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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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CASE HISTORY SERIES

FOR STUDENTS OF SOCIAL WORK

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—The attempt to print, even without publication, this first of a series of social work case histories is full of difficulty. We can easily conceal the identity of a medical case without lessening the scientific value of the record, but, in striving to edit a few case histories that will have, it is hoped, some value for the student of social work, we are confronted at the very start by the fact that it is almost impossible to conceal the identity of a social history subject without suppressing essential data. In suppressing the name of the city in which the work is done, for instance, we dispense with a large group of facts that has a direct bearing upon the result. Again, other things being equal, recent records are more valuable because they illustrate present practice and emphasize, as in the history which follows, the importance of solving some unsolved problem. But the more recent the record, the more easy and the more dangerous the identification.

The one thing that urges us forward, despite these drawbacks, is the conviction that skill in case work, which is best acquired, of course, from individual service under a good worker, can be developed in large numbers of social workers in no other way than by case record study. This is the basis of the present experiment. It is hoped that, in addition, the comments and criticisms of those leaders whose skill is of various kinds, may be made more available for instruction by this method. With discussion centered upon concrete instances, we should be able to acquire a technique in common more easily, for we can all be sure that we are discussing the same thing. To facilitate such discussion the lines of the case history are numbered.

The discretion of the readers of the BULLETIN, their full understanding of the confidential nature of this publication, will justify us, we feel sure, in continuing this case record editing from time to time. Sometimes, where the process as well

as the problem has value for the less experienced students, the record will be given quite fully, and sometimes a summary will serve.

No other record is likely to present greater difficulties than the story of these four sisters. It challenges, by its bald statement of fact, our faith and our patience. Other social ills have yielded to keen analysis, to untiring search for the means of cure and prevention—so must the one dealt with here, if only we are determined enough to learn from our failures.

CASE I FOUR SISTERS

1 July 23, '06. REV. DR. PORTER QUARLES over telephone. He would like us to investigate this case, in which he is interested, without knowing any of the facts that he knows, because he is puzzled about the family. Agreed to call on the 25th.

July 25, '06. MRS. CAREY at home in bed in the parlor.* Dora present with her arm done up in plaster. Mrs. C. was born in this city, but when she was quite a child her parents bought a farm near Hartford and, since there is nothing for farm girls to do but go to service, she left home and went to Perryman, where she served for three
10 years as nurse in the Insane Asylum. She married her first husband, Boyle, by whom she had two children, in Herkomer, and her second in Jamestown. Dora and Effie are the children of this second marriage. Carey had a nice mother and grandparents, but is no good himself. Before the great strike in '86, he was an expert operator for the Transcontinental Company, but did so much damage during the strike that he could never get back again. He has a sister somewhere or other who is not much good, either; she was turned out by her husband.

The Careys have been in this house about four years. It is a year now since her husband has lived with them. The older girls positively
20 refuse to stay in the house if he is there. He drinks constantly. Last winter he was caught by the oyster people and worked on the boats for awhile; was in the hospital and also in the Bridewell in Norfolk. (Woman showed us two threatening letters he had written to her from Norfolk and also a notice of his arrest from Magistrate Adolf Krum dated January, 1906.) Lately the man has been coming around again trying to get in the house, but they keep the doors locked constantly. The oldest girl, Bertha, works in the Carterville worsted mills [Carterville is a suburb of Uniontown], as does the youngest, Effie (she has been working a year and is not fourteen yet); and the second girl,
30 Carrie, works at Venner's braid mills. Dora, who has tuberculosis of the elbow, stays at home to take care of her mother, dying with cancer. Mrs. Carey has been in bed now for six months, but knew even before that that she had the disease. The mother tells Dora that she will

* For the ages, occupations, outside references, etc., secured in this and subsequent interviews and in the course of C. O. S. treatment, see face card issued as a supplement to this number. All names have been changed.

have nothing to regret when her mother dies, for she does her best to take care of her.

Carrie is also devoted to her and takes all the burden of anxiety upon herself, and yet she is a very delicate girl, too. She has had inward trouble and just now is suffering with a sore knee which she hurt at a Sunday-school picnic. The knee is being treated at the Eastern Hospital.

The oldest girl, Bertha, is not so reliable. She is not nearly so much help about the house, and says that when she comes home she is too tired to do anything. For years she was troubled with asthma, but one of the priests at St. Vincent's cured her, consequently she became a Catholic and has her Sunday-school class and attends church regularly. Carrie is also devoted to her church; has not missed a Sunday in two years. The difference in the girls' faiths seems to be quite a source of trouble among them.

Both Mrs. Carey and Dora admitted that Effie was a wild child and quite beyond their control. They are glad to have her work, if only to keep her out of the house. Mrs. C. says that Bertha and Carrie each average from \$3 to \$5 a week because the work is at present slack, and Effie never brings home more than \$3. The rent is only \$9. They get along fairly well, although Carrie is worrying about their next month's rent. We promised to return soon and see Carrie. (Linton.*)

July 25, '06. MRS. ANNIE HERBERT (see case record No. 1701), 46 S. Ann St. Knowing her to be a woman of discretion, we risked inquiring about Mrs. C., but she said although the Careys had been there a long time she did not know much about them. The woman had always seemed to be a hard-working person, and she hardly believed some things people said about her.

July 26, '06. DR. WARNER at home. He has known the family for some time. Mrs. C. is very sick, though the worst is probably not over. She told us she thought it was. It is hard to say how long she will live, but it will probably be a matter of months. He is doing all he can for her in the way of medicines, but it is a particularly hard family to do anything for. He has had the woman in two hospitals, but both times she came out for trifling reasons. He also got Dora into the Western Hospital. After raising quite a row, she left after a night's stay. He simply trembles when Carrie comes into the office, because she is hysterical and nervous and such a talker. Bertha did have asthma but seems to be much better. He is interested in them and glad to know that we are, and if there are any serious developments will let us know. There is no reason why Dora should not get better if she has proper care. The bone ought to be scraped thoroughly.

