

# New Beacons in Boston

## The Fifty-Seventh National Conference of Social Work

By MARY ROSS and PAUL U. KELLOGG

**T**HE National Conference found Boston on June 8 in the first flush of celebrating the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary. As the last conferees were leaving, impatient fire-crackers were beginning to pop in honor of Boston's private Fourth of July—Bunker Hill Day. Throughout that overflowing week of meetings (one day listed sixty-seven!) the past offered its memorials of heroism, determination and liberty of conscience as the stage against which were set the no less cogent ideals of the present and the future. At the end of its first three hundred years Boston looked back on courage which had cast its force in bullet moulds to hold the bridge at Concord and dare the impossible at Bunker Hill. Days of Indian attacks, of famine, pestilence, redcoats and night alarms seemed remote indeed to present-day delegates footing it over hot pavements to the stately old churches where meetings were held, past gracious doorways and the green oasis of Boston Common. The beacons turned on this American horizon showed the serrated skyline of factory chimneys, not forest trees; the conflict not between man and nature, but between man and outworn sets that he has created within himself and in his social institutions, so clearly traced in Miriam Van Waters' presidential address. Now the weapons of conquest are not powder and muskets, but the patient discovery and appraisal of fact and, above all, understanding, and the valor is nonetheless.

There was one Boston tea-party when patriots in war-paint upset chests into the harbor to express their rebellion against economic tyranny; some two hundred and fifty years later there were several Boston tea-parties, and breakfast, luncheon and dinner meetings and morning and afternoon sessions at which nearly 500 later-day patriots collected signatures to a petition to urge Congress to act on the bills now before them to enable the country to learn and act on the facts of unemployment—a protest not the high-handed action of a despot, but warning of flaws in the economic machine which bring disaster to many and indirect disadvantage to all. Another series of petitions, signed by hundreds of delegates as private individuals since the Conference does not pass resolutions as an official body, urged the appointment of Grace Abbott as Secretary of Labor to bring to that department the administrative wisdom, integrity and fearlessness on which her conduct of the Children's Bureau is firmly based.

To the eyes and ears of two participants, at least, there seemed to be three special points about which Conference sessions swirled, drawing in evidence, opinion and suggestion from the widely-flung range of divisions and special groups that felt their pull. The most obvious, perhaps, were the industrial reefs, of common concern to all classes of our social order, especially clear and provocative because of the past winter's business recession. Next came the gauntlet of questions involved in law observance and its obverse, crime—again a matter of hardly less moment to those who

ride the waves than to those who sink. And the third was a problem in social steering which has been more apparent to some of the experienced pilots than to the American rank and file—the wreckage of families and the potentialities of misunderstanding in this country and abroad which is involved in our post-war immigration policies.

Unemployment, the cutting edge of the current industrial situation, cleaved its way straight through the Conference sessions, obviously because of the past winter's stress of broken earnings which reached back to social agencies of every description; but also because the Boston conference seemed to indicate a new equilibrium between individual and group concerns. You found case working agencies canvassing the economic background of their activities, and industrial workers inviting the psychiatrists to come in and explore the psychological and emotional factors entering into the workaday world about them. This whole trend was exhibited in a special way in the Division on Industrial and Economic Problems under the chairmanship of the Reverend Frederic Seidenburg of Loyola University. The text of the opening session was the address given at the last Boston conference, that of 1911, by Justice Louis D. Brandeis, then a practicing attorney of Massachusetts. That was the epoch when Roosevelt, LaFollette, Wilson were dramatizing political action, when constitutional changes, the initiative and referendum, the recall of judicial decisions were uppermost in public discussion—and social workers were not unmindful of the machineries through which the popular concern for the common welfare might counter and control the devastating excesses of our rising industrialism as well as salvage its human waste. At the next conference, that of Cleveland in 1912, a program of industrial minimums, to which the representatives of twenty-five national social agencies subscribed, was put forward. Those were years of the swift spread of widows' pensions, of compensation laws, of measures concerning the health of women and children in industry.

**T**HE War came and exaggerated governmental action; for example the prohibition amendment went through. Normalcy came and the recoil was such as to stall protective legislation; as for example, the federal child labor amendment failed. But while political affairs which had hitherto played on the concern of the conference were in the trough of the post-war sag, other forces were mounting. The crest of the scientific advances in experimental psychology and psychiatry swept in, new, revolutionary, refreshing and stimulating every field of social work.

