The Exploitation of Pleasure

COMMERCIAL RECREATIONS IN NEW YORK

Home, sweet Home! To the well-to-do novel-reader and to our Colonial forefathers "home" meant a house big enough for a family of five, or seventeen, to sleep and eat, work and play in. All the natural activities of life centered themselves about the home, and most could express themselves within its physical limits. Consequently, home was the spiritual center of life, and, particularly for the children and the adolescents, formed most of its circumference as well.

How the city changes all this! The home shrinks to a nest of boxes tucked four stories in the air, or the half of a duplex house huddled upon its neighbors. There is space to sleep and eat, but not to live. The habitation becomes a sleeping box and eating den—too often no more. Specialized industry, the basis of the modern city, makes it possible for large numbers of people to live and support themselves within a restricted area. This crowding of population creates a human pressure under which most of the normal tendencies of life must find new forms or at least new modes of manifestation. This is a result of the mere fact that the physical limits of space fall so far beneath the minimum human demand for self-expression.

When each of ten thousand girls could learn to dance in her own home society might have little concern with the matter; but when no more than ten of those ten thousand are able to learn to dance elsewhere than in academies commercially established and run for profit, the quality of these academies becomes a matter with which the state that cares for its citizens has every need to concern itself. When five hundred boys may vent their energies upon five square miles of hill, wood and greensward around their town we may leave their doings to their parents; when those five hundred must play upon a street a

quarter-mile long, crowded with traffic, shops and saloons, the city should, and *must*, have something to say about the conditions that shall exist on that street. The individual parent is helpless before a condition which may mean the physical and moral destruction of his child.

In a word, recreation within the modern city has become a matter of public concern; *laissez faire*, in recreation as in industry, can no longer be the policy of the state.

The natural divisions of the Recreation side of life are three: The spontaneous, the communally organized, and the commercially organized. In the large city most of the spontaneous recreation activities must seek some facilities through which to manifest themselves, and these facilities, we observe, must as a rule be provided by the city government, by philanthropic benevolence or by commercial enterprise. The men's lodge must have its meeting place in saloon or public hall; the boy's gang must use the street, park or playground; the social circle must go to the settlement or to the recreation center. A hundred activities which in the Fifth Avenue home find their *loci* in parlor, study, den and garden, must among the mass of the people be somewhere outside the limits of the home. *Where* outside, is a matter of vital importance to the public welfare.

Thus the spontaneous effort for recreation is thwarted or nullified unless conscious communal or institutional effort steps in. Here the settlements have led the way; public institutions have followed. Now, all settlements, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and a large proportion of churches, recognize the public demand, and do the larger part of their social and educational work through the offer to their clientele of opportunities for recreation. The municipality, recognizing recreation traditionally in the establishment of parks, first faced the modern problem in relation to the school system; and, in an urgent and militant form, in connection with the playground movement.

In devoting public funds to indoor and outdoor playgrounds, parks, lectures, libraries, museums, recreation centers, vacation schools, music, and popular festivals, civic leaders recognize that the municipality is not only offering its people something of positive value, but is also counteracting influences which are generally detrimental, and against which only the power of the municipality can effectively work. The recreation policy of the

modern city, even to the slight extent thus far developed, is twofold; it offers recreation opportunities, and it counteracts certain opportunities already offered. Reformers and legislators are beginning to see that this counteractive effect can best be gained through counter-*attraction* rather than through the old blue-law policy of repression. Yet, as we shall see, certain types of repressive laws are important factors in a recreation policy.

Commercially Organized Recreations

Picture children that we know—hungry-eyed youngsters with abounding surplus energies, seeking passionately to touch, enjoy and understand this world of wonders. From the home, the logical and the actual beginning, stretches a series of stages, linked with a chain whose logic is life. Yearly the circles of activity widen: the tot plays beside the family stoop, the little boy's range is his block, the older urchin scours the district, the young man travels about the city.

In a crowded city there is human pressure upon the street hardly less great than that within the home; offshoots from the street arise to meet this pressure,—the candy shop for the children, the ice cream and soda parlor, the moving-picture show, the vaudeville, the dance hall, the saloon. To these places people pay to go, partly to seek positive pleasure, partly because to remain within the straits of the home or the moil of the street means positive pain or discomfort. Out of the twofold impulse, —towards the pleasant and away from the unpleasant,—commercial enterprise builds the gaudy structure of profit-paying recreation.

The logic of the situation can be summed up in the following scheme. The recreation opportunities are listed, roughly, in the order of the ages to which they chiefly appeal.* This order does not correspond to the age at which attendance ends, but that at which interest begins. Thus, large numbers of young children frequent candy-shops, where only a penny need be spent; at a little older age, active attendance commences at the indoor shows and soda fountains. Girls of fourteen to sixteen flock to the dancing academy, while public affairs in the dance halls

* These lists are merely illustrative, only the more important or typical recreation provisions being included. Skating-rinks, which are socially much like dance halls; billiard parlors, pool rooms, and saloons are not included in the following study of the indoor commercial recreations.

see few under sixteen (most are older). At this point we reach the theatre-going age. The meeting-hall, again, draws chiefly the young men, hardly any boys, if only because of the rental demanded.

Fundamental Institutions	Unorganized or Commercialized Recreative Provisions, Arranged Roughly in Chronological Order of Interest	Public or Philanthropic Recreative Provisions*	Main Age Divisions
	Street Play	Park	
Home		Playground	
	Candy-shop	Settlement	Ten Years
	Moving-Picture Show	Church House	
	Penny Arcade	Recreation Center	
Street	Ice-cream and Soda Parlor	Library	Fourteen Years
	Dance Academy	Lecture Center	
	Cheap Theatre	Museum	
		Y. M. C. A., etc.	Sixteen Years
		Athletic Field	
	Skating Rink		
School	Dance Hall		
	Excursion Boat		
	Pool Room		Eighteen Years
	Meeting Hall		
	Shooting Gallery		
	Billiard Parlor		Twenty-one Years
Workshop	Saloon		
	Theatre		

Neighborhood Resources

Fundamental to any study of recreation provisions is knowledge of what a neighborhood affords. What opportunities for satisfying needs beyond those of mere food and shelter, can a Manhattan tenement dweller find within five minutes of his doorstep? To answer this question maps have been made of several districts, and lists thus prepared of the human opportunities therein.*

"HUMAN OPPORTUNITIES"

I. Lower East Side

(Mapping by Members of the College Settlement Civic Club)

District bounded by Grand, Chrystie, East Houston and Suffolk Streets. Size of district, 2,050 feet east and west; 2,170 feet north and south. Area about .30 square mile or 193.9 acres. Total length of all streets about 30,750 feet. In this district there are 8 public schools, with 13,956 children registered in September, 1909.

The street maps show the following provisions:

Saloons (including Raines' Law Hotels)	78	Evening recreation centers	2
Candy shops and stands	188	Synagogues	7
Soda-water shops and stands	73	Churches	2
Barber shops	125	Mission	1
Lunch rooms and restaurants	100	Benevolent Institutions	4
Theatre (Yiddish)	1	Jail	1
Moving-picture shows	8	Settlements	4
Dancing academies and halls	9	Police Station	1
Pool rooms	10	Fire Engine House	1
Meeting halls	7	Public baths	1
Stables	3	Public libraries	1
Pawn shops	1	Vacant lot (very small)	1
Public schools	8	Playground	0

II. Lower East Side

(Street mapping by Mr. Nathan Yolles)

District bounded by Second Avenue, Fourth Street, Avenue B, Houston Street and First Street. The outside streets were mapped on one side only. The total street length is 17,025 feet, or about 3 miles. The area is about .6 square mile.

* The maps were made during the spring of 1910.

The registration of the two public schools in the district (Nos. 63 and 79) was 4,517 on September 30, 1909. Public School No. 25 on the edge of the district had a registration of 3,039, making a total of 7,556.

Saloons (plus 6 wine stores)	42	Meeting halls	1
Candy stores	45	Political clubs	2
Soda and candy stands (plus 2 ice cream parlors)	20	Public schools	2
		Sectarian schools	2
Total candy provisions	65	Churches	4
Lunch rooms and restaurants	14	Synagogues	3
Barber shops and cigar stores	42	Social settlement centers	3
Loan office	1	Playgrounds	0
Moving-picture show	1		

Upper East Side

(Street mapping by Mr. Henry Kaufman)

District bounded by 106th Street, Third Avenue, 112th Street, and First Avenue. Both sides of boundary streets included.

Total length of streets and avenues, 25,000 feet.

There are two public schools in this district (Nos. 83 and 172) which had a total registration on September 30, 1909, of 5,692.

The following items were noted:

Saloons (including 4 wine shops)	83	Pool rooms	3
Candy stores (including 12 cigar and bakeshops)	66	Moving-picture shows	3
		Meeting halls	1
Candy and soda stands	21	Public schools	2
Total candy provisions	87	Sectarian schools	2
Ice cream and lemonade stands	2	Churches	3
Restaurants and cafes	36	Social settlements	1
Barber shops	53	Other philanthropic institutions	4
Factories (including 40 plume factories)	55	Public baths	1
		Vacant lots	2
Stables	3	Playgrounds	1
Gas tanks	4		

Middle West Side

(Street mapping by Miss A. R. White)

District bounded by Eighth Avenue, 42nd Street, Hudson River and 52nd Street.

Total length of all streets, 46,560 feet, or 9 miles. Area, .35 square mile.

In this district there are three public schools with 5,342 children registered on September 30, 1909.