* Each entry is signed by Miss Linton, the District Agent, but her other signatures are omitted here.

July 27, '06. MRS. JORN, 727 Freeland Ave. [an hour's trolley ride from the Careys' home], has a neat three-story house and sews for her living. Has been in this neighborhood about 25 years. She admitted
80 that her sister and children are a peculiar set. Their mother, to whom Dr. Warner thought Mrs. C. might go, is not able to take her—she was sold out by the sheriff a long while ago and now lives with her son in Hartford. She thinks the woman ought to let her husband come home. Mrs. Carey knew what he was when she married him, and if he could only drink in peace he could probably be quite useful about the house and might perhaps work a little bit. As far as she knows he has never abused her sister. She did not hear of their marriage until some time after it occurred, which is only another sign of her sister's queer disposition. The girls fight dreadfully with one another and
90 yet like to be called church people. Dora does the work at home, but there is not much done. She goes there now and then and helps clear up, but gets little thanks for it. Sometimes she takes bread and cake that she bakes herself, but the mother says, "Oh, take it away, I can't eat it." She told the story about helping to get Dora into the hospital and about the scenes the child raised. She has plenty of room in her own house and would gladly take the mother, but the woman won't hear of it. They very seldom tell her what is going on in the family. She thinks the girls are bound to separate when the mother dies for the simple reason that they are so uncontrollable. Neither the mother
100 nor the girls have any idea of careful managing. For instance, last Christmas the mother bought the girls a piano for over \$200 without paying a cent down and had to pay on the instalment plan.

July 28, '06. MR. FRANK GRAHAM, 340 Ensor St. Inquired if he could tell us the whereabouts of his nephew, as we would like to see Mr. Carey personally to discover if he would do anything toward his wife's support. He said that would be no use and the wife knew it. We assured him that she did not know that we were coming to him. The man has been no good at all for about 22 years; he has set
110 him up several times. Last time he employed him was about six years ago. He and his family have done everything they could to reform him, but with no success, and yet he is a man who is a splendid worker at anything he tries. He feels sorry for Mrs. C. and the children but is not able to do anything for them.

July 28, '06. Neighborhood of 1119 Quincy St. At 1117 learned that the family lived there for more than a year about four years ago. The man at that time seemed to be a hard worker. Other inquiries in neighborhood gave no further information.

July 28, '06. At 416 Roland Ave. learned the family had moved away from there over two years ago after several years' residence. The
120 woman seemed to be a decent, hard-working woman, but the man was no good at all. When he was drunk all sorts of things came flying out of the windows.

July 30, '06. DR. ANNIE YODER, 530 Corning Road. Carrie was brought to her by a friend, Miss Zerahn, for treatment. After one treatment she seemed much better, and it may be that her suffering is only due to neglect. Although she had not known the girl before, Carrie talked very freely. Said that she and her sister don't get along together at all, and they cannot control the younger one. She has an easy position where she is, can sit at her work most of the time, but of course if she could get a rest she would get better more quickly. Referred us to Miss Zerahn.

July 30, '06. MISS ZERAHN, 681 Amity St. She first knew Carrie some years ago when she had charge of the singing class of the Girls' Club of the Eleventh Presb. Church. The girl seemed fond of her and so they kept up a certain kind of acquaintance, but she has never been to her home or seen her mother. It was just a few weeks ago that the girl told her how she was suffering and she advised her to go to Dr. Yoder, who is supposed to be very good on women's diseases. Referred us to a number of ladies of the Girls' Club who knew the girl better than she does.

July 30, '06. REV. DR. QUARLES, 412 Amity St. Has known the family for about seven years, when they came to his church from another, but the situation there has always puzzled him. They are the most undisciplined, uncontrollable children that he has ever known. His assistant, who has worked in the slums of London, said he never saw any girls who were quite as hard problems as these. For some years Carrie came to the Girls' Club and was the greatest trial to the leaders. She talked constantly and in an unkind way about everybody so that she was always making trouble; and that the girls do not get along together now is generally known. It is true, however, that the efforts of those who were interested in Carrie tamed her remarkably, but Effie is just such another problem. Carrie is devoted to the church and comes down every Sunday night, though he has told her time and again that she should save her strength. What he really wanted us to discover was their financial status, for Carrie kept talking to him about the rent and yet he gives the mother a monthly allowance—just how much he would not say, although we asked him; but we told him that we felt that even despite the sickness they ought to provide for themselves, in view of the cheap rent and the fact that Dr. Warner's bills are merely nominal. He said he was leaving town for his vacation and would be very glad if we would see the family during his absence. We both seemed to feel that if Carrie could have a rest it might be beneficial, so that he promised to send us an application blank for the Melvale Vacation Home.

Aug. 9, '06. MRS. CAREY and Carrie at home. The latter has been home a week with her sore knee, which is now done up in plaster. The Club of which she is a member is going to give her two weeks' rest at Sea View instead of Melvale, paying all her expenses, and she

starts to-day. She had no trouble in getting off from her work. She
170 has rather a nice face, is a great talker and quite frank. Within the
first few minutes of the conversation, she told us that Bertha would
not do a thing about the house and that Effie was very hard to control,
but if you worked her right she would do a great deal for you. She
also said that she heard we had been at Mrs. Jorn's, but they would
not think of breaking up as Mrs. J. wanted them to.

Aug. 23, '06. MISS MARY MORRISON, Norwood Avenue, at
home. We talked over the case with her, as she had consented to be-
come friendly visitor to the family, and planned with her to take two
of the girls on a trolley ride in order to bring about an introduction.