In the early stages, these new advances centered on individual re-adjustment. So far did the pendulum swing that by the Cleveland conference of 1926, the floor was held largely by specialists. The drama of people's insides rather than the pageantry of their group contacts and common needs were foremost. Gertrude Vaile, the conference president,

lamented the subsidence of social wrath, and Jane Addams made her apt analysis that so far had social workers bent backward in the name of professionalism that they would rather go back, by way of illustration, to the days of bandaged jaws than admit that a common purpose ran through the activities of school nurses, dentists, physicians, clinics and health agencies which had eliminated toothache as something to put up with and accepted its conquest as part of the common lot.

Now in his address in 1911 on *Workingman's Insurance: the Road to Social Efficiency*, Mr. Brandeis had contended that "freedom of the individual is as much an essential condition of successful democracy as his education." He made his plea for grappling with the hazards of an industrial civilization, which bear down on the modern home and burden the social agencies: "If society and industry and the individual were made to pay from day to day the actual cost of the sickness, accident, invalidity, premature death or premature old age consequent upon excessive hours of labor, or unhygienic conditions of work, of unnecessary risk and of irregularity of employment, those evils would be rapidly reduced."

AND here at Boston in 1930, it was significant that his sentence as to the insecurity of the individual home, and the hazards that jeopardize it, afforded a common meeting ground for those whose approach was either from the industrial problem down, or from the individual in trouble up.

John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation could tell of the revolutionary advances of the last two decades with respect to one such hazard—the industrial accident—the spread of compensation laws and safety engineering. Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, and Noel Sargent, manager of the Industrial Relations Department of the National Association of Manufacturers, exchanged amenities as to the early stages of the old age pension movement. While Paul Douglas, acting director of the Swarthmore Study of Unemployment, which is embarking on a ten years' program of research and expert service with respect to stabilization, the employment service, and protection, visualized the possibility of working out an American system of unemployment insurance which, unlike the German and English system, and based on our more advanced labor statistics, would put a premium on the industries and the establishments which steady their work, and hence steady the earnings of their workers.

Line and text of the human need for a better way than breadlines, the queues at mill gates, overburdened charities and city welfare departments even in the days of our "prosperity" was brought out under the section on Neighborhood and Community Life by Helen Hall of University House, Philadelphia, chairman of the Unemployment Committee of the National Federation of Settlements.

The settlement study has ranged over all manner of industrial districts and dealt with families subject to all manner of dislocations—changes in style, machinery, seasonal fluctuations and business vicissitudes: forces, all of them, outside the control of the worker. And at Miss Hall's hands the resulting physical deprivations became less significant than the defeat of the human spirit, the undermining of fathers, the crushed plans of young people, the blocked and cramped to-morrows of children.

Charlotte E. Carr, industrial consultant of the New York Charity Organization Society, underscored the new approach

of the case working agencies to the problem of livelihood, and at the hands of Sophonisba P. Breckinridge of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, the unravelling of the potentialities of childhood by broken work and earnings became a special charge on the schools. Agnes Nestor of the Woman's Trade Union League spoke for labor, and Ernest G. Draper of Hills Brothers, member of Governor Roosevelt's state committee, for management. Edwin S. Smith, of the Committee to Study Methods for Reducing Seasonal Business Slumps, broached a new field in the suggestion that regional planning should hereafter include consideration not only of the geographic arrangement of industries, but their chronological dovetailing; so that the establishments in a given community should complement each other rather than pile up the on and off seasons as is now the case among the clustered factories of a trade center.

A year ago, at the San Francisco Conference, the commission on employment appointed by the City Manager of Cincinnati, was the only outstanding example of such a civic focus. This year, C. M. Bookman could tell of how it had helped that Ohio city to weather the winter; and before a round table in the Family Section, reports could be made on a dozen of the new formations of our urban districts—Rochester, Dayton, Lincoln, Philadelphia, and the rest.

While the conference was in session, the Judiciary Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives held hearings on two of the Wagner bills. Three of the conference speakers left to appear before them and 479 participants including this year's president and fifteen past presidents of the conference attached their signature as individuals to a communication urging favorable report on the Wagner bills providing for the strengthening of the U. S. employment service and the long term budgeting of public works "as constructive measures which the widespread household and community distress in the industrial cities of the country throughout recent months renders urgent."

