and Rural Work—Mrs. Leo H. Hertz, chairman, 5 Columbus Circle, New York City.

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**NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE**—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Mrs. Maud Swartz, president; 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given.

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### MY APPRENTICESHIP (Continued from page 583)

from the family to a police force, from the institution of personal property to the provision of public parks and libraries, from the primitive taboo to the most complicated Act of Parliament, is alike "artificial," that is to say, the product of human intervention, the outcome of human activities.

The plain truth is that to apply the antithesis of "natural" and "artificial" to social action is sheer nonsense.

Anything that exists or happens to human nature in society, whether war or peace, the custom of marriage or the growth of empire, the prevention of disease or the wholesale slaughter of battle, and "civilization" itself, is equally "natural"; its very happening makes it so. Moreover, if antiquity or ubiquity be taken as a test of what is in conformity with a hypothetical "nature of man," then governmental compulsion and also vocational organization (from the ancient castes of priests and warriors to the modern labor union) are not only far older in human history than the form of industrial organization known as the capitalist system, with its divorce of the worker from the ownership of the instruments of production, but are also—when we remember the vast uncounted populations of Asia and Africa—actually more widely prevalent among the inhabitants of the earth to-day.

It is, indeed, obvious that every social transformation, every development of human society, necessarily amounts, whether we like it or not, to an experiment in the conduct of life.

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In the days of my capitalist bias I denounced, as interferences with the natural order of things, "these gigantic experiments, State education, State intervention in other matters which are now being inaugurated."<sup>1</sup> Why? Not, as I then thought, because these interventions were "against nature," but, as I now realize, because these particular experiments were at the cost of my class for the assumed benefit of another class. A study of British blue-books, illuminated by my own investigations into the chronic poverty of our great cities, opened my eyes to the workers' side of the picture. To the working class of Great Britain in the latter half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century—that is, to four-fifths of the entire population—the "industrial revolution," with its wholesale adoption of power-driven machinery and the factory system, its breaking up of the family as an industrial unit, and its summary abrogation of immemorial customs sanctioned by both religion and law (to which ruthless revolution, I may observe, my family owed its position of wealth—an explanation but not an excuse for my regarding it as peculiarly in "the natural order of things"!), must have appeared not only as artificial and unnatural, but also as a gigantic and cruel experiment which, insofar as it was affecting their homes, their health, their subsistence and their pleasure, was proving a calamitous failure.

MY reaction from this fallacy was an ever-deepening conviction of the supreme value, in all social activity, of the scientific method.

"This ceaseless questioning of social facts," the Ego that denies was always insisting, "seems an interesting way of passing the time, but does it lead anywhere?"

The Ego that affirms could now answer with confidence:

"Seeing that society is one vast laboratory in which experiments in human relationship, conscious or unconscious, careless or deliberate, are continuously being carried on, those races will survive and prosper which are equipped with the knowledge of how things happen. And this knowledge can only be acquired by persistent research into the past and present behavior of man."

"How things happen!" mocks the Ego that denies, "but that does not settle what *ought* to happen."

"I thought I told you long ago," calmly answers the Ego that affirms, "that with regard to the purpose of life, science is, and must remain bankrupt; and the men of science of today know it. The goal towards which we strive, the state of mind in ourselves and in the community that we wish to bring about, depends on a human scale of values, a scale of values which alters from race to race, from generation to generation, and from individual to individual. How each of us arrives at our scale of values no one knows. For my own part, I find it best to live 'as if' the soul of man were in communion with a super-human force which makes for righteousness. Like our understanding of nature through observation and reasoning, this communion with the spirit of love at work in the universe will be intermittent and imperfect and it will frequently fail us. But failure to know and the fall from grace is the way of all flesh."

<sup>1</sup>Ms. diary July 1884. Here again the interested reader must be referred to Mrs. Webb's forthcoming book, for the entries which register this change in her outlook—self-questionings, comments on books and conversations, her studies of the British economists, her early contacts with labor conditions and her characteristic exchanges with Herbert Spencer himself. The period of transition is summarized in the extensive entry on his death. p. 555.

(In a third paper, Mrs. Webb will tell of her search for a craft and her experiences as a social investigator. She will tell of the early days of the charity organization society, of settlements and housing reform; and especially of the scope and significance of Charles Booth's survey of the Life and Labor of the People of London. She will deal with the clashing philosophies which underlay these movements and which had their reverberations on this side of the Atlantic.)

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**ASSISTANT MATRON** in home for dependent girls. Must have knowledge of sewing and cooking. Give age, experience and references. Address Superintendent, Sunnyside School, Girard, Pa.

**SOCIAL WORKER** of wide experience, to assume directorship of a neighborhood house in New York City, dealing almost entirely with Jewish people. A rare opportunity for a man or a woman of education, vision, executive ability and ideals of service, to develop an important piece of social work. Please give complete details in first letter, which will be treated confidentially, stating age, education, training and experience, and salary desired. Enclose photograph, if possible which will be returned. 5378 SURVEY.