The following provisions were mapped:

Saloons (including 3 hotels)	122	Gas tanks	3
Candy shops	78	Public schools	3
Restaurants	66	Sectarian schools	5
Factories	53	Churches	13
Stables	47	Philanthropic institutions (including 2 settlements)	5
Pawn shops	2		
Theatres	1	Public libraries	1
Meeting halls	1	Vacant lots	1
Pool rooms	1	Playgrounds	0
Dance halls	2		

The Candy Shop

Students of the drink problem have said that the saloon is the poor man's club. These tabulations suggest that the candy shop

and ice cream parlor are the youngsters' club. They are so, in fact —indoor centers of neighborhood life for the child and adolescent. The investigators of these districts were much surprised when they observed that in all but one instance the number of candy shops exceeded the saloons. The candy shop provides sweets, also something still more attractive—a place to meet friends, to chat, sometimes to play games—always to talk and skylark a little amid light and warmth, protected alike from the distractions of the tenement home and the inconveniences of the street-corner. For a "penny" the little boy may enter and stay; the treat is cheap.

There are said to be no less than 7,000 candy shops in Manhattan, though this is only a newspaper guess; and there are at least two thousand candy peddlers besides. Licensed saloons total to about the same number—a suggestive comparison of "clubs." Little boys from seven to thirteen are the characteristic patrons of the candy places, though girls buy a share; and older lads frequent many shops as regular hang-outs. A certain amount of crap playing or petty gambling by boys is said to go on in candy shops, and does go on; but this evil cannot be abolished by the police; it can at most be kept within certain bounds which, in fact, it rarely passes. The remedy is prevention, rather than repression, and the preventives are the school and the playground. The moving-picture show, too, has done its share as a counter-attraction. Where clean and undrugged candy is sold, the ordinary candy-shop is a preferable substitute for the street-corner.

Ice Cream Parlors

If the saloon is the club of the poor man, and the candy shop that of his little boy, the ice cream and soda parlor is the tea-room of his growing sons and (other fellows') daughters. Soda and ice cream go together in the indoor shops; business in the latter being the less diminished by cold weather. In the summer, street purveyors add to the supply of cold things, and their patronage resembles that of the candy shops in being largely composed of little children. The indoor ice cream parlor, however, is primarily a place to sit down, enjoy light refreshment, and talk. There is some ground for belief that the public health authorities should pay more attention to the quality of ice cream

and soda water, but, barring this, the "parlors" are, on the whole, social assets.

The Penny Arcade

The penny arcade, in New York City, has ceased to be important. Ten years ago, one might see scattered widely over Manhattan the large rooms, with front fully opened to the street, and lined with double or treble rows of slot machines, plus a few punching-bags, automatic scales, and fortune-tellers. The nimble penny, backed by the turning of a crank, gave to view the wonders of "The Old Stage Coach," the mysteries of "Getting Ready for the Bath;" or brought through rubber tubes the phonographic beauties of "Annie Rooney." But the moving-picture show has thrown the clumsy slot machine into the shade. Merely from the financial standpoint the comparison is deadly: for a cent dropped into the machine, one can have from forty to sixty seconds' view of an inferior type of cinemetographic picture. For five cents paid to the moving-picture cashier one may sit at least half an hour, perhaps an hour and a half, before a continuous delight of motion pictures and songs. The passing of the "penny arcade" is a public blessing. By construction, and usually by situation, these places invite the listless "hanging-round" which is one of the worst characteristics of the street; and they tend to create that most dangerous mixture—a minority of hardened street children scattered among the majority of normal children who have drifted in to the show.

In New York City, the activity of the Society for the Suppression of Vice and the Society for the Prevention of Crime has kept the penny arcade fairly free from pictures that are obscene. The pictures are, as a rule, tame, often stupid; they seem particularly disappointing by contrast with the flaring and frequently suggestive posters. In fact, these are usually the most undesirable features of an arcade. The posters, of course, draw the penny; the slot-machine does not always give the penny's worth. For the reason indicated, the arcade can now be a commercial success only in a few localities, such as the Bowery, Fourteenth Street, and One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. These avenues supply a steady stream of passers-by who eddy into the show, besides a crowd of habitual hangers-on. The latter become regular patrons of the arcade: it is their lounging-place. Besides these, there are a few arcades (under a dozen) attached to moving-

picture shows, as a side room serving as a passage-way. Thus a few pennies are drawn from the crowd on the way in and out; and a few additional patrons for the show are recruited from the street. These places are unimportant and relatively unobjectionable.

A higher license fee than $25 for the penny arcade would be desirable. It would, perhaps, be well to license the place at the present rate and to add a separate fee of one to five dollars a year for each slot machine in use. This tax would serve to limit still further a business which has little to recommend it.

Larger and more significant than the offshoots of the street are the representative types of commercial recreation—the dance hall, the meeting place and the theatre. The dance hall, like its smaller sister the skating rink, draws from the adolescents of both sexes, but as a social problem relates particularly to the girl. The meeting place, like the pool room, gambling house and shooting gallery, affects, almost exclusively, the men. The theatre in one or another form is unlimited in its appeal by age or sex.

Dancing Academies and Dance Halls

To the girl between sixteen and twenty-one and the boy between eighteen and twenty-five dancing makes an intensely strong appeal. Over a thousand Manhattan school children between eleven and fourteen years of age were asked, and answered in writing, the following questions (among a list of others):

1. Do you know how to dance?
2. Do you like to dance?
3. Where did you learn to dance?
4. Where do you usually go in order to dance?

Out of 1,253 children who responded to the first question, 813 (64%) answered "Yes" and 440 (36%) "No." One thousand and twenty-four (81%) answered "Yes" to Question 2, declaring that they liked to dance, and only 97 (9%) avowed that they did not.* The differences between boys and girls are notable. Only 34% of 543 boys, but 88% of the 710 girls know how to dance. Desire to learn is more evenly balanced, 85% of the boys and 96% of the girls saying "Yes" to the second question.

The other responses are tabulated as follows:

TABLE 1.—WHERE MANHATTAN'S CHILDREN LEARN TO DANCE

	1 At Home	2 At School	3 Settlement or Institution	4 Dancing Academy	5 At "Affairs"	Total of Columns 4 and 5	Grand Total
Boys	51	43	0	59	60	119	213
Per cent.	24%	20%	0	28%	28%	56%	100%
Girls	50	116	41	37	57	94	301
Per cent.	17%	39%	13%	12%	19%	31%	100%
Total	101	159	41	96	117	213	514
Per cent.	19%	31%	8%	19%	23%	42%	100%

* One hundred and thirty-two (10%) did not answer the second question. It will be borne in mind that these are all young children in elementary school, nearly all between eleven and fourteen years of age. If a similar inquiry were to be made of the same boys five years hence, the proportion of the ignorant would be probably diminished by two-thirds. This is indicated by a classification of these same children by school grade. Of the boys under the seventh grade (mostly under thirteen years), only 30% had learned to dance (106 out of 364); while of the boys in grades 7 and 8, 44% (80 out of 179) had acquired the "art."

TABLE 2.—WHERE MANHATTAN SCHOOL CHILDREN PRACTISE DANCING

	1 At Home	2 At School	3 Settlement or Institution	4 Dancing Academy	5 At "Affairs"	Total of Columns 4 and 5	Grand Total
Boys . .	15	15	5	47	45	92	127
Per cent. .	12%	12%	4%	37%	35%	72%	100%
Girls . .	13	69	15	60	19	79	176
Per cent. .	7%	39%	9%	34%	11%	45%	100%
Total .	28	84	20	107	64	171	303
Per cent.	9%	29%	6%	36%	21%	57%	100%

The children who answered these questions were pupils in public schools selected at random, in several different districts of Manhattan, including children of American, Irish-American, Jewish and Italian parentage.* They were public school children—that is, their parents were nearly all people in the average circumstances enjoyed by the laboring and clerical sections of the community. Therefore, given home conditions which we know to exist among the mass of the people, we understand why less than 10% of the children usually go to dances within the home. We see that the public school offers opportunity for a considerable proportion, although it must be said that this is due to the inclusion of one large and particularly advanced school within the group, thus giving a proportion of school dancing about twice as large as would appear if all the schools of Manhattan had been included. The dancing academy and dance hall would absorb most of the surplus. Even with this overemphasis of the school our tables show the commercial dance academy and the public dance hall to teach more than 40% of the pupils and to be the place where three-fourths of the boys, and half of the girls, go to practise their skill. There can be no doubt that the percentage would be much larger were children over fourteen years to be questioned.

In Manhattan the studies carried on by the Committee on Amusements and Vacation Resources of Working Girls, and supplemented by the present investigation, show there exist about one hundred dancing academies,—that is, places in which danc-

* The following public schools are included: Nos. 15, 31, 177, 19, 83, 141, 54, 6, 68 and the "Model School" at 120th Street, Manhattan; also Nos. 6, 26 and 43, Bronx. Several classes in each school answered the questions.

ing is taught. The typical academy gives lessons during the day and on certain evenings, perhaps three in each week. The remaining evenings, and of course Sunday afternoons, are either "reception nights" in which pupils, their friends, and outsiders may come (for a price) to take part in general dancing; or the hall is leased to organizations to "run off" affairs. In the latter case the renting organization assumes entire management, selling the tickets and reaping the profits. The academy thus shades into the dance hall proper. In this no instruction is offered at any time, but the floor is thrown open several nights of the week to whomsoever will pay the fifteen or twenty-five cents admission, and is rented on other nights for "affairs" whenever the proprietor can get his price.