A LUMINOUS footnote to Justice Brandeis' address of twenty years ago was the report made on the spread of saving banks insurance in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by Alice H. Grady, Deputy State Commissioner. Old age ran the course of the sections only less inveterately than unemployment with warm appreciation of Massachusetts' new law for old age assistance and her pioneer work to cope with cancer and other chronic disease—in large part a problem of those past middle life. In a session discussing economic old age Caroline Manning of the Federal Women's Bureau, told of the seamy side of this era of youth—an era in which a woman of twenty-eight or twenty-nine finds herself banned as "too old" when she goes job hunting.

Here in the old textile district of New England there was vigorous discussion of the problems of the Southern textile industry. Jesse O. Thomas, Southern field director of the National Urban League, Atlanta, presided, for the human ramifications of the problem concern the Negro no less than the White. There were papers by Thomas F. McMann, international president of the United Textile Workers, and by Henry P. Kendall, president of the Kendall Company, whose fresh and incisive handling of progressive policies was one of the high notes of the conference. James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, brought out the impact of

these new industrial problems on the religious life of the South. But to social workers the most penetrating contribution of all was that by Harriet L. Herring, research secretary of the Institute for Research and Social Science at Chapel Hill.

"We shall probably have many stormy and painful episodes," she said. In New England "the cotton mill has helped wave after wave of native and immigrant people to a better economic and social life," but these southern people are staying in the mills. Are we to develop in the South a social class and presently a political group based on the most inexorable of controls, economic caste? Will our model villages filled with upstanding citizens become part and parcel of our wider communities? Will our seedy, slovenly villages sheltering people with an inferiority complex cease to be? The social and welfare workers hold a key to the situation that will help to unlock the willingness of the owner, the intelligent self-expression of the workers, and the understanding co-operation of the public."

The whole economic field traversed by the conference, and confronting social workers was crystalized by John A. Fitch of the New York School of Social Work in a paper before the Division on Professional Standards and Education. His was a "definite challenge" to the idea that maladjusted personalities are to be explained in terms less broad than the total of social environment.

This is far from saying that every case of maladjustment, of whatever sort, arises out of insufficient income. . . . And it is intended to suggest that far the most important element in the social environment is the degree of mastery or lack of it possessed by the individual, or the family of which he is a part, over these aspects of life that are economic in character. We may stress as we will the broader aspects of social work and the relatively small part that distribution of relief (in our hopes at least) plays in the whole scene. The fact remains that the clients of social agencies are, with insignificant exceptions, persons of low income. And that means, since organized social work is carried on principally in cities, that its clients are mostly of the wage earning class. An appreciation of the wage earner's economic problem becomes, therefore, a matter of prime concern.

"With the mind of the practicing social worker attuned to the economic implications of the job," said Mr. Fitch in conclusion, "the meaning of technique is enlarged and social work becomes increasingly a major constructive force in social advance."

Coming at economic problems from the angle of the family society, but with a background gained through her service in the state bureaus of industry of New York and Pennsylvania, Miss Carr pointed out the services that case work is giving and can offer to higher industrial standards through helping clients individually to get the information, clothes, tools, encouragement and whatever else is needed to

obtain the best jobs of which they are capable—through collecting and broadcasting such facts as the ravages of unscrupulous commercial employment bureaus (and so strengthen the public services); the facts of the burden of industrial disease (and so widen the scope of compensation); through vocational guidance which will see that children who can profit by schooling stay in the schools instead of swelling the ranks of blind-alley job-holders and depressing labor standards; and will see that children whose individual abilities are best served elsewhere than in school get the specific training which will keep them from becoming industrial pawns. For a dynamic understanding of the interactions of ourselves and our surroundings, she challenged the new techniques:

Effective mental hygiene requires a knowledge of the work life as well as of the other activities and human relationships of the client. No one is better equipped than the psychiatrist and the psychiatric social worker to understand and to interpret the problems which the modern industrial world presents to the worker. When mental hygiene is able to give full consideration to the effect on the laborer of the monotonies, strains, dangers and uncertainties in his industrial life, we shall have gotten from social work one of the greatest contributions which can be made towards higher industrial standards.