180 Aug. 23, '06. CARRIE at home. Her mother is very low, they
thought she would die last Saturday. She has not been to work since
she came up from the shore, and Bertha and Effie are staying at home
now, too. They cannot leave their mother for a moment. She has not
been to bed for three or four nights and is nearly worn out. Her knee
is very little better, still in cast. Bertha might as well be working,
for she stays in bed nearly all the time. We suggested that we send a
visiting nurse to help her out, but she said as long as she was able she
wanted to do everything herself. Left our address so that she could
send us word if she wanted to have us at any time.

190 Aug. 24, '06. Rev. Dr. Quarles's substitute is Dr. Elforth, 306
Amity St. He has been there several times.

Aug. 24, '06. Over telephone learned that Dr. Warner is out
of town and that Dr. Osgood, 599 Bedford St., is taking his place.

Aug. 24, '06. DR. OSGOOD over telephone. He has been going
out to the Careys two or three times a week. Has known the family
for some time. There is very little that anyone can do for them. He
suggested that the woman go into the Home for Incurables, but they
would not hear of it. Dora is now going to the Southern Hospital for
treatment, which is a move in the right direction. He thought things
200 could be greatly relieved if Mrs. C. could have the attention of a visit-
ing nurse. Thinks she may last a week or so yet, though it is very
hard to say.

Aug. 24, '06. Left order at Pringle's Drug Store for visiting
nurse to call to see us this afternoon.

Aug. 24, '06. MISS MORRISON at home. Told her the conditions
at the Careys'. Gave her note to Carrie, saying we could not come out
this afternoon, but this friend stopped to inquire about her mother and
to leave a few ice tickets.

Aug. 28, '06. MISS MORRISON at office. She has been to the
210 Carey's every day since she first went and she and the girls have taken

to one another very quickly. The mother is very low—unconscious most of the time—and the girls all stay home from work. They are having a terrible time with Effie—the other night she was out until very late with a man who lives just three doors away, and Miss Morrison is afraid that the child may go wrong. She raised a terrible scene the other morning when scolded for being out, and made her mother much worse. In her anxiety yesterday, knowing she could not reach us, Miss Morrison went to a friend who sent her to the Children's Agency. They suggested placing the child in a country settlement in the northern part of the state among refined people. This would cost \$2 a week. They could place her near home free of cost, but had not obtained such good results as in sending children to this somewhat distant settlement. When the mother dies there will be \$100 to be divided among the children, and when Miss Morrison suggested this plan to them, Carrie immediately said she would give up all her share to help pay Effie's board. The plan was broached to Effie and she said she thought that she might like it. The girls are planning to separate after the mother's death and Carrie is going to take care of Dora. Bertha said she would do her share in caring for Effie, but did not say what that share would be. Told Miss Morrison we thought it best to do nothing until Dr. Quarles returned, but if Effie would go over to her aunt's temporarily, it might be a wise step. Promised to see the family in the afternoon.

Aug. 28, '06. CARRIE at home. Her mother is very weak and unconscious most of the time. Neither Bertha nor Effie went to work to-day, but still they leave all the work at home for her to do—even Dora now refuses to do anything. She is up most of the night with her mother and when not waiting on her in the day-time is busy cleaning the house. The woman cannot retain any nourishment at all and just about lives on cracked ice. The doctor told Carrie to burn her mother's clothes and wash her own hands in some sort of poison so that she might not be infected, but she says that is too much trouble. She does not think Effie would go to the aunt's. While Carrie ran in to give her mother some ice, Dora came in and, on being questioned, said she would not help much because Carrie was always fighting with her. Then Bertha came in; we saw her for the first time. It is evident that she suffers from asthma. Still later we saw Effie alone and talked to her for some time. Says she did not go to work this morning because Bertha did not—anyhow she gets sleepy and falls on the wheels. The girls say she wanted to go to work, but this really is not true, she had to. She liked school—was in the fourth grade and only left because her mother needed the money. She likes to go places and never has any chance. She has just been to Riverside Park once and the other night that man took her to Allendale, and it couldn't have been as late as the girls said when she got home, because the park closes at 11.30. Dora has got on her shoes now and she has to go barefooted and Carrie won't

let her get dressed up. Asked if she would be willing to go over to her aunt's for a few days and get a good rest and she said yes. She promised not to go out this evening. Left more ice tickets—said we
260 would probably be back the next day.

Aug. 29, '06. MISS MORRISON at home. Carrie had been over to see her last night. She tried to persuade her to take care of herself and to get along peaceably with the other girls.

Aug. 29, '06. THE GIRLS at home. Mrs. Jorn was also there and when we arrived she and Carrie were having a terrible fight right in the mother's room. Effie says she is willing to go to the aunt's, but all the girls say that Mrs. Jorn does not treat them right when they are with her—anyway she has come to stay until the end now, probably. Carrie wishes she had not telephoned for her, but the mother asked her
270 to do so. They are all cleaning up in preparation for the end and Carrie says she wishes it was over—she is very tired and she is not going to try any more to do what is right. She says Bertha wants them to try to stay together, but Carrie does not intend to do it. Effie renewed her promise to stay in the house. Said she did not go out the previous night.