In the better class of *dancing academies*,—excluding the high priced places which cater only to the well-to-do,—the usual price is $5 for a course of six private lessons, or $1 for six class lessons, with a proportionately larger fee for a longer series. Considerable supervision is exercised by the proprietor over the character of the persons allowed on reception nights, and no liquor is sold in the academy. Of course, soda water and other soft drinks are always obtainable, and something of the kind must be, for dancing is thirst-provoking. The well managed academy will not permit tough dancing,—hugging, twisting, "spieling."

In academies of a lower type less supervision is exercised; the class on reception nights is more mixed; men and women of questionable character may be seen; also girls and men who are clever dancers, help "keep the crowd going," and earn thus their admission and sometimes more. The young people who pay for lessons are sure to come on the reception nights in order to practise, and they bring their friends along. Thus, the clientele grows, the newcomers taking lessons and mingling on reception nights with the old. The ill-managed academy is peculiarly undesirable because it thus invites the mixture of the hardened girl and the corrupted man with the unsophisticated who come into such contact for the first time. Liquor, from beer to the strongest drinks, is sold in a certain proportion of dancing academies, perhaps half of the total number in Manhattan. The academy that sells alcoholic liquors is to be rated as positively undesirable; this not merely because of the liquor, but because of its inevitable accompaniments.

From reports made after personal visits by members and agents

of the Committee on Amusements and Vacation Resources of Working Girls, sixty-eight dancing academies of Manhattan have been graded as follows: Good, 19, or 28%; Fair, also 19; Poor, 18 (26%); Bad, 12 (18%). There can be no doubt that the thirty odd academies which were unvisited are not, on the average, of a higher class than the inspected ones. Thus 56% of the academies are to be considered as acceptable while 44% are undesirable. The social significance of these facts is apparent when we learn that the one hundred dancing academies of Manhattan are reaching, annually, not less than one hundred thousand individuals as paying pupils; and that 45% of these pupils are under sixteen, 90% under twenty-one. Practically all the young girls among the mass of the people pass during the period of adolescence through the education of the dancing academy. We have here an influence over the adolescent of New York which is of practically universal scope.

Then the *dance halls:* over a hundred of them in Manhattan. Great public places like the Grand Central Palace stand at the head in a benign notoriety. At the other end of the scale is the back room of the saloon, in which couples sit around at tables, and, from time to time, rise and whirl to the music of an unpleasant piano. The saloon dance hall includes within itself a series of different types. Sometimes it is a veritable neighborhood rallying-place, where young and middle-aged of both sexes crowd in the stuffy room together; where English is little spoken; and mental and physical atmosphere suggest a medieval inn. Such foreign places cannot long hold their flavor amid the sweep of Americanization. The Bowery hall draws a "tough," an internationally tough crowd. Those who go thither are likely to know what to expect.

The average young man and woman are more affected by the larger dance halls. Innumerable clubs,—social, fraternal, athletic, political,—support themselves by "running off" an "affair" or two each year. The "affair" is a dance, the dance includes drinking, and the drinks make the main profit both for the landlord and for the club. Such a situation is but another result of the lack of facilities, either at home or in public buildings, for the normal expression of community life. When people cannot form a social circle and dance at home or in a municipal hall, and when rents of meeting-rooms are so high that the club dues practicable for working people cannot alone meet the tax, then

there is no other way than the present system of "running" affairs. Thus, we get down to the basal economics of it.

More than this: a further opportunity for the exploitation of the multitude leads clever young men to organize clubs for the purpose of "running" affairs, thereby making profit for themselves. There are young fellows who are notorious as organizers of dances, operating usually under the name of an organization which they and a few cronies actually constitute. These worthies, of course, do not refuse to accept opportunity to utilize vicious agencies. "Jimmie the Wolf" or "The Jolly Twisters" get up their "annual affair" and clear perhaps $500 "per," with the assistance of less well-known aspirants, saloon keepers, small politicians and prostitutes of their acquaintance, all of whom help in doing the advertising, catering to the club, giving the crowd a good time, and sharing some of the profits.

There are, of course, dance halls in Manhattan whose names are notorious, as in the high-priced Tenderloin. Among the popular-priced places are more than one which are the regular haunt of evil men and women, and known to be such, so that respectable people do not ordinarily go there. More insidious are the places without such an established reputation, drawing mixed crowds, and bringing the bad into fermenting contact with the unspoiled.

The gross attendance at the dance halls of Manhattan during the winter season (excluding thus the summer places, like Coney Island) is probably between four and five million. Of course, this estimate includes a vast number of duplications. From personal investigation of about one hundred dance halls which has been made by the Committee above referred to, fully two-thirds should be listed as positively undesirable. Liquor, of course, is universally sold in the dance hall, and the character of a place may often be rated according as the time allowed for drinking stands in ratio to the dancing periods. In a well-managed dancing academy, on a reception night, there may probably be a ten-minute period for dancing, with four minutes' intermission for rest and refreshments. In a low dance hall the spieling period might be four minutes, with fifteen minutes between devoted to drinking.

The question will be asked, how far is the dance hall connected with the established agencies of the social evil? It is fully believed by those who have been in touch with the situation that, at a certain proportion of dance halls, the proprietor knowingly

permits men and women to seek to corrupt others for the sake of recruiting the army of pimps and prostitutes. But in the main, this semi-organized institution cannot play a large part. The prostitute goes to the dance hall as one of the places wherein to ply her trade. The man seeking his prey goes there for the same reason. The mass of young men and women seek social pleasure, or, in a word, *life*, during the time that is free from the monotony of industrial and commercial work, and they go to the dance hall to enjoy, as the young people of Puritan New England flocked to the husking party. The pity of it all is that unconsciously the economic development of the metropolis has compelled living conditions under which the normal impulses of young men and women cannot express themselves save under these conditions, which present more than reasonable danger to body and mind.

Despite this, the teeming dance places of New York City have been unrecognized by law, unknown to the educated public, until 1908, when the investigation of the Committee already mentioned, organized by Mrs. Charles H. Israels and the writer, revealed the nature of the situation. In 1909 a law was passed by the New York State Legislature affecting the dancing academies, which was attacked by them, and was declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals. In 1910 a law designed to meet the Court's criticism, and affecting dance halls as well as academies, was passed, and has just gone into actual operation. While yet too young to be judged, the law represents a first step in bringing to public consciousness and to legal recognition an urgent problem affecting practically the entire adolescent population of the city. Even if this particular law is not sustained, the success of the legislative and publicity campaigns indicates that the city will not go back to dance-hall *laissez-faire*, but that a better-devised statute will follow. The immediate demand upon the civic bodies of New York, and the citizens at large, is to see that the law is enforced and given a fair trial.

Meeting Halls

Young people organize themselves naturally, and in New York organization is virtually a habit. The club idea is everywhere among young and old; we have every stage, from the spontaneous gang without form of organization to the great fraternal order with its elaborate constitution and ritual. Every organization presupposes a meeting place, and this again can rarely be in the home and only inconveniently upon the street. It must be indoors during the larger part of the year in our climate. To well-to-do people explanation is necessary why a meeting place for a club of fifteen young men should be a problem. Why not the parlor at home? A very slight knowledge of tenement conditions answers that question. It is hard to find a good meeting place—often hard to find meeting places at all. No one can start out to rent a meeting room without being impressed with the scarcity of the supply. There are reasons for this, as will appear.

Take the experience of one club with which the writer was personally acquainted. This comprised twenty-five young men from twenty-one to twenty-five years of age, all at work; they organized as a civic club, and looked for a meeting place. They could have gone to a social settlement and got a room rent free or for a nominal sum. They preferred, however, to stand on their own feet and sought rooms of their own for a weekly meeting. After long hunting they were able to draw up the following schedule:

Comfortable, clean, well-heated room in modern building,—$3 per meeting.
Fair room in fair building,—$2.50 per meeting.
Old, ill-cleaned, poorly located room in old building,—$2 per meeting.
Good room over saloon, provided with the understanding that drinks would be bought—rent free.
Fine class-room in evening recreation center, provided with the condition that the club must leave the building at 10 P. M., and the practical fact that the janitor put in his head at 9.45 to tell them so,—rent free.

These club members paid ten cents a week dues, and $2.50 a week just used up their entire income. The room they liked best was that over the saloon. They offered $2 a week for the

use of this room without the objectionable understanding that they purchase drinks. The proprietor refused to rent the room for $2, though he would have given it free with the understanding named! The club tried the recreation center, but left it, dissatisfied because of the short hours allowed and the surveillance exerted; and took the room at $2.50, holding it for a considerable period. The district that this club covered was the East Side of Manhattan south of Fourteenth Street. Conditions but slightly dissimilar hold elsewhere.

Study has been made of a considerable number of meeting halls in Manhattan with a view to classifying them according to the sort of building in which each is located. A list of meeting halls was obtained from various sources and each place visited and listed.