At a session on the prevention of industrial conflict, a vigorous opposition to the use of injunctions in labor disputes by Francis B. Sayre, of the Harvard Law School, put Roger Baldwin in the unaccustomed position of being a moderate when Mr. Baldwin suggested from the floor that no injunction be

granted without a hearing at which both sides were represented and that no contempt case involving an injunction of this sort be tried without a jury or without the right of going before a judge other than the one who had granted the injunction. John J. Stonestey, attorney for the United Garment Workers spoke on arbitration and conciliation out of long and successful experience, and Frances Perkins, New York's upstanding Commissioner of Labor, told of some of the legislative factors making for industrial peace—among them the abolition of child labor in the northern industrial states, workmen's compensation, the diminution of "sweating," the minimum program of sanitation, and the move for shortening hours of work for women, with the result of establishing a shorter work day and work week for all. Outstanding among the things still to be done, in Miss Perkins' comprehensive view, are an approach to some sort of a standardization of wages through a regulatory body to determine a point below which wages may not fall, an effective grappling with the problem of old age security, and the prevention of unemployment, "a significant part of which can be embodied in legislation."

A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College outlined,



*This engraving of The Boston Massacre by Paul Revere is one of the many old prints at view at Goodspeed's Bookshop, Boston*





Courtesy Boston Chamber of Commerce  
Concord Bridge

whether they had direct labor representation, or a less direct access to this point of view through the inclusion of a professor or other especially interested student of economic and industrial questions, showed that only 11, or 7 per cent, were in the former category; 48, or 32 per cent, in the latter. Replies from the agencies suggested vividly the gains and advantages as well as the problems of co-operation with labor groups for family agencies which, as Mr. Muste saw it, "have gone psychiatric in a world which has gone industrial."

**O**BVIOUSLY the economic stringencies of the past few months have spread to the social agencies themselves which are striving to cope with their share of the problem. Speaking to the subject *The Problem of Relief*, Linton B. Swift, executive secretary of the Family Welfare Association of America, defined two spheres: the first, relatively stable, involving personal maladjustments which would make it difficult for the individual to maintain himself even in the most favorable circumstances; the second, not primarily the sphere of social case work, governed by social, economic and industrial conditions subject to rapid and widespread change, and including ultimately the whole portion of the population whose income is insufficient to provide a secure standard of living. "Playing upon the public's addiction to relief as a means of securing support for our whole constructive program is like plying a man with liquor as a means of persuading him to subdue his appetite," said Mr. Swift, declaring his belief that the assumption of responsibility by private agencies for relieving general community needs lay behind their present economic dilemma.

If we are not careful a continued use of the wholesale appeal for relief is likely to lead us into a situation where a real individualization of human needs will be impossible and in which we and later the government will become merely the almoners of industry and of society. . . . I should like to see the community fund and its member agencies freed for a more adequate and better balanced approach to a social program, and for concentration in the community fund campaign upon the interpretation and support of that program. I should like to see the chest and the case work relief agencies freed from any direct or implied responsibility for the relief needs of the whole community. I believe that there are at least more numerous advantages in giving case work agencies the responsibility of raising their own relief funds.

Following Mr. Swift, Robert W. Kelso, director of the Community Fund of St. Louis, pointed out that the community chests throughout the United States appropriate approximately 39 per cent of their funds to the relief of de-

a needed link between the family agencies and the whole community in which they work in reporting a study of labor representation on social agency boards. Answers from 152 members of the Family Welfare Association of America in reply to a questionnaire asking

pendency, a half of which goes to family or outdoor relief and gave in conclusion as the purport of his address:

That the evolution of sound individual case work in outdoor relief is the strongest guarantee for the success of the community chest movement; that it is an essential part of that movement and can in no wise be separated from it; and finally that by requiring as the chest movement does that family relief service be intimately related to every other phase of social work in its daily operation, our profession of social work shall make certain of the well rounded growth of our social work program of the future.