Aug. 30, '06. DR. WARNER at home. He was about to telephone us and then Dr. Quarles, as he does not think Mrs. Carey will live through the week, though in such cases you can never tell how long patients will last. He was there yesterday and knew that Carrie and
280 the aunt were fighting, and yet the aunt is doing all she can to help Carrie, and could help her a great deal if the girl would permit it. He believes it is undoubtedly the best thing for the girls to separate and to get an entire change of environment as far as possible. Thinks the Children's Agency plan for Effie is excellent. She is really a terror, and her chief desire is to become an actress. He does not believe any hospital would take Dora even if she would stay. She is not likely to get entirely better. When the disease first attacked her, he wanted to have her arm amputated, but a fellow physician said no. It would have been better to do it, for the thing has spread and the one arm will
290 never be of any use to her. It would be quite impossible to get any individual to care for her. What she needs is good food and air and rest, which she would not get if Carrie and she went into a room together. He will go this morning to the Hospital for Cripples to discover if there is any chance of her being admitted there. Bertha seemed to be a nice girl but completely dominated by Carrie.

Aug. 31, '06. Letter from Dr. Warner announcing Mrs. Carey's death.

Sept. 1, '06. MISS MORRISON at office. She has been doing whatever she could for the girls and was urging them to keep down the funeral expenses as far as possible. They are all willing that Effie should
300 go away through the Children's Agency.

Sept. 1, '06. DR. QUARLES at home. He has seen both Carrie and Bertha and is more puzzled than ever about the whole lot of them. He and his wife talked over their future. First they thought they should stay together, then they decided it would not be a wise thing. He has really no plan for them. Told him of our idea for Effie and he finally agreed that it would be a good thing to try, although after her \$25 is gone he does not think the girls will be able to keep it up.

Sept. 1, '06. THE GIRLS at home. First we had a long talk with
310 Bertha and she said she was perfectly willing that Effie's money should be used in the way we desired. She is handling all the money and expects to put whatever is left in some saving fund, probably in the Carterville one. Carrie still insists that they will not stay together, but they have until the 10th before another month's rent is due. They owe, however, for the present month. Bertha spoke as though Dr. Warner were going to take Dora immediately, but we discovered that he had as yet no definite plan since the Hospital for Cripples is out of the question on account of her age. The child expects to stay with them. Effie again said that she was willing to go away.

320 Sept. 2, '06. MRS. JORN at home. Her sister from Laketon was also there—quite an impossible woman. Mrs. J. says if some such plan as the Children's Agency is not tried she will have the child committed somewhere through the courts, as she will not have a niece of hers running the streets. She thinks they all go out at night entirely too much. Just the Sunday before her sister died she stayed with her until 10.30 o'clock and then, because it took her an hour to go home, she had to leave the woman alone, lock the door and put the key on the window sill.

Sept. 3, '06. MISS ROBBINS of the Children's Agency. Told her
330 the exact situation, that Effie had only enough money to pay for twelve weeks' board, but this time would be a fair trial of the plan. She said she would go ahead immediately.

Sept. 4, '06. CARRIE at office to say Bertha said she would not give any of her money toward Effie's support, but she would let her own portion be spent in that way. Told the girl we would be out in the afternoon, for her to go home and see that the visitor from the Children's Agency was received courteously.

Sept. 4, '06. CARRIE at home. Effie has gone. The visitor came and Bertha promised the child's money and also said that she would
340 give 50 cents a week after that was used. Carrie said that she would be willing to board at the Christian Association.

Sept. 5, '06. MISS MORRISON at office. The girls change their minds so frequently that you cannot depend on a thing they say. The Children's Agency visitor understood when she took Effie that the money matter was anything but definite, but she took her on account of the

urgent need that the child should be taken out of this neighborhood immediately. Carrie now says she won't give a cent. Miss Morrison has three plans in mind for Dora—first to get her into the Home for Incurables, second, to get her into the Tuberculosis Hospital, third, she
350 expects to take Carrie and Dora to the Southern Hospital Sept. 6, '06, so that she can find out exactly the condition of Carrie's leg, and then she is going to take all three, if they will go with her, to Dr. Samuel Townsend, 403 West St., who has promised to examine Dora and see if she should go to the Tuberculosis Hospital. He also wants to look at Bertha to see if her condition is tubercular. He will then communicate with Dr. Warner about them. She also went to see a Mrs. Underwood who has charge of an ideal boarding house for girls, and is hoping that Carrie will go there to board. She could not, under any circumstances, get in there before December, so that she may have to
360 go to the Christian Association temporarily. Thinks it best that Bertha should go among her Catholic friends, take a room with some one of them rather than go in a boarding house, and live as strictly as possible on the diet which Dr. Warner wants her to try. Bertha now tells her that the insurance is \$292. We both feel that it would be best to go directly to the Insurance Co. and discover just how these policies are to be paid.

[A number of entries and letters about the insurance and certain technical difficulties with regard to securing its payment are omitted.]

Sept. 7, '06. MISS MORRISON at home. Dr. Townsend examined
370 Carrie and Dora; Bertha did not come to go with them. He can get Dora into the Tuberculosis Hospital at once. Carrie's trouble is probably tubercular and that is the reason he suggested the Pentland Sanitarium. She is going to try to see the children's father at the Gospel Home for Men, where he is reported to be staying. Effie is off.

Sept. 10, '06. BERTHA and DORA at home. Carrie went to work this morning. She wants to work a few weeks to get money to pay her insurance before she goes to Pentland. Bertha has promised to carry the insurance for the rest of the children. She has had a letter from Effie, who is at Alstead Corners, Boone Co., care of Mrs. Varden, and
380 is very much pleased with her surroundings. She dilated at length on her new clothes and the cows and chickens and the telephone and only asked for five cents for chewing-gum. Just as soon as the insurance is settled, they will break up. Carrie is going to the suburbs to board; Dora still insists that she won't go to the Tuberculosis Hospital, though the girls tell her after this week there will be no place for her. She said she had lots of friends and she would just as soon die as not.

Sept. 15, '06. MISS MORRISON at home. Carrie left for Pentland Sanitarium this morning. She goes absolutely free of charge. Dr. Townsend examined her again and said her general condition was tubercular. The last time she saw Dora the child was willing to go to the
390

Hospital and arrangements will be completed so that she can go some day this week.