TABLE 3.—COMMERCIAL MEETING HALLS IN MANHATTAN CLASSIFIED BY CHARACTER OF BUILDING WHEREIN LOCATED*

Class	Number of Meeting Places	Number of Clubs Meeting Therein	Per Cent. of Total Number of Meeting Places	Per Cent. of Total Number of Clubs
A. Public Meeting Hall, liquor sold (under license)	32	275	13%	39%
B. Saloon, providing meeting room	113	210	44%	30%
C. Private House, wholly or partly rented out to clubs	77	115	30%	16%
D. Office Building or Apartment House, rented in part to clubs	23	30	9%	4%
E. Public Meeting Hall, no liquor sold on premises (no license)	10	72	4%	11%
Total	255	702	100%	100%

* This list was prepared as follows: (1) From the Brooklyn Eagle Almanac were taken the addresses of all the labor-union meeting places in Manhattan, and the number of unions meeting at each were registered; (2) investigators canvassed two areas, noting all the meeting places observable. The areas were (*a*) the lower East Side, as bounded by East Broadway, Christie Street, Second Avenue, Fourth Street, Avenue B, Suffolk and Grand Streets; (*b*) the middle West Side, bounded by Twenty-third Street, Seventh Avenue, Forty-second Street and Tenth Avenue.

There are many buildings housing a club yet displaying no sign, so that a

One hundred and thirteen out of two hundred and fifty-five meeting places were in saloons! This is 44% of the total. Classes A and B together, including all public meeting places that sell liquor, constitute 57% of the total number of meeting places and 69% of the 702 clubs. The proprietor usually expects that drinks be bought as the equivalent for rent, or in addition to a nominal rent. On the other hand, Class E, public meeting halls where liquor is not sold, includes only 4% of the meeting places and 11% of the number of clubs. In Class C the majority of the clubs are political organizations, which rent one or more floors of a "private house." Liquor will usually be obtainable in such clubs, though not on public sale. This is less true of Class D, which includes many small clubs renting a room in an apartment—*i. e.*, a less wealthy and non-political form of type C. The clubs included in A and B represent the typical popular organization, and in this great group we see that the sale of liquor is one of the main links in the chain between the workingman's pocket and the satisfaction of his social demands. Class E is small, because halls where liquor is not sold are, or have been, relatively unprofitable.

The meeting rooms offered by social settlements, churches, the Y. M. C. A. and similar philanthropic agencies have not been included in these lists. These social centers can readily be found from published lists, and would all come into class E. It is generally true, however, that these places either draw few young men who are above the voting age—this is particularly true of the settlements—or few young voters who are of the working classes—this is typical of the Y. M. C. A. and the church. The mass of the young men of the city, over eighteen years of age, are reached by the commercial, not by the philanthropic provisions. The latter are important because they develop methods of dealing with a social problem, and attract a select few with whom these methods are tried out.

house-to-house canvass would be necessary to uncover the fact. Of *public* halls, however, the list is complete for the two districts, and probably omits few located elsewhere in Manhattan.

The following comparisons between the different districts may be of interest: On the lower East Side (south of 14th Street) were found altogether 94 meeting places and 407 clubs; on the East Side north of Fourteenth Street (east of Fifth Avenue) were 67 places and 172 clubs; on the West Side (south of Fourteenth Street), 27 places, 28 clubs; and on the West Side (north of Fourteenth Street), 67 and 95 respectively. The West Side place is typically a saloon housing one club; there are a very few large halls given over especially to purposes of assemblage. The East Side is much richer in the latter.

The Theatres

How many theatres are there in New York City? From the standpoint of the playwright and of the newspaper manager, the theatres include those buildings wherein are given plays, by living actors, with some elaboration of scenery and fittings. Such are Manhattan's immortal forty, known to the daily advertising columns. But for a city of four million people, the theatres are those places which satisfy the dramatic hunger of that people. Miner's and the Bijou Dream are to be included within the definition as well as Daly's or the Hippodrome. The social student must assume the democratic standpoint, and for his purposes study the dramatic situation without the blinkers of tradition.

To experience life without living it; to see, in representation, human realities or enjoyable human imaginations; that, be it of low order or high, is the dramatic hunger. It is universal; New York City provides some five hundred places to satisfy it. These places, classified and enumerated, appear in the following table:

TABLE 4.—THEATRES IN NEW YORK

Class of Theatre	Number in New York	Number in Manhattan
I. Moving-picture Shows (concert and common show licenses)	400*	201
IIa. Low-priced Theatres: (*a*) Vaudeville	40	27
IIb. Low-priced Theatres: (*b*) Burlesque	10	8
IIc. Low-priced Theatres: (*c*) those of mixed types, and those presenting standard plays; also the Hippodrome and Madison Square Garden	16	9
III. High-priced or So-called Standard Theatres†	31	30
Total	497	275

* Estimated.

† Brooklyn Academy of Music, the two Opera Houses of Manhattan, and Carnegie Hall are not included.

The kinds of performances offered by this host of theatres differ as the poles. The low-priced theatres, as above classified, (Groups IIa, IIb, IIc, of the table), are distinguished from the moving-picture shows (Group I), not only by their performances but because they are large places, licensed as theatres, the places classified as Group I having either the so-called concert license or the common-show license. The latter, in New York, are obtained from the Mayor's Bureau of Licenses, and for them the fee is $25 annually.* The so-called theatres, on the other hand, are licensed by the Police Department, for a fee of $500 a year, and they only can have a regular stage with movable scenery.

In the low-priced "theatres" may be found the following kinds of performances besides moving pictures and songs: (1) Standard plays. The West End Theatre or the Academy of Music, for instance, regularly present standard dramas at popular prices. (2) Melodrama—now nearly driven out by vaudeville so that no Manhattan theatres are now confined to it. (3) Burlesque, typified by Miner's theatres. (4) Finally, vaudeville. Of the standard theatres it is true in New York, as was noted last year by the Twentieth Century Club in Boston, that while some theatres seem to be particularly devoted to certain types of plays, such as musical comedies, there is no strict line drawn. Except in a few cases one cannot say that a particular theatre is the constant home of a single sort of drama.

A map of the location of these theatres in Manhattan would reveal at once their social relations. The high-priced theatres (Group III) are concentrated in a little bunch upon the crest of Broadway; the cheap theatres (Group II a, b, c) are a few of them within the same area, the larger number upon certain important streets, particularly One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, Forty-second, Twenty-third, Fourteenth, Grand, Eighth Avenue, Third Avenue and the Bowery. The moving-picture shows are found to some extent in the same localities as the cheap theatres, *and* everywhere else. That is, they are on minor avenues and on by-streets, and dot the whole city, particularly the east side, from Park Row to Harlem. In social terms, the moving-picture

*For the concert license the fee is $25 annually, but the Police Department is the issuing authority. Whatever class of license is held, the Building Code requires places seating over 300 persons to conform to elaborate structural requirements. There is no distinction in this respect between a capacity of 500 and 2000.

shows are in neighborhood centers, the low-priced theatres in district centers, the high-priced theatres in metropolitan centers of public concourse. This analysis according to location exactly correlates, as we shall see, with the types of people reached.

Moving-Picture Shows

The typical moving-picture theatre holds a common-show license, and has a seating capacity, therefore, of less than 300.* It is in many cases an ordinary store slightly transformed, provided with a rear exit, through the insistence of the Building and Fire Departments; long and narrow, therefore not capable of good ventilation without using expensive artificial aids. An increasing number of these shows, however, are being established in halls constructed for the purpose, or in buildings which have been partly re-constructed, so as to be adapted to an audience. The number of "store shows" has much diminished in the last few years, and their day is nigh an end. There is little reason for criticizing the moving-picture show because of danger from fire, particularly since the introduction of the "non-inflammable" or slow-burning film. Lack of cleanliness, and darkness during the performance *are* fair charges against the little shows. It is not generally known that moving-pictures can be presented in a room sufficiently lighted to read medium-sized print. This can be done if the lights are properly shaded, so as not to illuminate the screen or shine directly into the spectator's eyes. At a very slight expense any show can be thus lighted, and the evils alleged

* The 201 Manhattan shows holding licenses in the spring of 1910 were located as follows:

South of Fourteenth Street: East of and including Fourth Ave., Bowery, Catherine Street	59	30%
South of Fourteenth Street: West of the same line	12	6%
Fourteenth to Fifty-ninth Street: East of and including Fifth Avenue	19	10%
Fourteenth to Seventy-second Street: West of Fifth Avenue	22	11%
Seventy-second to One hundred and Sixth Street: West of Fifth Avenue	5	2%
One Hundred Sixth to One Hundred Fifty-fifth Street: West of Fifth Avenue	24	12%
Fifty-ninth to Ninety-sixth Street: East of and including Fifth Avenue	15	7%
Ninety-sixth Street to Harlem River: East of and including Fifth Avenue	32	16%
One Hundred Fifty-fifth Street and North: West of Fifth Avenue	13	6%
Total	201	100%

to occur during the darkness of the performance are rendered impossible. The incredulous can be taken by any well-informed person into a dozen shows which the proprietors have thus fitted with proper lights.

Whether judged by the number of places in existence or the number of persons reached, the moving-picture show is by far the dominant type of dramatic representation in New York. Wide observation of these shows has convinced every unprejudiced observer that the moving-pictures themselves provide in the main a wholesome form of recreation. The number of positively objectionable films displayed in New York constitutes a minute proportion; the number of relatively undesirable films only a small proportion. This is true even when the large percentage of children attendant upon these shows is considered. The "illustrated songs"* are musically crude, and are set to one of three spiritual keys: the mawkishly sentimental, the patriotic, and the suggestively immoral. The last is rare; the first most frequent. Yet no warm-blooded person can watch the rapt attention of an audience during the song, and hear the voices swell as children and adults join spontaneously in the chorus, without feeling how deeply human is the appeal of the music, and how clearly it meets a sound popular need. Some breaks amid the flow of motion pictures are necessary, and almost every show thus brings in the illustrated song. A considerable proportion add also vaudeville, by far the least desirable element of the performance. The observer may thus pass by insensible stages from the moving-picture show *per se* to the low-priced theatre in which vaudeville is usually the main and moving-pictures are the subordinate attraction.