To audiences which had shown a lively interest in Daisy Lee Worthington Worcester's statistics showing the gap between average incomes and minimum budgets for health and decency before the California State Conference in 1928 (see *The Survey*, November 1, 1928) and the National Conference at San Francisco in 1929, there was special interest in the analysis of income data given at the Tuesday evening meeting by Wesley C. Mitchell, director of research, Bureau of Economic Research, and chairman of the President's Research Council on Social Trends. Taking a "minimum standard" as \$2100 for a family of five, Professor Mitchell showed that the best information for 1926-1927 found a gap of \$800 or \$900 between this standard and estimated average earnings per capita. These figures, he believes, may seem worse than they probably were. Census data leads us to suppose, that the "average family" is more nearly four than five persons at the present time, though Professor Mitchell's subsequent computations were still based on five as an average. Moreover, persons charged with responsibility for family support are commonly those in the prime of life, he believes, who are earning more than the average of all earners; and Census data makes it logical to assume that in the industrial groups there is probably an average of 1.8 wage-earners to a family. These estimates, admittedly imperfect, lead, in Professor Mitchell's opinion, to the luke-warm comfort that "on the average wage-earning families in a passable year like 1927 do find a way to cover the physical efficiency budget."

**T**HIS is still remote from Utopia, and in 1930 our data, if obtainable, might seem even more remote than in 1927. For the future Professor Mitchell suggested:

We can raise the standard of living just as rapidly as we can remedy the defects of our economic organization which prevent us from doing what we all wish to do. Improvement of the economic organization depends upon keener scientific insight just as much as improvement of industrial practice depends upon the advance of physics and chemistry. . . . We must master the complicated interactions of economic forces which produce business cycles, with their recurrent recessions and depressions. We must find out how to deal with technological unemployment. We must learn how to cure sick industries more promptly. We must raise our standard of personnel work in all its ramifications. We must find out more about the inter-relations of money, credit and prices, and determine what "price level" if any needs to be stabilized. We must study international economic relations, and develop measures less crude than our blundering tariff for maintaining the relatively high standard of living which prevails in this country. . . . In any rational plan for raising the economic basis of social welfare, the promotion of economic research and the practical application of its findings has as definite a place as the promotion of natural sciences.

Mirroring contemporary concerns, the Conference sessions showed hardly less interest in the problems of crime than of economic urgencies. Because of its possible implications in

the matter of prohibition, the Monday evening address by the Honorable George W. Wickersham, chairman of the President's Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement, caught the streamer headlines of the Boston papers that following morning and made the front page from coast to coast. That adequate law observance can be obtained by education and persuasion, rather than by force and harsh penalties, was the burden of Mr. Wickersham's address. "Sympathy and helpfulness, rather than the rod and cell and stonepile should be tried in order that lawlessness be reduced to the lowest point." Quoting Mr. Justice Holmes that "the life of the law has not been logic but experience," Mr. Wickersham added, "Where the law is the expression of the will of a mere legislative majority and does not reflect the general views of the community, the lawmaking power frequently, if not generally, seeks to compel obedience by excessive penalties, although this method seldom accomplishes its object."

**I**N the much discussed section of his address dealing specifically with the control of liquor, Mr. Wickersham pointed out that with the enactment of the Volstead Act this country discontinued the "long course of demonstration of evils of the use of intoxicating liquor which had led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment," and that in the period since that time, culminating in a peak in the enactment of the Jones law in 1929, we have relied upon the power of the government to compel observance of statute law by fine and imprisonment, without attempting any process of education to accomplish the maximum of temperance. He then outlined the evidence of increasing temperance in Great Britain during and since the war—associated with the shortening of the hours when sale was permitted; the regulation of quality, requiring a higher price; and above all, with education in the evil effects of intemperance and with provision of more adequate opportunities for sports and other recreation, summarizing:

The record in what used to be regarded as one of the most drunken communities in the world, that is, the Welsh mining regions, is quite extraordinary, but it is only a part of the general trend of testimony to the increasingly temperate habits of English and Welsh communities; and all of this evidence furnishes very cogent suggestion to those charged with the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States as to better methods of attaining the object of that Amendment than those which for the last decade have been pursued.