**COOPERATIVE PLACEMENT SERVICE.** Social workers, secretaries, superintendents, matrons, housekeepers, dietitians, cafeteria managers. The Richards Bureau, 68 Barnes Street, Providence, R. I.

**WANTED** by Jewish Family Welfare Society in large eastern city, social case workers. Candidates with experience preferred, but college graduates with training in social science will be considered. 5396 SURVEY.

**WANTED:**—Assistant headworker in settlement house in New York City. Resident or non-resident. State qualifications. 5398 SURVEY.

### WORKERS WANTED

**GRADUATE NURSES**, dietitians, laboratory technicians for excellent hospital positions everywhere. Write for free book now. Aznoe's Central Registry for Nurses, 50 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

**GOOD** opening with large New York City social welfare organization for well-qualified financial secretary, some public speaking included. Written applications only. Give full details: education, special training, experience, references. Address 5397 SURVEY.

**BOYS' WORKER**, Jewish, wanted for small Southern Orphanage, a college man preferred. Single, able to take care of boys' athletic, musical and other activities. Box 5395 SURVEY.

**WANTED:**—Two family case workers for semi-private organization. Should be graduates of school of social work, and women between ages of 25 and 40 years. Applications should include age, experience, education, references, photograph, and minimum salary acceptable. Address B. T. Hacker, Manager; Duval County Welfare Board, 107 Market St., Jacksonville, Florida.

**WOMEN** of experience to take charge of groups of twenty-five Jewish dependent children between the ages of nine and sixteen in cottage homes in a cottage institution located near the city of New York. Good salary and maintenance provided. Apply in writing to 5386 SURVEY.

**JEWISH** family welfare agency of high standards in large midwestern city needs two additional case workers with training and experience. Address Box 5401 SURVEY.

**BOYS WORKER**, evenings, in New York Settlement Home. State qualifications. 5400 SURVEY.

**WANTED:** Housemother, experienced, for small club for Jewish working girls. Comfortable home. Good salary. Phone South 0933 for appointment.

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**EXPERIENCED** family case work District Secretary with nurse's training and financial secretary experience. Available now. 5342 SURVEY.

**RESPONSIBLE** position, preferably in work with children or young people and their parents, by woman of broad experience—casework, research, organizer, executive. Free next April. 5373 SURVEY.

**SWISS WOMAN** desires position in a small institution as housekeeper. Would prefer children's home in country. References. 5320 SURVEY.

**EXPERIENCED** worker, Jewess, speaks Yiddish, at present employed, will consider opening with organization requiring services of worker with recognized ability. 5387 SURVEY.

**TRAINED SOCIAL WORKER** desires position as assistant superintendent or housemother in girls' or childrens' institution. 5367 SURVEY.

**A PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE** with Social Service Training, Tuberculosis, Hospital Social Service, Industrial and organizing experience, desires position. 5380 SURVEY.

**WOMAN**, social worker, desires to make connections with social organization, interested in children of Nassau County. Thoroughly experienced in case work, care and supervision of girls. Use of private office, if necessary. Box 432, Roosevelt, Long Island.

**MAN**, thirty, Columbia University Master of Arts, eight years in various divisions of social service, seeks evening position in return for maintenance and nominal salary. 5394 SURVEY.

**INSTITUTION WOMAN** of wide experience, desires Superintendent's position. Executive and good organizer. Excellent New York references. 5388 SURVEY.

**WANTED:** Situation as Boy's Welfare or Religious Worker, by student in Training College, age 21, single, business training, experienced as volunteer worker with boys organizations. Highest references 5390 SURVEY.

**YOUNG MAN**, student, desires evening work with boys' club. Capable personality. 5391 SURVEY.

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**TEACHERS** Wanted for college and universities. American College Bureau, Chicago Temple, Chicago; 1256 Amsterdam Ave., New York.

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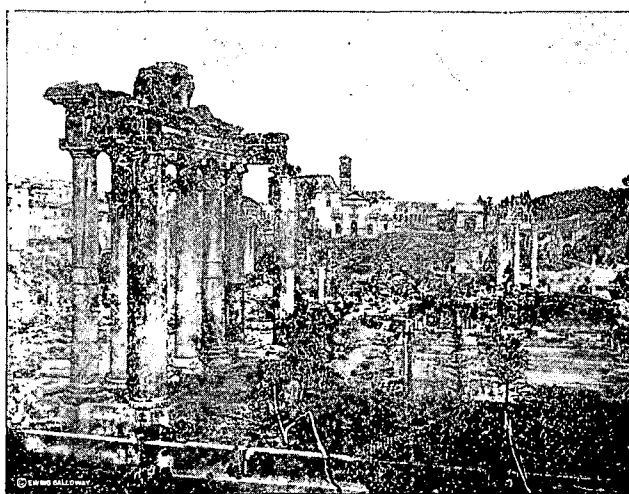
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