Theatrical Seating Capacities

The places holding theatrical licenses in Manhattan, classified as the popular-priced and the high-priced theatres, are listed, respectively, in the two following tables (5 and 6). The seating capacity of each theatre has been obtained either from published plans (not always accurate or up-to-date) or through inquiry of the management.

For one performance all 'round, the seating capacity of the

* In this form of art, colored stereopticon views, more or less connected with the subject of the music, are thrown upon the screen while the singer is in action.

TABLE 5.—LOW-PRICED THEATRES.—MANHATTAN.
CAPACITY AND PRICES

Name of Theatre	Orchestra		Top Gallery		Total Capacity	Number Performances Weekly	Total Weekly Capacity
	Price	Capacity	Price	Capacity			
1. Alhambra	$1.00	572	.25	500	1,566	14	21,924
2. American	1.00	685	.25	500	2,150	14	30,100
3. Bronx	.75	756	.25	404	1,784	14	29,976
4. Circle	.25	700	.10	300	1,000	30	30,000
5. Columbia	1.00	500	.25	500	1,488	12	17,856
6. Dewey	.25	800	.10	400	1,600	30	48,000
7. Eden Musee	.50	400	..	..	400	30	12,000
8. Fourteenth Street	1.50	570	.25	596	1,500	c 21	31,500
9. Gotham	.05	600	.10	550	1,650	30	49,500
10. Grand	.25	550	.10	600	1,888	30	56,640
11. Grand Opera House	1.00	800	.25	450	2,155	8	17,240
12. Harlem Opera House	.10	590	.05	445	1,600	30	48,000
13. Hippodrome	1.50	1,202	.25	1,468	4,678	12	56,136
14. Hurtig and Seaman's	1.00	700	.35	650	1,350	14	18,900
15. Kalich	1.00	700	.75	550	2,000	8	16,000
16. Keith and Proctor's (Union Sq.)	.20	500	.10	300	1,200	30	36,000
17. Keith and Proctor's (58th St.)	.20	700	.10	560	2,000	c 30	60,000
18. Keith and Proctor's (23rd St.)	.20	500	.10	300	1,551	c 30	46,530
19. Keith and Proctor's (5th Ave.)	1.00	509	.25	296	1,160	c 14	16,240
20. Keith and Proctor's (125th St.)	.20	620	.10	500	1,800	c 30	54,000
21. Lincoln Square	.25	655	.10	397	1,459	30	43,770
22. London	1.00	750	.25	350	1,800	14	25,200
23. Majestic	.25	592	.10	652	1,704	30	51,120
24. Manhattan	.25	700	.10	400	1,100	21	23,100
25. Miner's Bowery	1.00	500	.15	250	1,000	12	12,000
26. Miner's 8th Ave.	1.00	350	.15	300	1,000	12	12,000
27. Murray Hill	1.00	500	.15	300	1,400	14	19,600
28. New Star	.10	700	.05	560	2,000	30	60,000
29. Olympic	1.25	700	.25	650	1,350	14	18,900
30. Plaza	1.00	450	.25	300	1,200	14	16,800
31. Thalia	1.00	590	.15	450	1,600	8	12,800
32. Third Ave.	.25	566	.10	1,000	1,700	30	51,000
33. Victoria	1.00	700	.25–.50	650	1,350	14	18,900
34. West End	1.00	697	.25	400	1,925	8	15,400
35. Yorkville	.25	650	.15	300	1,400	30	42,000
36. People's	1.00	700	.15	500	1,950	8	15,600
37. Colonial	1.00	664	.25	300	1,500	12	18,000
38. Huber's	.10	507	.10	200	690	30	20,700
39. Chinese Theatre	.25	400	..	..	400	6	2,400
40. Academy of Music	2.00	834	.25	550	2,700	8	21,600
Total	..	25,152	..	18,468	63,048	776	1,107,432
Average per Theatre	..	*629*	..	*462*	*1,599*	*19*	*29,936*

TABLE 6.—HIGH-PRICED THEATRES.—MANHATTAN CAPACITY AND PRICES

	Orchestra Capacity Price $2.00	Top Gallery Capacity Price 50 cts.	Total Capacity	No. Weekly Performances	Total Weekly Capacity	Total Gallery Capacity	Total Matinee Capacity
1. Empire	485	312	1,100	8	8,800	2,496	2,200
2. Lyceum	384	252	958	7	6,706	1,764	958
3. Garrick	344	218	910	8	7,280	1,744	1,820
4. Criterion	430	389	1,110	8	8,880	3,112	2,220
5. Knickerbocker	560	367	1,350	7	9,450	2,569	1,350
6. Liberty	528	321	1,200	8	9,600	2,568	2,400
7. Gaiety	512	205	802	8	6,416	1,640	1,604
8. New Amsterdam	675	500	1,675	8	13,400	4,000	3,350
9. Hackett	500	210	841	8	6,728	1,680	1,682
10. Hudson	502	232	995	8	7,960	1,856	1,990
11. Lyric	576	403	1,407	8	11,256	3,224	2,814
12. Comedy	414	134	550	8	4,400	1,072	1,110
13. Maxine Elliott	370	250	850	8	6,800	2,000	1,700
14. Herald Square	402	440	1,050	8	8,400	3,520	2,100
15. Daly's	462	300	1,150	8	9,200	2,400	2,300
16. Casino	513	291	1,030	7	7,210	2,037	1,030
17. Belasco	450	300	950	8	7,600	2,400	1,900
18. Stuyvesant	430	240	990	8	7,920	1,920	1,980
19. Wallack's	594	350	1,274	8	10,192	2,800	2,548
20. Globe	600	400	1,500	8	12,000	3,200	3,000
21. Bijou	375	188	950	8	7,600	1,504	1,900
22. New	544	366	2,318	8	18,544	2,928	4,636
23. Savoy	396	235	841	8	6,728	1,880	1,682
24. Astor	588	262	1,147	8	9,176	2,096	2,294
25. Garden	518	300	1,110	8	8,880	2,400	2,220
26. Irving Pl. (Ger.)	($1.50)506	(35c)278	1,096	7	7,672	1,946	1,096
27. Weber's	340	210	900	7	6,300	1,470	900
28. Broadway	687	496	1,700	8	13,600	3,968	3,400
29. New York	1,074	520	1,900	8	15,200	4,160	3,800
30. Berkeley*	244	..	502	irregular	..	..	..
Totals	14,759	8,969	33,664	227	263,898	70,354	61,994
Average per Theatre	*509*	*309*	*1,161*	*7.8*	*9,100*	*2,426*	*2,138*

popular theatres is twice that of the high-priced. But the true comparison, from the social standpoint, is that of weekly capacity. The standard theatres give seven or eight performances per week; the cheap theatres, which usually run on Sunday, from two to four times as many. The weekly capacity of the latter group is more than quadruple the former. This figure is an index to relative social significance. A comparison of the "average per theatre" is very suggestive.

People, however, mean more than chairs, and careful estimates

* Not included in totals.

have been made of the attendance at each of the three great types of theatres. In the case of the moving-picture shows the number of daily performances runs from four to ten. At the termination of each performance the audience is turned from the seats and a new batch, many of whom had been standing in the rear for some minutes preceding, are allowed to come forward and sit down. By observation, and by conferences with showmen, the average figure for the number of daily performances has been set at 4.5. This, multiplied by one-half the seating capacity, gives the attendance figures in the table. The moving-picture show must run to at least half its capacity to continue in business. Of course many of the evening performances are usually crowded, far more than three hundred persons being present, as the space back of the last row of seats is filled with standees. This extra crowd, however, only compensates the showman for slim attendance during the earlier hours of the day.

In the case of the theatres it has been estimated that a house must run to from $\frac{6}{16}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ of its capacity in order to continue doing business, and the attendance figures are made by multiplying the seating capacity by .62, taken as an average figure for this ratio.

Money Spent at Theatres

While these figures of attendance are believed to be very close to the truth, the *money spent by the New York theatre-goers* cannot be so closely estimated. The standard price at the moving-picture show is coming to be 10 cents for adults and 5 cents for children. The number of straight five-cent shows is rapidly diminishing. Seven cents has been taken as the average price for a moving-picture show; 45 cents for the popular priced theatre, and $1.20 for the standard theatre. The tidy sums which New Yorkers drop into the pockets of the theatre managers thus appear in the right hand columns of table 7.