The twenty-fourth annual conference of the National Jewish Social Service started meetings a day or two in advance of the conference week, had given a bird's-eye view not only of probation, but of the general field in which this comparatively recent technique is operating, and of other constructive measures in the scientific and humane treatment of society's misfits. Not more laws necessarily, but more knowledge, carefulness and individualization of delinquents, and especially of young offenders, was the keynote that ran through addresses by the long list of widely known speakers, including Judge Charles W. Hoffman of Cincinnati, Raymond Moley of Columbia University, Sanford Bates, U. S. Prison Commissioner, Henry M. Schulman, director of research of the New York State Crime Commission, and many others. Professor Guy L. Brown of Wesleyan pointed out that "every child runs a chance of either a normal or perverted development no matter what his heritage or per-

sonality may be," while Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard Law School declared that "The two outstanding achievements in American criminal justice are the juvenile court and probation, which lead to individualization of criminal justice."

Speaking on Public Opinion

and Social Control before the youngest—and one of the most enterprising—divisions of the Conference, that on Educational Publicity, Dean Pound stressed the fact that "social legislation is a much more difficult task than it seemed to us a generation ago in the enthusiasm of progressivism and of pioneer faith in versatility." In preparation for effective law-making "we must study the atmosphere of traditions, beliefs, and opinions in which it will have to function"—a study which in this time must weigh the conflicting currents of our American pioneer tradition, distrustful of administration and centralization, and the converging economic and industrial interest of the modern order, which make for these very things. "Enforcement of prohibition has only made conspicuous the difficulties of all enforcement of law in this country, which were bound to attract attention in any event and must have been dealt with in the end, even if there had been no national prohibition act."

One instance of our confusion of tradition, said Dean Pound, comes in the divorce laws, "whereby law is made to appear a body of rules governing those who are without money enough to escape them but affording no obstacles to those who can command the means and the time for a brief sojourn in another state. Such things breed discontent with and disrespect for the whole system of ordering society through law." Not without reason do we fear a centralization at the seat of national government arising from conflicts such as these, fatal to local self-government and destructive of our federal system. "But we invite them unless we, in some way, make our system of local autonomy and federal central government equal to its tasks in the economic order of today. *The alternative of centralization is efficient co-operation.*"

**A**T other division meetings Virginia Murray, director of the New York Crime Prevention Bureau, outlined the interesting experiment under the New York Police Department to establish a crime prevention program, as logical in social thinking as disease prevention or fire prevention; Felix Frankfurter, of the Harvard Law School, pointed out the abysmal lack of basic information concerning crime, which makes an effective system of crime statistics one of our primary needs, a point which Raymond Moley of Columbia stressed in another way—"as social scientists we are in the pre-Darwinian age. We collect specimens and put them in a museum. The Darwin of social science is yet unborn." Henrietta Addition of the American Social Hygiene Association outlined an adequate protective program, beginning



Courtesy Boston Chamber of Commerce  
*The Boston of Industry*

with recreation under private and public auspices and supervised commercial recreation, going through a social work program of police departments and schools, with intensive and experimental work in the private agencies, to adequate courts and correctional institutions. Sophonisba Breckinridge discussed the juvenile court and the present inadequacies in respect to its ideal of withdrawing children and young people from the processes of the criminal law and giving to children responsible parental care. Anna B. Pratt, director of the White-Williams Foundation in Philadelphia, pointing out that for every penny spent for schools, five cents are spent for crime; discussed visiting teachers as an aid to the prevention of delinquency; and Samuel C. Lawrence, research field agent of the Harvard Institute of Criminal Law, speaking before the National Community Center Association, described from his own experience with prisoners the unawareness of the community in general, and of family and other welfare agencies in particular, in recognizing early and following through constructively the needs and cravings which lead people toward criminal conduct.

The underworld beats the good folk at their own game. They invite and don't let go. Wayward Mollie dates up wavering Mary—calls for her, takes her by the arm, and leads her joyously to the trysting place of pleasure where demoralization cheerfully welcomes them. . . . Crime prevention is not a hobby, but is of the very essence of community life. Community failure in crime prevention is essentially an unsolved problem in education.

**D**R. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, formerly warden of Sing Sing and dean of the Columbia Law School, now of the New York School of Social Work declared that in our recent drastic criminal legislation, culminating in the type of the Baumes Laws of New York, "the pendulum of penal policy in America has swung backward from the nineteenth century to the eighteenth." Dr. Kirchwey does not believe that this is an aftermath of the war, for this swing from salvage to retribution has not been evident in the European countries, even those which suffered most severely from the war; they are at a loss to understand our recent prison tragedies. "Perhaps prosperity," he suggested, "is incompatible with commiseration for those who present themselves as a menace to law and order."

