

is the explanation of the tremendous influence the teachers colleges are having upon the creation of good citizenship in this republic. Surely, if they do no more than this, they are well worth the investment and well worthy of the commendation of good men everywhere.

#### *Democracy*

The one supreme test applied for any institution which has a right to exist in these United States is that of democracy. The teachers colleges have not failed the republic at this strategic angle, for they are par excellence the democratic institutions of learning in the United States. The non-democratic teacher has no permanent abiding place in the normal school. Students in these schools live to serve all the people from whom they come and to whom they return to offer themselves for the good of their country in the preparation of citizenship. Nothing else counts in this land when democracy is lost. So long as this country hopes to survive and prosper in the struggle of the enlightened nations, so long must every institution be shot through and through with this vital principle. Democracy, then, must dictate the platforms of our political parties, order the tenets of our social structure, prescribe the creeds of our sacred religion, and permeate the fibers of all of our educational institutions.

When I observe the devotion of students in teachers colleges to the ideal of democracy and the advantageous use to which they apply it in their post-school careers, often at tremendous social, physical, and financial sacrifice, I renew my allegiance to it and my gratitude to them.

The lights of learning at the institutions that promote the teaching of the youth of the masses of our population must not grow dim because of our present economic depression. In darker times than these, in eras with far less wealth, the distribution of knowledge has gone steadily onward and outward to humankind. We shall help the teachers to keep these lights burning for the

children so long as there is strength within us so to do.

BRUCE R. PAYNE.

### ONCOMING SOCIAL CHANGE

ON the night of January 2, 1863, there stood as a sentinel on a battle ground in Tennessee a Southern youth. The wind was blowing a hurricane, and rain was falling in torrents amid thunder and lightning, while the dead and dying were lying around him upon every side. That youth was John W. Burgess. It was amid such a scene that his soul first heard itself murmuring: "Oh, Heaven! Is it not possible for man, endowed with reason and conscience and free-will, to become able to solve the problems of his relations to his fellow-man without all of this suffering and death, this destruction and desolation?" And then, even more audibly, the vow upon his own lips, if spared the dangers and hardships and sufferings of war, he promised to devote his life thereafter to the acquisition of such knowledge as might have the tendency to bring about a change in the conduct of men and of nations, and to the teachings of it to others.

That vow Burgess kept. It took him to Amherst College and later to Europe, where in the University of Berlin he studied under such masters as Mommsen and von Ranke. After seventeen years' battle for an idea, the purpose of January 2, 1863, became the Faculty of Political Science in Columbia University. It is pleasing to note that Burgess' successor is Howard Lee McBain, who was trained on the University of Richmond campus. It is also worth recalling that Raymond Moley, one of the chief advisers of President Roosevelt, is a member of the same faculty, not to speak of a host of others there who have enriched thought and guided social change.

Burgess exemplified a remark of Richard Ely: "If there had been forty chairs of

Economics in the old South, there would have been no Civil War." Here we have two methods of effecting change—discussion and violence. Colleges stand for the first, believing with Emerson, "All things are resolvable in the maelstrom of thought." It is in this spirit that we approach the situation confronting us.

A parallel instance happened just a century ago, when an American missionary and his wife went out to Hawaii. So primitive were the natives, that Armstrong soon discovered that the only approach to their heads was through the training of their hands. Hence he founded a school at Hilo to teach the race to work. When Armstrong's son was born, he opened his eyes on this little school. Later, as a youth he returned to America to study at Williams College, where he lived in the home of Mark Hopkins. When he took his degree, in 1862, he entered the army and came South. As he looked upon the havoc of war here, he saw that the racial problem was not a cancer, to be cut out with the sword, but was a task for schools such as Hilo, which through work, would train a child race in character and citizenship. As a result, Samuel Chapman Armstrong founded Hampton Institute, one of the most important educational experiment stations in the world. Burgess and Armstrong teach the same lesson as regards social change. After the earthquake, the fire and the whirlwind, the still, small voice.

I. Oncoming social change should be directed by the sovereignty of science. We are ruled today not by politicians but by technicians. This appears in the very buildings in which the State government of Virginia is housed. Looking up from the post-office, you behold the brow of a Roman temple at Nimes, reproduced by Jefferson in Richmond as the Capitol. It served admirably the needs of an agricultural society. All you wanted was space for a legislature, Governor and Supreme Court. But today that no longer suffices. Hence we have

built a steel structure in the corner of the Square, to house big laboratories of science. Here health, highways, schools and welfare, the four great areas of modern State Government, have a home. The heads of these departments are all appointed by the Governor, not elected by popular vote. You cannot get scientists by election. The short ballot initiated by Governor Byrd meant just that.