Who are these audiences thus lavish of their treasure? Habituees of the Empire and the New Theatre are not those who throng Miner's, the Grand Opera House or the Olympic! A very careful study has been made by trained observers of the audiences at a representative number of theatres. Every low-priced theatre in Manhattan has been visited at least once, some of them many times, both afternoons and evenings. A number of visits have been paid to the high-priced theatres for this special

TABLE 7.—WEEKLY ATTENDANCE AND MONEY SPENT IN THEATRES OF MANHATTAN

Type of Theatre	Average Weekly Attendance (Estimated)	Average Price of Seats	Average Amount Spent Weekly	Estimated Number Children Attending Weekly	Average Price Paid by Children	Average Amount Spent by Children Weekly
Moving-picture shows (concert and common-show license)	900,000	.07	$63,000.00	225,000	.05	$11,250.00
Low-priced Theatres: including those frequently presenting standard plays, at popular prices; also the vaudeville and burlesque houses .	701,750	.45	315,787.50	136,596	.25	34,149.00
High-priced or so-called Standard Theatres	158,338	1.20	190,005.60	7,919	1.20	9,502.80
Totals . . .	1,760,088	..	$568,793.10	369,515	..	$54,901.80

purpose, particularly during the matinees; and similarly with the moving-picture shows. A sample of the report card used by the investigators will indicate just what was sought.*

Date

Theatre **Hour**

Prices **Capacity** **Orch.** **Gal.**

Attendance **Order**

Exits **Construction**

Sanitation **Ventilation**

Ushers

Audience S. G. (Social Groups)

% **M** (Males) **F** (Females) **B** (Boys) **G** (Girls) **Ch** (Children)

Children under 16 (actual number)

Performance:

Art Grade **Social Grade**

Candy **Drinks** **Smoking**

Posters

Remarks (over)

Report by:

* Some of the items on the card require explanation: The *social groups* considered were three—working-class, business or clerical class, and leisure-class. Costume and demeanor enabled the observer, after a little experience,

Thus the aim was substantially to answer three questions: What ages do the theatres draw? What classes of society, and what proportion of each? What kind of performance do these people witness?

In few words, the weekly audiences at the low-priced theatres and moving-picture shows of Manhattan include, during the winter season, an average of about half a million children under sixteen, constituting twenty to twenty-five per cent. of the total attendance. The boys outnumber the girls two to one, and, among the adults, the men exceed the women by about the same ratio. Contrasting these figures with those of the high-priced theatres, we find that the weekly attendance of children, at the latter, is about 8000, or only five per cent. of the total. At the low-priced theatres the majority of the audiences are of the working class, a minority of the clerical, and a minute remainder is made up of vagrants and leisure-class persons. At the high-priced theatres the leisure class appears to be in a slight majority over the business or clerical, the working class figuring in at about two per cent. Upon the mass of the people of New York, therefore, the direct influence of the high-priced or so-called "standard" theatre is relatively *nil*.

These general statements are made specific in the following table, which furthermore makes a classification by type of theatre,

to place his people quite readily. As to the "*Art Grade*" of a performance, judgment was rendered simple because only three divisions were used: high-class, mediocre and crude; and this was made simple because the purpose was merely to draw a few broad lines, not fine conclusions. The "*social*," or, as some call it, the "*moral*" *grade of a performance* is a much more difficult matter. The five grades, each designated by an arbitrary letter, for convenience sake, are:

P	positive developmental value
Q	not objectionable
R	lowering
S	demoralizing
T	vicious, obscene.

The standard thus assumed was not merely an intellectual nor primarily an artistic one. Its basis was threefold: (1) Wholesome amusement, whether of small or great intellectual content, has a positive human value. (2) Artistic quality is relative to the audience witnessing the performance. A marionette show has high value to many of the Italians attending it, while to the cultivated spectator it is chiefly horseplay. (3) Moral value is to be taken as relative, not to an audience, but to the *best ideals* of the social groups chiefly composing that audience. A melodrama may preach an important moral lesson at the New Star Theatre, while the same message would be too elementary to serve, even to interest, the usual patrons of the Empire.

TABLE 8.—THEATRE AUDIENCES IN MANHATTAN

Class of Show	Number of Theatres in Manhattan	Age Groups Represented						Social Classes Represented					
		Number Children under Sixteen Attending Weekly	Percentage of Total Attendance of Children under Sixteen	Percentage of Boys under Eighteen	Percentage of Girls under Eighteen	Percentage of Men	Percentage of Women	Name of Dominant Class	Percentage which this Class Constitutes	Minor Classes			
										Name	Percentage	Name	Percentage
Burlesque	7	500	24%	19%	5%	62%	14%	Clerical	54%	Working	45%	Gamin	1%
Vaudeville (including 19 large moving-picture houses with theatrical licenses)	36	256,000	19%	12%	7%	52%	29%	Working	60%	Clerical	36%	Vagrant, Gamin, Leisured	4%
Moving-picture Shows (common-show and concert licenses)	201	225,000	25%	20%	13%	30%	20%	Working	72%	Clerical	25%	Leisured	3%
Totals for Low-priced Theatres	244	481,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
High-priced Theatres (rough estimates)	30	8,000	5%	..	..	50%	45%	Leisured	51%	Clerical or business	47%	Working	2%

so as to prepare the way for the answer to the third question: the quality of performance.

It must be understood that the figures in this table are derived from observations made upon one or often several audiences at every low-priced theatre in Manhattan, and at a considerable proportion of the moving-picture places. The bulk of the latter are so much alike that there can be no question as to the representative character of those inspected. The visitors who conducted this study were a small number of persons who consulted frequently during the earlier part of the investigation, and who worked together until they had a common point of view. Thereafter they usually made their visits separately. The classification was more difficult in appearance than in reality, and the judgments of different observers who had graded the same performance independently, presented remarkably few divergencies. While any study of this kind involves a considerable psychological factor, it is believed that the results represent as good judgment as it is reasonably possible to obtain upon the social make-up of the theatrical audiences of Manhattan, and the character of performances offered them.

"Moral Grades"

Of the burlesque performances, five-sixths are rated as Demoralizing (S) and one-sixth as Lowering (R). Of the vaudeville, three-fourths grade as Not Objectionable (Q), one-fifth as Lowering (R) and five per cent. as of Positive Value (P). With these may be contrasted the moving pictures: half of the films seen are rated as of Positive Value (P) and half as Not Objectionable (Q). This comparison throws the Motion Picture into relief over against the Vaudeville. Where each constitutes part of the performance, as at all of the large and some of the small moving-picture shows, the net effect of the whole upon the audience cannot be as desirable as the films alone would make it.

The Burlesque

Considering these data, the burlesque appears to be, and undoubtedly is, the most undesirable type of performance given in the city. It is true that popular burlesque shows rarely if ever sink to the level of immorality or suggestiveness attained by occasional plays at high-priced theatres. But taken as a type, the popular burlesque is artistically crude, and intellectually

stupid; its appeal to its audience is based on one or two sentiments: delight in physical prowess, or the sex-interest. The athlete, the sleight-of-hand man, the performing dog, illustrate the first basis of appeal—the only healthy foundation, in fact, upon which the burlesque lies. The sex-interest, baldly appealed to by the salacious joke, the leg-show, the suggestive situation, is, however, its main prop. It is significant that the seven burlesque theatres of Manhattan are not confined to any one section of the city; and that their audiences contain a relatively small proportion of the younger children, but an unpleasantly large one of boys between sixteen and eighteen, plus a still larger contingent of young men. The fact that women constitute less than a fifth of the average burlesque audience (see Table 8) is very significant as to the nature of its appeal. At the vaudeville and moving-picture houses, women form on the average forty per cent. of the audiences and at many times are in the majority.

Vaudeville

As to *Vaudeville*, its most striking characteristic is simple stupidity. Three-fourths of the performances are classed as "not objectionable." No person of moderate intelligence can attend a dozen vaudeville performances without being disgusted at their vapidity. The humorous, sentimental, acrobatic and musical "acts" pass in succession like the grinning figures at a shooting gallery. Some are wholly crude, a few decidedly clever: the majority are trite and empty; and as a whole there is no imagination behind their creation, and still less in the manager's mind to enforce their harmonious combination. Many a visitor was impressed by the fact that the teeming vaudeville audiences often appeared *bored*. Yet judged by attendance, and by rapidity of growth, the vaudeville is the most successful type of performance in New York. The truth is that "the people must be amused;" more exactly, they must spend their leisure time in some recreative way, for which neither home nor public building offer opportunity. The popular-priced theatre is a way which offers much for the money—and very little money. Vaudeville is an expedient of the theatrical manager for providing a cheap performance cheaply. It may be described as a succession of acts whose stimulus depends usually upon an artificial rather than upon a natural, human, and developing interest; these acts having no necessary and as a rule no actual connection. This

description, be it noted, also fits the experience afforded by a street-car ride, or by any active day in a crowded city. Vaudeville is adapted in many ways to cosmopolitan audiences, whose members have few common sentiments, or common ideas, to which a regular drama will make a universal appeal. Like the succession of city occurrences, vaudeville is stimulating but disintegrating; both excite and claim the mind of the beholder, and interest him transiently; but they do not recuperate or develop him; in the long run, they will cease to amuse him. Both represent hyper-stimulus, and lead to neurasthenia, the antithesis of rest or Nirvana.

The Moving-picture Show and the People

Economic considerations have forced vaudeville upon us, extended it among the high-priced as well as among the people's theatres, and infused it amid the programme of the moving-picture shows. More's the pity! The motion-picture was an invention of immense importance to the dramatic recreation of the people. It placed in the hands of the dramatic manager a resource of unimagined economy, and of manifold power to portray the most varied subjects. With the gradual perfecting of the motion-picture mechanical technique, during the nineties of the last century, moving-picture shows began to develop, and in New York City there was a period during which they are said to have doubled in number every year for five or six years. In 1907, when the business was first "discovered" by social students, the number of shows was not much if any less than it is today, 400 in the Greater City.* The proportion of shows of large seating capacity is, however, much greater today than three years ago. A decade's development appears to have demonstrated that a theatre of large size cannot be continuously filled by the use of moving-pictures alone. The develcpment has been such that the vaudeville theatres, feeling the competition of the film, interspersed moving-pictures between the vaudeville acts; while, on the other hand, the moving-picture shows proper, or many of them, have taken vaudeville as part of their program.