Among other phenomena of post-war prosperity is the new inhospitality of American immigration policy. "The significant thing, it seems to me, about present day migration," said Leifur Magnusson, director of the Washington Branch of the International Labour Office, "is that it has greatly *decreased* in actual volume at the same time that the hubbub about it has greatly increased; and measures for its solution and control are being poured out in an ever-increasing stream."

This very thing is registered in the evolution of Division X (The Immigrant) of the National Conference. First the subject cropped up insistently at various side meetings; for the last few years it has been dignified as a major division; and the Boston program under the chairmanship of Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, director of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, illuminated those distinctive problems which have taken shape during the decade and more of restriction. There was keen discussion of border problems, both Canadian and Mexican. Marion Blackwell, executive of the International Institute, Buffalo, told of human bootlegging and the abuses that are an outgrowth of it; and James

H. Batten, executive director of the Inter-American Foundation, Clarmont, California, reviewed the sweeping results in cutting down Mexican immigration through the tightening of the passport system of the U. S. State Department. The effort was presumably made to prove that restriction is possible without resort to such quota legislation as was pressed at the recent session of Congress, to the upsetting of feelings throughout Latin America. There was a session at which Edith Abbott, Clifford R. Shaw and Max S. Handman, under the chairmanship of Dean Kirchwey exploded a lot of fallacies as to nationality as a factor in delinquency. Other section meetings bore directly on two of the liveliest clusters of issues in the field of what might be called our intimate foreign relations.

**T**HE stem of the first of these clusters is the law and practice of deportation and carries the broken fragments of families whose fortunes are bound up in them. Ruth Larned of the International Migration Service of New York told of unravelling the threads of migrant family problems and Eugenia Taussigova of the Czechoslovak Red Cross brought out how the process looks from across the water. Jane Perry Clark of Barnard College underscored the abuses in the present unsegregated and inadequate facilities for detention, and held that if special quarters are built for the use of the U. S. Immigration Service it should be recognized that the segregation of deportees is "to keep them from possibly worse associations and not because they as a group are malfeasants."

Beginning with what Louis F. Post called the "deportation delirium" at the time of the Palmer raids in 1919-20, the number of deportations has mounted from 9495 the year after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, to 12,908 in 1929, the year of our new deportation law which the Secretary of Labor characterizes as "in some particulars the most drastic general immigration law ever enacted." At Boston Peter Frederick Snyder, assistant to the Secretary, U. S. Department of Labor, stated: "When the figures for the current fiscal year now drawing to a close shall have been compiled they will show that the U. S. Department of Labor has *succeeded* in expelling from the United States the largest number of alien deportees in the history of the country" (*italics ours*).

**J**ANE ADDAMS probed the emphasis the new law puts on expulsion "which too often blasts the hopes and tears apart forever the families of foreign-born persons who have come to an America which was full of high promise for them and their children." To quote Miss Addams on the law:

It makes re-entry into the United States after deportation, a felony, and entry without inspection, a misdemeanor, with heavy penalties. But it goes even further than that. *It bars forever from the United States*—(unless permission to apply for re-entry was granted prior to March 4, 1929) *anyone who has ever been exported, for any cause, at any TIME*, whether before or after the passage of this Act. Consideration of the position of such deportees reveals the extreme hardships which arise. Students who perhaps changed their school from one on the accredited list, to a school not so recognized by the Department of Labor and were therefore deported, can never return. Wives or husbands who come on a visit to their families here, who overstayed their permit and were deported, can never be reunited in this country. Aliens as unfortunate as to have become insane and to have been deported from State institutions to their countries of birth, although they may fully recover mental health, will never be able to come back. Foreign born who



## See Frankfurt in 1932

AT the business session of the conference, announcement was made that the Second International Conference of Social Work will be held at Frankfurt in 1932. The permanent committee of one hundred authorized at Paris and gradually built up since has elected an executive committee constituted as follows:

President: Dr. Alice Masarykova (Prague)  
 Vice-Presidents: The Hon. Percy Alden (London); Miss Mary Van Kleeck (New York); Senator Cyrille Van Overbergh (Brussels)  
 Secretaries-General: Prof. William Polligkeit (Frankfurt); Dr. René Sand (Paris)

Treasurer-General: M. Andre Pallain (Paris)

The influence of social work on the family will be the subject of the plenary meeting with which the Frankfurt conference opens; five preparatory committees will meet to discuss the following aspects of this, the main theme of the meeting.