Science is supreme, likewise, in industry. Witness the atmospheric nitrogen plant at Hopewell, where this sweet Virginia air is turned into crystals and dumped by the tons into ships, to be taken to the ends of the earth as fertilizers and explosives. At the home of the official of the rayon plant there, I met an eminent German scientist who had crossed the Atlantic to advise as to certain processes. Some one has said that the greatest event in the nineteenth century was when Frederic W. Taylor began at Midvale those experiments in measuring and organizing work, which led to scientific management. A striking example of the regnancy of science is to be found in Richmond. In 1896 Richmond College gathered \$25,000 for a science building. We were happy. Just at the present moment, we are entering the last of three separate units for science, at a cost of a half million dollars. And our college is as poor as Job's turkey. Our problems are to be thought out, and not fought out. Benjamin Ide Wheeler once asked Lord Bryce what was the most discouraging thought he ever had. Bryce replied: "Civilization is developing problems faster than we are growing brains to solve them."

II. Oncoming social changes will disclose the potency of self-sacrifice. Adam Smith founded society on self-interest. In the same year Thomas Jefferson proclaimed the independence of America. The two thinkers were tugging at the same idea—a society founded on rights rather than duties. By their fruits ye shall know them. We have had a century and a half of selfishness,

which has landed us in the bad, at home and abroad. Competition ran riot. In the greed for profits, the child was stunted in the factory; the woman worked a machine at night; slums became a cancerous growth; and people were divided sharply into two classes, the tool-owners and the tool-users. Tariffs, like a Chinese wall, were erected around countries. Marines exploited the peoples of backward regions for raw materials and markets; and, finally, in this mad scramble for monopoly the nations brought the world down in a crash in the Great War. Today we have abysmal want in the midst of plenty.

Self-interest alone will not work, though there is truth inherent in the principle of Adam Smith. But in the human heart there is more than self-interest. Self-sacrifice is a contending force, and social change should more and more take this principle of Jesus into account. There must be co-operation for the common good, as well as competition for the individual's own end. In the higher activities of the soul, self-interest sinks out of view. Motherhood, the churches, schools, postoffice and the citizen-soldier, draw their strength from the spirit of self-sacrifice.

III. Oncoming social change will reveal increasing community control. "We must choose between the chaos of laissez-faire and organized stability." History will record Insull as our best benefactor. He looked upon our country as an economic unit. His electric empire ignored all State lines. Sectionalism found no place in his patriotic heart. He disclosed the true relation of Big Business to government. He tried to buy a United States Senator for \$150,000. By skilful propaganda he corrupted colleges and the press. It is stated that 150 papers in Virginia took weekly his stuff. Insull and Krueger were true to type. And yet some men ask why the people have lost confidence.

The upshot of the matter is that in this machine-age the community must more and

more take control for the common good. Richmond has its own gas works and water supply. The interests have blocked Muscle Shoals for more than a decade. The State builds excellent highways. Why should not government control increasingly the whole transportation system? Essential natural resources, such as coal and water power, should belong to all the people. In this respect Russia is blazing a path that others will follow.

IV. Oncoming social change will squeeze out all waste. This applies to every agency in society. The consolidation of counties, of churches and colleges is on the way. When thirty million people in this rich country are today hungry and cold, citizens rebuke waste, whether it be the luxury of the privileged or the extravagance of the government. This depression is the great assize. In striving for a rational social order, every agency is brought before the bar of public opinion. Taxes must come down. Needless forts and navy yards must be done away with. In 1930 we spent \$727,000,000 on armaments. The House has just passed a bill of nearly one billion dollars for veterans' relief. Many, like Admiral Byrd, contend that half of this is unnecessary.

V. Oncoming social change will reveal the mutual dependence of nations. The old idea of sovereignty is an anachronism—"the ghost of personal monarchy sitting crowned on the grave thereof." In its processes, the United States Steel requires materials from forty foreign countries. Disease is no respecter of national lines. The wireless has made this world one whispering gallery. The creed of the ox cart will not do in the age of the airplane. If America stands aloof, she draws the fire of Japan at her own bosom. If we were in the League of Nations, public opinion would be almost a unit against aggression. Let us hope that Mr. Roosevelt will bring us into the World Court and increase our co-operation with the League of Nations.

S. C. MITCHELL.