Oct. 3, '06. Letter from Effie:

Sun, Sep 30, 1906

Dear Friend

I received your kind and loving letter and was glad to hear from you but Miss Linton I guess we will not get to Riverside Park now but hoping I will get there sometime I was very glad to hear that Carrie had such a good place in Pentland. Miss Linton you ought to have some of the fine bread and butter
400 we have it allways fresh. Mrs. Varden is very Good to me and I am getting fat When you see me again you won't know me I will be so fat. I guess you thought I was not going to write to you but I had to write to Miss Morrison and our Dora. We have good apples pears grapes nuts and everything good. When you go up to my Aunt Henrietta ask her for my things will you This is all I have to say. Good by

Your loving Friend

EFFIE CAREY
Alstead Corners

I am saving my money to get something with and I have 12 cents now.

410 Oct. 5, '06. MISS MORRISON at home. Dora is in the Tuberculosis Hospital and behaving beautifully. She refused to go in when they first took her down, but Bertha persuaded her to go in. She reads to the little blind girl next to her by the hour, she sews, is making her Christmas presents, tends to a dying woman who won't have anyone else near her, and in general is the sunshine of the place. Effie writes brightly, but Carrie writes in the same whiny way. She wrote to her very severely in reply to one of these letters and is hoping her tenor will change. Bertha is boarding with some Catholic friends temporarily on Wentworth St. near Chase. She expects to get out to see her some
420 night this week. Bertha is taking it upon herself to dispose of all the furniture, without keeping any account of the money she receives or what she pays for bills. Miss Morrison reasoned with her, but she said she was doing the square thing. Carrie wrote asking Bertha to buy her some things with some of the money and B. refused to do it.

Oct. 9, '06. Letter from Carrie:

PENTLAND, Oct. 7, 1906.

My dear Friend:—

I received your letter and was glad to get it. I am very sorry not to have answered it before but I would not do it and I am very sorry that I am in bed again and more for it, for I will have to stay in bed for two weeks and then the
430 city doctor will be up to see me again you know. Dr. Townsend comes up every two weeks to see me. My leg is much worse again, it pain me very much but I am very happy and contented in my new home but at first I was not very happy but sometime I get very home-sick.

Now as you asked me to write you a full letter telling you what the place looks like, so I am going to tell you as much as I can. I have been in bed near all the time, so you see I do not see much of the place as I would like to, but it is just beautiful. There are nothing around us but trees and mountains, the trees look so pretty, they are changing their color. We are on a very high
440 hill and get full view of everything. At night I lay in bed and watch the stars and moon. The sky is just beautiful at night. Last night there were three of

us girls went out to sleep. The other girls were afraid to go out for it was so cold, but the air felt so good on my face. I could not sleep for my leg paining me so, just lay there and look up at the sky, the moon was shining right in my face. I weigh 129½ lbs. That is more than I every weighed in my life. Miss Linton you will not know me when I come back to the city. Of course it will be a long time before I do get back. The doctor and the nurse makes fun of me. If I am so fat now what will I be when I do get back, but I do not care so I get my health and strength back. I can also read books. That is all I do from morning until night and eat and sleep. This is all I have to say this time.
450 Hoping to hear from you soon again,

Yours very sincerely

CARRIE BOYLE

Oct. 10, '06. At TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL. Was allowed, although it was not visiting hours, to see Dora for a short time. She appears quite contented and says that they talked about sending her to Pentland pretty soon. Says she does nothing but read and make Christmas presents all day.

FRIENDLY VISITOR'S SUMMARY, November 1, 1906.

460 EFFIE: Miss Robbins of the Children's Agency has been to Alstead Corners to visit Mrs. Varden, E.'s foster mother. She reports Mrs. V. as an excellent woman whose own child has done well. The house is not a post-office. It is the center to which the rural free deliverers come to receive their mail, and this business is attended to during E.'s absence at school. Mrs. Varden opens all mail before Effie receives it. No money will be delivered to the child through the mail. The letters of the F. V. have a very good influence over the child, who is certainly amenable to kindly discipline. The F. V. requested that mail from Carrie Boyle to E. be withheld, as these epistles have an unsettling influence.

470 DORA: D. told Mrs. Jorn not to offer to help her as we would do everything for nothing. D. left hospital for Pentland Oct. 31st, leaving an excellent record behind her. She has shown a docile, cheerful, helpful disposition, accepting correction gravely and as a matter of course, responding to appreciation without being spoiled. During her stay at the hospital she gained 9 lbs. and took on a good color. She is quick and clever with her needle, reads to nurse and waits on other patients, anticipating their needs. There is the material for a good woman in her. She already has sound judgment and the gift of seeing through shams. The F. V. paid train fare and put her on the train.
480 Fare refunded next day by Miss Linton. Some clothing given by F. V.; more to be purchased to-morrow out of D.'s insurance money.

BERTHA: Was idle three days last week owing to sickness, earning only enough to pay her board. Had to stop buying milk and eggs because too poor. C. O. S. refused to give free milk. Has saved nothing toward helping younger sisters. Secured gift of good coat from F. V. under pretense that other coat was thin and had no money for new one. Several days later appeared with new coat. Refused to account for payments received by her on family furniture sold. Is paying ten

cents apiece for insurance of two Carey children weekly and 15 cents
490 for herself. Refuses to discontinue this. Employers pay her carfare.
She has received three wild and threatening letters from Carrie to which,
upon the advice of Dr. Warner, she will not reply. Attends night
school. Expects to change boarding place to 20 S. Ann St. Mrs. Jom
is always given to suppose, by the family, that no charity is ever received;
everything is a loan to be returned. Carrie asks her advice, at the same
time placing false color upon everything. Under a misapprehension
Mrs. J. advised C. not to contribute toward Effie's support \$10 (which
F. V. suggested that C. give out of her \$25, since C. was receiving six
months' care gratis). Mrs. J. is paying C.'s insurance and storage.
500 She has done all of Dora's washing and mending since Dora went to
hospital. She is most grateful for assistance of C. O. S. and does her
share.