- (a) Disease as it affects family life.
- (b) Lack of resources as it affects family life (large families, unemployment, lack of professional capacity, etc.)
- (c) Abnormal family relationships.
- (d) The protection of the family by social insurance and social welfare.
- (e) Welfare for foreign families.

A final public meeting will be held in order to make known the conclusions (not in the form of recommendations or resolutions) reached by the five preparatory committees. These committees will consist of delegates from the various national committees, one from each country, and the delegates will have the floor until all are heard before the topics will be thrown open for general discussion.

In addition to subventions from the German Government and the city of Frankfurt, and hopes for grants from foundations, the budget will be met by subscriptions of the national committees on the basis of \$5 for each million inhabitants. The quota of the United States will thus be \$600. The individual membership fee is \$5; and no conditions are put on membership.

Now the national committee for the United States is our National Conference of Social Work and a special committee appointed at San Francisco, which held several meetings during the year and had the benefit of Dr. Sand's counsel and information during his recent visit to this country, made

report at Boston on relations between the two bodies. The International Conference is a break with the pre-war tradition of semi-official international gatherings. These in the social field had tended to rigidity and dry rot. How to contrive a newer and freer formation, with such a variety of political, religious and social trends in the cooperating countries, had presented bristling difficulties in inaugurating the first meeting at Paris. At Frankfurt, the question of organic representation will probably be up. Meanwhile, the permanent committee of one hundred is largely a self-constituted body. Several new American members have recently been added. Obviously program, speakers, and arrangements for a meeting on such a scale must be in the hands of some central group at this stage rather than left to become a patchwork of conflicting claims put forward from forty countries.

On the other hand the various national committees afford a direct line for proposals and cooperation; and the individual membership avoids control of attendance by a dominant group in any particular country. In other words, the Frankfurt conference resembles on an international scale the Boston conference, rather than an alternative set-up in which state governments, religious bodies, or private organizations would be the base. The hope is that national conferences of social work like our own will spring up as time goes on in the various countries, equally free in membership. When that time comes national representation in the international body will have a new foundation to build up from rather than down.

The committee report recommended that our National Conference, either through its executive committee or a special committee appointed by it, continue as the constituent national committee for the United States of America; that it promote membership, attendance and participation at Frankfurt; convey suggestions of subject matter and speakers and in general "serve as a channel through which American wishes can make themselves known, and American participation be encouraged and made constructively effective." The report as adopted included a recommendation that the general secretary of the National Conference be asked to canvass the services which could be rendered American delegates to make their attendance most fruitful.

become public charges at one stage in their struggle toward economic security, and were compelled upon deportation warrant to leave the country—no matter how affluent they may become in the future—can never re-enter. There is anguish in the family groups in which such experiences take place. Such hard and fast exclusion provision, regardless of the effect upon the individuals they regulate, cannot possibly work toward the welfare of America. . . .

To make an old mistake indelible—to lay a dead hand upon the future, is always of doubtful value.

At another session, Mary E. McDowell of the University of Chicago Settlement and former Public Welfare Commissioner of Chicago drove further home the point that to require full citizenship as the price of reunion of immigrant families is often too great a price to pay because of the uncertainty and anguish that can come in the unavoidable period of waiting, and urged that non-quota status be extended to aliens' as well as citizens' relatives legally admitted. The cruelty, suffering and stupidity characterizing this overhang of injustice will be the object of concerted attack by a new

alignment of groups interested both in the immigrant and in the American home—a national committee which came to head in Boston, under the chairmanship of Miss McDowell.

Equally close to the field of insurgent action were the discussions at a final session of the cluster of issues bound up in our naturalization law and policy. And here at Boston was held the first widely attended meeting of the new National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship; of which John H. Finley of New York is president, Robert C. Deming, director of Adult Education of the State of Connecticut is vice-president, Ralf Z. Bernstein secretary and Robert T. Hill, of the New York Council on Adult Education for the Foreign Born, treasurer.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Edith Terry Bremer of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., urged as the keynote of the organization a new evaluation of what we want citizenship to mean. The immigrant has, under our present regulations, almost lost the last (Continued on page 361)