* The first investigation of the cheap popular theatres, in particular of the moving-picture shows, was begun in December, 1907, by a Committee of which the writer was Chairman, organized as a sub-committee of The Peoples' Institute. A year's work by this Committee led to the formation of the National Board of Motion-picture Censorship, organized and still sustained under the auspices of the same institution.

When the smaller moving-picture places (those with common-show licenses, seating under 300) attempt vaudeville, this can only be of the cheapest, and consequently, while rarely objectionable from the moral standpoint, extremely crude. Even to the most uncultivated audience it can possess little more value than that of breaking the run of motion-pictures, which, if too long continued, becomes a strain. The illustrated songs, already mentioned as universal at all moving-picture places, contribute in the main a positive element to the entertainment. But the motion-pictures themselves, studied and (therefore) enjoyed with an open mind, offer a really important and humanizing contribution. Two years ago, at the time when the formation of the Board of Motion Picture Censorship was under consideration, a party was formed to visit Manhattan shows for an evening, the group including men well known in New York's educational and dramatic circles. The uptown conception of a moving-picture show was then, as to a less extent it still is, a place of darkness, physical and moral. These men came to be shocked; but, after the first disappointment was over, they remained to enjoy.

Now and then, though in proportion extremely few, there are motion-pictures which are morally objectionable. The Board of Censorship has brought about much improvement during the past year and a half. Something still remains to be done: yet it would be unfair to the motion-picture to condemn more than a minute proportion. No section of the work has received more careful attention from as large a number of observers, and their agreement came to be essentially complete. The motion-picture is now offering to the public a more positively desirable form of entertainment than can be found at any other type of indoor commercial recreation provided at popular prices, and at most types of the high-priced as well.

In this connection, the same school children of whom questions were asked as to dancing were also interrogated as to their attendance upon moving-picture shows. Of 1,140 children (aged mostly eleven to fourteen), 713, or 62%, declared that they were accustomed to go to moving-picture shows once a week or oftener. Boys go more often than girls, 502 out of 745 boys (68%), and 211 out of 395 girls (54%) declaring this frequency of attendance. A truly astonishing proportion, 16% of the total, avow that they go daily. As an influence over the formative

mind, these figures evidence that the moving-picture show is certainly to be reckoned with!

As a comparison, the same question was asked the girls in two expensive private schools—fifty-nine children in all. Of these, 44, or 74%, declared they never went to moving-picture shows, 10% went "rarely," and half of the remainder "often." The latter were mostly the girls under twelve, few of the older girls declaring attendance. All these children, however, went to high-priced theatres, the elder girls frequently. For the children of the people, however, the moving-picture show *is* the theatre.

National Theatres

A pathetic little contrast, with these places that draw their hundreds of thousands, is furnished by the declining *national* theatres of several of our immigrant races. Jew and Italian, Bohemian and Chinese have each had, or have, their playhouses where the foreign tongue, instead of English, is the stage language, and at which the plays keep alive the sense of national or race unity.* The vigorous Bohemian colony is making earnest effort to preserve in a worthy way the elements of its traditions, and the "National Hall" on East 73d Street, with its school, café, meeting rooms and moving-picture show, is the most distinctive and interesting place of its kind in the city. The Jewish East Side has developed its distinctive drama, its playwrights, its actors; products of its conditions and reflectors of its spiritual life. Alas! vaudeville (to a less extent the moving-picture) in recent years has almost driven the serious Yiddish drama from the boards. Three years ago one might enjoy three Italian Marionette-shows, two downtown, the third in the uptown Italian quarter. Nothing more replete with local color, more naively mediæval, or more sincere as an expression of folk-life, could be seen in New York. Now only one remains, and it is time to make haste to see it. The Chinese Theatre of Doyers Street, that Bedlam of smoke and sing-song, costumes and cacophonies, was finally swallowed by the ogre of vaudeville.*

* The German theatres are not included in the above, because the plays given in German, and the one theatre maintained exclusively for such plays, have a literary significance, a national one only occasionally and secondarily. Other groups in New York utilize the drama, more or less regularly, as a means of communal expression. One notable example was the rendition of Sophocles' "Ajax" by the Greeks, a few years ago (under American stimulus and management). The Armenian colony, of some 8,000 souls, is accustomed to give annually, at one of their historic holidays, a play whose theme, language and actors are national and sometimes home-made.

The causes for this failure of the national theatres are many. The Juggernaut of commercialism sweeps the road, but there are reasons why it has the right of way. The children of immigrants grow up in but slight touch with the traditions of their parents, and America has not as yet realized how much might be contributed to its life by those traditions, nor made more than a beginning in preserving them through folk-tales in the schools, folk-songs, folk-dances, and civic festivals. A national drama in a national language will repel rather than attract the adolescent whom a too rapid Americanization has sundered from the interests of his fathers. An important practical reason is the rapid shifting-about of New York's population, which makes it impossible for a play-house to maintain an established neighborhood clientele. The excitement of the city, the mental disintegration induced by the kaleidoscopic stimuli of New York life, are unfavorable to the existence of *any* purposeful stage. Finally, the licensing ordinances of the city have made the way of the small show difficult. This has borne particularly hard on the marionette. Thus, taken all together, the "national theatres" have not been favorably situated to meet the inevitable competition of the moving-picture and the vaudeville. A number of literary reasons have been advanced for the decline of the Jewish stage, but the social and economic causes are more fundamental.

The "Standard" Theatres

The *high-priced* or so-called "*standard*" *theatre*, presenting "regular" plays, advertising in the daily papers and providing support for the dramatic critics, draws, as we have seen, only a small fraction of the total theatre-going population of New York. The estimated weekly attendance at all the Manhattan theatres is (Table 7) 1,760,000, of which the "standard" houses get 158,000, or 9%. Of the children's attendance they get only 2%—8,000 out of a total of 370,000. Even if we exclude the moving-picture shows, and consider only the houses holding theatrical licenses, the "standard" theatres are drawing but 18% of the estimated total attendance of 860,000 weekly, and but 5½% of the attendance of children.

To arrive at some knowledge of the classes of people making up these audiences, an intensive study was made of the people

*Since this investigation was made, it has been closed.

in the top galleries of fourteen high-priced theatres at Wednesday and Saturday matinees during the early spring of 1910. It is, of course, to be expected that the proportion both of children and of working classes would be at its maximum in the gallery, and (so far as the young people are concerned) also at matinees. At these fourteen performances, 83 children judged to be under sixteen, were counted in the galleries.* This is about 2% of the total attendance. Of young persons estimable as between sixteen and eighteen, the proportion is larger, girls under eighteen being judged to constitute 9% of the total audiences and boys under the same age, 1½%. The leisured class is estimated to have contributed 51%, the business class 45% and the working class 2%, to the total.

The segment of the city's population which supports the "standard" theatres includes several widely different types of people, though it is not possible to estimate numerically the relative proportions of these types. There are the fashionable, the literary, and the professional sets. There is the body of middle-class persons of moderate means, who cannot go frequently to high-priced houses and rarely to the high-priced seats, but who take the theatre frankly and seriously as a means of enjoyment and education for themselves and their elder children. By contrast follows the "sporty" set, numerically not large, but important to theatrical managers because it spends money freely. The theatre provides the sporty man with a place whither to take women, see women, and seek prey; and fills in his life the same part that the dance hall does for his brother without a dress suit. Finally, we may name the "out-of-towners," the host of bourgeois visitors to the metropolis. This class is of particular significance. A family in New York for only a short stay will attend the theatre three or four times as often as will the average resident of the same financial status, during the same period of time. A considerable proportion of these visitors are unattached men who spend money freely. All such visitors are in holiday mood; they are here for a good time. Whatever their educational, artistic and moral standards when in their own residences, the visitor's characteristic attitude while here is, "Let me tonight laugh and be merry, for tomorrow I go home." Thus the farce, the flitting

* Considerable conference with persons in touch with the Broadway theatres confirms the estimate of Table 8, that an average figure for the attendance of children is five per cent.

comedy, above all the musical comedy, are what the "out-of-towner" wants. These meet the psychologic situation of the blasé city dweller and his visiting friends for much the same reasons as were suggested for the prevalence of popular vaudeville. The marked influence of the "out-of-towner" upon the high-priced theatres is also suggested by the concentration of all these theatres about the hotel district where New York's well-to-do transient thousands are mostly sheltered, and by the well-organized system of selling tickets specially to hotel guests without troubling them to go to the box offices. It has evidently paid to organize this rather elaborate system for this special group of theatre-goers.

That the theatrical manager selects his repertoire to meet the demand from the most profitable sections of this complex body of patrons, is indicated by the following table, showing the types of performances given last season at the "standard theatres" of Manhattan:

TABLE 9.—KINDS OF PERFORMANCES AT HIGH-PRICED THEATRES OF MANHATTAN. SEASON 1909–10

Type of Presentation	Number Plays During Season	Per cent. of Total Plays	Number Performances of these Plays	Per cent. of Total Performances	Average Run (Number of Performances)
Musical Comedy	28	23	1805	29	64
Drama	33	27½	1728	28	52
Comedy	22	18	1009	16	46
Farce	11	9	804	13	73
Melodrama	16	14	664	11⅓	41
Shakespearean Tragedy and Comedy	9	7½	88	1⅓	10
Vaudeville	2	1	80	1	40
Totals	121	100%	6178	100%	51

Musical Comedy leads in the number of performances, the best single index to popularity as estimated by the manager. The Farces, though few in number, show the longest average run. These two groups include 32% of the plays and 42% of all performances. Shakespeare's dramas included 7½% of the plays and 1⅓% of the performances!