Nov. 15, '06. MRS. BARLOW, 201 E. Prairie Ave. Agreed that
Effie should be kept with Children's Agency if it would make a good
woman of her, for she certainly was a bad one. Is dependent on her
daughter and cannot help. Has been hearing very unfavorable things
about the girls lately and believes all their sickness is due to syphilis.
Mrs. Carey's first husband was absolutely no good, and James Carey
is her own nephew but a worthless drunkard. Much that she knows
510 is only hearsay, but she does not want us to go on with our eyes shut.

Dec. 6, '06. Letter from Dora:

PENTLAND, Dec. 5th, 1906

My dear Friend:

I received your kind and welcome letter and was glad to hear from you,
only I don't see how it was that I got it at all, for it was addressed alright but
you did not put Box 92 on it. I am getting fat and I am here five weeks today.
I have got several postal cards from the nurse only I have no stamps or much
paper, so as a favor please send me 50 c but dont forget to put Box 92. I
520 paid the girl for the thermometer today, but if you are not aloud to do so why
please let me know in a day or so if convenient as I would like to buy a few
things. It is starting to get colder up here now and I guess that I forgot to
thank you for the sweater and the tam, also the shirt. It is now 8.30 so I think
I had better go to bed pretty soon but I will write more tomorrow. Miss Lin-
ton if you have one of your pictures, please send me one, as I would like to have
my chiffonier look as nice as the other girls. Good-night.

Good-Morning: Now it is Thursday morning but sorry to say, I feel very
bad today, for I am so dizzy that I must stay in bed. I intended to write a
big letter this morning, but as I am not feeling well, I will not write much
more. I have a very bad head-ache today too, but I will be all right in a day
530 or two. I think I had better bring my letter to a close now, leaving you in
God's care. I remain

Your friend

DORA CAREY

Box 92, Pentland

[Here follow a number of entries and letters about Effie's board,
part of which was paid by insurance and part (\$24.00) raised by the
C. O. S. from Dr. Quarles and other sources. All of these entries are
omitted.]

Jan. 7, '07. Insurance money paid at Bertha's home, \$63.94 being
540 given District Agent for the girls as follows: \$21.32 for Effie, \$21.31
for Dora, \$21.31 for Carrie. For receipts for things purchased for
Dora and Carrie, see bill book.

Jan. 16, '07. Letter to Carrie:

UNIONTOWN, Jan. 16, '07.

My dear Carrie:

At last I can write to you that the insurance money has been paid. I was
present when the deed was done and received from Bertha the shares for you
and Dora and Effie. Effie's I am sending at once to the Children's Agency as
it is long overdue for her board. The total amount of the insurance was \$199.75
550 —the funeral bill was \$84.50, leaving a balance of \$115.25. After the repre-
sentative from the Funeral Company presented his bill, Dr. Warner presented
one for \$30 for the care of your mother. This left a balance of \$85.25 to be
divided amongst the four of you. That meant that each share was \$21.31.
We gave the extra cent to Effie, making her share \$21.32 and each of the others
\$21.31. Out of yours I took \$3 which I paid of my own money for your shoes,
making a gift of the expressage and the night dresses. Out of Dora's I took
\$18.35, which I advanced for the things Miss Morrison and I had bought her
when she went to Pentland. I have a list of these things and the receipts for
560 them. As soon as I see Miss Morrison, I shall give her what you owe her and
then send the balance to you if you so desire. I should very much like to put
away your balance for you as you will need it when you come home and as you
cannot have very many expenses at Pentland, but it is for you to say about this.
Won't you ask Dora if she does not want me to keep the little balance coming
to her until she comes to the city?

Bertha told me that she cleared about \$35 from the furniture, about \$12 of
which she spent on her own expenses those first few weeks. I tried to persuade
her to take this money from her share and put it into the common fund, but
she does not feel that she can afford to do so at present. She considers, how-
ever, that she owes each of you your share of what she spent and will repay
570 when she is working more steadily.

I am glad to hear that you are doing so well and hope that you will stay
until the last minute and improve every chance you get to make yourself stronger
both in mind and in body. Remember all of us down here are very much inter-
ested in your welfare and would do anything we could to make a strong, fine
woman of you.

Hoping to hear from you shortly,

Sincerely yours,

EDITH LINTON.

Jan. 18, '07. Letter from Carrie:

January 17, 1907.

580

Miss Linton,

I received your letter but I cannot say I was glad to get it. I do not be-
very well I have all this week so your letter make cry and make me very angry
for I do not think that I am treated very good by you or Miss Morrison it may
be that I do not see think right. I do not see where all the money has gone to
I do not think Dr. Warner had to right to take his money out of that why did
he not take it out of the household goods money and not that I would like to
know that much. And as for my wanting the money yes I would like to have
just as soon as I could get I was very sorry to hear that you pay three dollars for
590 the shoes, \$1.50 or \$2.00 would have me just as well I am sure Miss Linton
you know as well as I do I have no clothes to come home with what is 10.1
cents going to buy me I would like to know. why the think this for me to do
is to go to work just as soon as I come home which I was not going to do I was
going to rest about three weeks after I came home but now I cannot do it, and

I will asked Dora if she wants you to keep hers or give it to her. and Bertha spent more than \$12.00 for the first few week she was there I know at much my self but that part is past now and we will not talk about part any more. There are so many things I should have which as a bath robe there is no wonder I have frozen feet and sick with cold. why I was so cold last night that I had to get up out of the cold and come in where it was warm or I really think I should have been frozen to death it was so cold. I had two night dresses on and my stocking and two pair of bed shoes this is the first time my feet have been frozen and which a time I am going to have with them, but I must get a coat as I can not get a suit of clothes now why the coat will have to do me untill I get to work and get my own money and then I will not have to asked any one for a thing. I am very sorry I had to asked for the thing I had to, it is snowing very hard up here it is comeing from the east. I must stop now this may seem a very ungrateful letter but I could not help it.

Yours very sincerely

CARRIE BOYLE

FRIENDLY VISITOR'S SUMMARY, May 1, 1907.

EFFIE: Has written once a month since her departure for Alstead Corners. Letters most satisfactory. She is contented, happy, busy, and has fitted perfectly into the family. They like her and for several months have required no board. She attends singing school, Sunday-school, day school, and assists her caretaker, Mrs. Varden, about the house. From samples she sends me I judge Effie is well and prettily clothed. Has many girl friends. Interested in the life of the farm, in the chickens, calves and a new baby, in dolls, and in all the normal occupations of childhood. Letters are improving in neatness, polite wording, and have always been kindly and affectionate. Never speaks of homesickness now or of any desire to see Uniontown. We would not know her, she says, for the little girl who used to work in the mill here. She is abundantly remembered with gifts on holidays. She writes frequently to Dora, sometimes to Carrie, and says she writes to Bertha but receives querulous answers when she hears at all. In January she had an attack of appendicitis and was operated on at the Alstead Hospital. Her recovery seems to be complete. She has improved wonderfully in weight and general health.

DORA: Is still at Pentland. Her six months expire next Saturday but she is to stay another week. She has gained enormously in weight and in general health, her physician saying that she is not the same girl he saw when he first met her. Twenty-six letters have been received. These confirm the good opinion formed of her conduct and character. The tone of her letters is admirable; she is discreet, careful not to speak ill of anyone, yet frank and open. She accepts the very rare rebukes that I write with charming sense and good nature. Has made many friends and fitted well into the life. Has been glad to stay until the last few weeks, when she seems homesick for her friends and hints of something disagreeable about the place, of which she will tell me when she returns. Her expenses for train fare, clothing, thermometers, and a few stamps were covered by her insurance money. Two boxes of gifts and clothing were sent her by the F. V. and fre-

quent tokens from other friends. Her godmother, Mrs. Parr of Jamestown, has been discovered, a woman of refinement and good family but limited means. Owing to her invalid condition correspondence with her is carried on through her daughter, Miss Ada Parr. They are interested in Dora, have sent her small gifts, and have had her visited by a friend who was staying near-by. Dora's tuberculosis trouble has advanced from the arm bones into the leg, and she has often been put to bed. The eruption in the arm ceased early in her stay at Pentland.

A plan for her future is now in question. Her own plan is to return to Uniontown, visit the Rowans and Dr. Warner, and get a position as child's nurse. If she should remain in Uniontown, I have looked up two places where she might be employed as embroiderer, but this would necessitate her working all day long, which is inadvisable. She is unwilling to live with her aunt, nor do I think this would be a wise plan. No other relative is willing to do anything for her. She is too old to be committed to the Children's Agency. The secretary of the
660 Children's Agency is, however, assisting me *ex officio*. Their inspector is looking for a home in a private family in the northern part of the state, where the climate will be favorable to the child's condition. This inspector has been instructed to find a family of sufficient intelligence to continue the *régime* of milk, eggs, outdoor life, simple diet, etc., of Pentland, guarding against contagion, letting the child get as much book learning as is possible under the circumstances, and making her useful and helpful to the family, who will require no money for board, clothing or anything else. It was thought well to deport her direct from Pentland, but this does seem a hardship and may make the child unduly
670 homesick and discontented. I have advised that she be placed not too far from Effie, so that as soon as the two children become solidly rooted in the new soil, they may from time to time see each other. This will be the beginning of the re-cementing of family bonds which it was necessary to break upon the death of the mother. I am considering the question of the appointment of a guardian of her person. This would entail no expense, would not make her guardian responsible in any pecuniary way, and could be effected any day that the court sits. Dora would have to petition the court for the person whom she wishes to have as guardian. The advantage of this step would be that it would lie in
680 the power of the guardian to dictate the child's future for over five years. The persons whom I am considering for this responsibility are Miss Ada Parr, Dr. Warner, Dr. Quarles and Miss Linton. I am out of the question for this post owing to the uncertainty of my remaining in America. There is no sanatorium of which I know that would continue the work of Pentland for her, though, in case the above plan fails, I am trying to secure the refusal of a position as waitress in the mountains at a private sanatorium where the child's physical condition would be watched.

CARRIE: The separation of the members of the family since the
690 death of the mother has revealed one thing,—Carrie's temper was the

root of the evil. It now seems that the disintegration of the family was the wisest course to take. The other three members have opportunity to cultivate their better natures in peace, without constant friction. Carrie herself is, with infinite slowness, getting control of herself. It was almost impossible to influence her while she was at Pentland, for while severity worked in several instances, no complete understanding could be reached, owing to her abnormal jealousy, sentimentality, and habit of backbiting. By personal contact the F. V. has fairly strong influence, and the aim is now to inculcate higher ideals by raising the girl's standard of taste and judgment and by filling her life with finer influences.