To appraise the kind of influence exerted by these plays, three persons closely in touch with the theatre, but not professionally

connected with the acting profession or with a newspaper, were asked to grade, according to social ("moral") influence the full list of last seasons's plays. Each of the trio had personally seen a large proportion of them. The grades employed were the same as those used in the study of the low-priced theatres. The resultant table is based upon these estimates. The disagreements were so few as to be negligible, although no person saw the others' lists.

TABLE 10.—TYPES OF INFLUENCE EXERTED BY PLAYS AT HIGH-PRICED THEATRES IN MANHATTAN. SEASON 1909–10

Type of Presentation	Total Number of Plays Graded	Number of Plays Offering Type of Influence:				
		P	Q	R	S	T
Musical Comedy	24	..	22	1	..	1
Drama	31	20	7	3	..	1
Comedy	22	9	10	2	1	..
Farce	11	..	7	1	1	2
Melodrama	15	3	7	4	1	..
Vaudeville	1	..	1	..	..	..
Totals	104	32	54	11	3	4
Percentages	100%	30%	53½%	11%	2%	3½%

An interesting comparison may be made at this point with the popular vaudeville. Grades P and Q include in the above table 83½%; grades R, S and T, 16½%. The corresponding figures of the vaudeville at the low-priced theatres are 79% and 21%, the difference being within the probable limits of error. The table bears out the statement that the high-priced theatre rises higher, and also sinks lower, than the popular-priced. It is interesting that the musical comedies are almost all classed under the cream-colored label, "Q," only two of the twenty-four falling down under the orange and red-colored ones. The musical comedy, in fact, is rarely positive enough to be definitely anything, even wicked. That it is positively worth while, as a continuous amusement, or healthful when taken in long doses as such, would seem very doubtful.

The two following tables will have considerable interest, as comparing length of run with moral grade.

TABLE 11.—SUCCESSFUL PLAYS

PLAYS AT STANDARD THEATRES WHICH RAN FOR OVER 100 PERFORMANCES, AND HOW THEY WERE GRADED. SEASON 1909–10, MANHATTAN

NAME OF PLAY	TYPE OF PLAY	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	GRADE ESTIMATED BY CRITIC "A"	GRADE ESTIMATED BY CRITIC "B"
Chocolate Soldier	Musical Comedy	240	Q	Q
Dollar Princess	Musical Comedy	240	Q	Q
Fortune Hunter	Comedy	240	P	P
Passing of the Third Floor Back	Drama	208	P	P
Is Matrimony a Failure?	Farce	176	Q	Q
Seven Days	Farce	168	Q or R	Q
The Climax	Drama	144	P	P
The Melting Pot	Drama	136	R	P
The Lottery Man	Comedy	136	Q	not grd.
Midnight Sons	Musical Comedy	136	Q	Q
Man Who Owns Broadway	Musical Comedy	128	Q	Q
Arsene Lupin	Melodrama	120	R	Q
The City	Drama	120	P	P
The Lily	Drama	120	R	Q(?)
The Easiest Way	Drama	120	*PR?	Q(?)
The Bachelor's Baby	Farce	112	Q	Q
Jolly Bachelors	Musical Comedy	104	Q	Q
Awakening of Helena Ritchie	Drama	104	P	Q

* This play created much discussion as to its grading. Critic "A" graded it as P or R, "depending on the point of view."

TABLE 12.—SHORT-RUN PLAYS

LIST OF PLAYS WHICH RAN EIGHT PERFORMANCES OR LESS, SEASON 1909–10, MANHATTAN.

NAME OF PLAY	TYPE OF PLAY	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	GRADE ESTIMATED BY CRITIC "A" †
Liz the Mother	Drama	1	R
Taming of the Shrew	Shakesperian Comedy	2	nt grded.
Winter's Tale	Shakesperian Comedy	3	P
Dr. Faustus	Drama	3	Q
Brand	Drama	3	P
Macbeth	Shakesperian Tragedy	4	nt grded.
Cottage in the Air	Comedy	4	Q
Hamlet	Shakesperian Tragedy	5	nt grded.
Wonder Tales	Drama	5	P
Sister Beatrice	Drama	6	P
Everyman	Drama	6	P
Palace of Truth	Comedy	7	P
The Whirlwind	Drama	8	T
Paid in Full	Drama	8	P
Pillars of Society	Drama	8	P
The Debtors	Drama	8	Q
The Master Key	Drama	8	Q
Idols	Melodrama	8	R
Traveling Salesman	Comedy	8	Q
The Yankee Prince	Musical Comedy	8	Q
The Boys and Betty	Musical Comedy	8	Q
The Three Twins	Musical Comedy	8	Q
Life of the World	Musical Comedy	8	Q

† Only one set of grades is given because most of these short-run plays had been seen by only one "critic."

These tables speak fairly well for the response of that section of the public which goes to the high-priced theatres. The list of plays which had over one hundred renditions include some of the best offered in New York last winter. It also includes several entirely worthless ones. At the other end of the scale, the plays which did not succeed in running beyond their first week may be described either as plain failures or as too good. The tables also make clear that the worst plays do not hold out longest. Of the seven plays which our examiners graded as "S" or "T" the following list shows that the longest run was eight weeks, and the average less than four: "The Whirlwind" (drama, one week), "The Blue Mouse" (farce, two weeks), "Miss Innocence" (musical comedy, two), "The Only Law" (melodrama, three), "The Affinity" (comedy, four), "The Girl He Could Not Leave Behind" (farce, four), "When There's a Will" (farce, eight weeks).

While we may thus be glad that many of the naughty plays go so swiftly to the bow-wows, it is matter for regret that so many of the successful plays are such mere expressions of the vaudeville psychology. With a city so cosmopolitan, a transient population so large, and a level of prices so high, perhaps nothing better can be expected. The body of out-of-towners, "sports," and uncritical chance seekers after entertainment, is so large that any piece of rhythmic girly froth, well launched, can run for some time without exhausting this clientele. The pity is that this type of play draws hosts of young people who don't want serious drama but wish simply to be amused. Sheridan's "Rivals" would do the business for an unspoiled mind. But the vaudevillized mentality of the out-of-towner and hotel-dweller sets a standard above which the theatrical manager cannot pass without endangering his hold upon this sort of patronage. The young man and woman must attend what suits this dominating element of the manager's clientele, or else lack amusement. Once habituated to the lower standard, the higher one of which these young persons were potentially capable becomes scarcely attainable. Therefore the pity! these adolescents must absorb the false standards, the cheap art, the pervasive atmosphere of eroticism, which characterize the musical comedy and the farce. The problem play whose theme is frankly sexual, and whose characters are openly immoral, is less pernicious in its influence, because it reaches few save of an already sophisticated group, while the musical comedy or the burlesque, which arouses no

thought, but which exudes an atmosphere of loose living and erotic suggestion, draws throngs of impressionable young people. Compared with the "masses," the youth of well-to-do parents have the advantage of being able to enjoy the best music at opera and concerts, and, as for the theatre, of seeing the occasional productions of positively worthy and rightly entertaining plays. They can experience higher levels of drama, especially from the artistic standpoint, than is possible for their less fortunate brothers and sisters who can rarely afford even fifty cents a seat. On the other hand, the well-to-do young person who goes *often* to the theatre does not have as high an average level of positive opportunity before him as is offered his poorer brethren in the moving-picture show!

In this connection there is a suggestive comparison with the three theatres in Manhattan which are accustomed to reproduce, at popular prices, plays which have been on the boards of the "standard" theatres. These plays are usually successes of the past year, older revivals, or Shakesperian dramas. The number of different plays presented at these three theatres was 64, over half the number at all the "standard" houses. The explanation is that at these popular-priced theatres the runs are usually short. Of the 64, there are 19 musical comedies, 12 comedies, 4 farces, 6 melodramas, 3 vaudevilles, 11 dramas and 9 Shakesperian plays. The proportions are not very different from the high-priced stage, with the striking exception that Shakespeare's plays constitute twice the proportion, of the total number of plays given (9 out of 64), that they do at the high-priced theatres. Nine different Shakesperian plays could have been seen last year at these three theatres—as many as at all the "standard forty." While their productions are too frequently mediocre from the artistic standpoint, and occasionally include a thoroughly undesirable play, these three "popular-priced houses" are doing on the whole a worthy and important work.

Viewed from the social standpoint, the high-priced theatre may in general be appraised as follows: Only a small fraction of the population are reached by these theatres, and this fraction includes relatively few impressionable ages and elements. It is true that the influence of the high-priced theatres extends much beyond those who actually attend them; for the "standard" theatre sets models of imitation for all other classes of dramatic presentation—models, however, which are by no means slavishly

followed. In the same way, standards are set of staging and acting. On the high-priced stage, the proportion of positively undesirable plays is small; but equally few, and less successful in attaining long runs, are those of positive value. Particularly noticeable is the minute percentage of plays which are especially adapted or attractive to children. In a word, the high-priced theatre is not offering to the well-to-do residents of New York what that clientele has a right to demand. Commercial profit, naturally, has been the shaping force in the theatrical development; classes of society, artificial and largely non-residential, have seemed, and have been, the most profitable; and the developing process of competition has levelled down instead of up. Must the unhappy rich remain wholly without succor?