She returned from Pentland on April 15th after a seven-months' stay. She was in bed most of the time, a self-confessed malingerer. She was in hot water a good deal of the time, and most of her letters were whining and morbid, several of them rude, vulgar, false in statement, and generally mischief-making. But she was invariably penitent and ashamed. She received clothing, money, gifts of all sorts from numerous friends during her stay, beside 300 letters and uncountable postals. The F. V. exchanged 24 letters with her, besides sending remembrances on holidays. Carrie gained nearly 50 pounds in weight. The following is a letter from her examining physician, Dr. Townsend, dated March 4, 1907, after the visit of a specialist in nervous diseases:

"Carrie Boyle has had tuberculous trouble with her knee-joint for about these last five months. It is improved but is by no means entirely well. I do not believe myself that she is capable of housework, especially since it would necessitate her going up and down stairs. I have not anything better to suggest for her, however. Her lung condition is very good and practically quiescent. This knee condition, however, may keep up a more or less indefinite time, thereby keeping her disabled. There is nothing particularly wrong with her mental condition. The most that can be said is that she is a little peculiar and some of this peculiarity may be due to her disease."

Since her return Carrie has boarded with her aunt, Mrs. Jorn, paying \$2.50 per week. Temperamental differences will prevent the long continuance of this arrangement. I have inspected the Everett Home with a view to installing her there, but the directors refuse to receive a tuberculous inmate. After a short time, however, I hope to secure a certificate of safety from contagion from her physician and may secure her a place in the home, where she would be under the influence of a high-minded woman and under the constant eye of a physician, besides being near the church which she likes. If this can be effected, my plan then is to secure proper work for her, inculcate habits of economy through a saving-stamps book, and cut off indiscriminate supplies from misguided friends. If this cannot be done, I hope gradually to induce her to change her work and mode of life. She has found work at the mill too hard since her return, but will not give it up owing to her numerous friendships there and the certainty of con-

stant employment. We must find something alluring. During the first week of her return Carrie wrote three letters to the F. V. and paid her
740 five calls. We had a pleasant Sunday afternoon at the Arts exhibition.

BERTHA: The F. V. has secured only an uncertain hold on B. There have been several outings and pleasant evenings together, and many confidential talks; but on the whole B. resents attention. These weeks of separation from her family have demonstrated (1) that B. has the disposition to get along amicably with people and fits congenially into a home; (2) on the whole she is fairly truthful, though not frank; (3) her weak point is money and laziness. She has refused to contribute one cent to the support of either of her little sisters, and has kept all
750 three's money from the sale of household furniture. She always hints at her willingness to accept gifts, and as soon as she learned that she might some day have a bill from her physician she went over to a new doctor. My only hope for a remedy of this evil is through the Roman Catholic church; I have delayed any effort in this direction as I felt that B. would probably become estranged should I go to her friends in the church. As to her habits of idleness, these probably spring from physical causes. Dr. Saunders of 900 Corning Road advises against sending her to any hospital, as hers is a chronic case; against sending her to a sanatorium for tuberculosis, as she has not the disease, only a tendency to it, and she would soon become hysterically a phthisis case;
760 but is in favor of removing her from this part of Uniontown where the fumes from the chemical mills aggravate her asthmatic condition, to some high, dry atmosphere. The F. V. has made three efforts to effect this. Work in a carpet mill at Bromfield was considered, but the hours were too long and the atmospheric conditions probably not good. Two specialists have been consulted, but their treatment would involve expense and B. refuses to spend anything in this direction. She has again tried, without effect, the treatment of a miracle-working priest. She found a boarding-house for herself, through an advertisement. She has worked only intermittently throughout the winter, but was always
770 ready to enjoy a dance or an outing in the worst of weather. She has spent all the insurance money. The one hopeful thing about her is her reasonableness. Since Carrie's return the sisters have met once, but B. keeps her address from Carrie as she will not have a repetition of the old quarrels. B. writes motherly reproving letters to Dora, which Dora resents, but which are entirely proper.

JAMES CAREY: Turned up at Mrs. Jorn's late in the winter, and I am told that he signed the insurance papers and was summarily ushered out of the insurance company's office. Carrie had one maudlin letter from him, enclosing his blessing but nothing more substantial. Considerable private detective work on the part of the F. V. resulted in
780 nothing but failure to unearth the vagabond.

May 9, '07. F. V. reports that Effie at Alstead Corners has developed tuberculosis of the joints too.

May 12, '07. F. V. reports that the Children's Agency will take Dora also. She has gained ten pounds, can use arm much better, but still limps badly and has not much appetite. Effie stays at Alstead Corners and full directions are being sent to Mrs. Vaiden. Rev. Dr. Quarles is entirely satisfied and "promises to manage all the dear old ladies of the church for me and cut off supplies."

790 May 29, '07. DR. SAMUEL TOWNSEND. Showed him the letter from the doctor at Alstead Corners about Effie. The point is that she does not need six months' care, but six years', and no hospital, of course, can keep her that length of time. The child does not need a regular course of medicine, but needs good food, rest, and proper attention. One must be very careful about these sores, but with proper application they will heal quickly. The trouble is among poor people, where adequate care is not constantly provided, tuberculosis of the bone may disappear, but in a few years it is likely to reappear as tuberculosis of the lungs. He is perfectly willing to write to the doctor at Alstead Corners stating
800 what he feels is the best course to try, and will send us the letter. Of course, if it should seem wise to send her back to the city after trying this course she can be admitted to the Tuberculosis Hospital.

[Gap in record here but Effie was brought to town for treatment.]

June 18, '07. Letter to Bertha:

UNIONTOWN, June 18, '07.

My dear Bertha:

I saw Miss Robbins this morning and we both decided that for the present it is best that none of you see Effie. Someone or other has been making a good deal of trouble; told her father where she was and made it necessary for the
810 Agency to change her once again. I am sure you will understand the situation and put your feelings aside for a little while longer. In two or three years, when Effie's character is more strongly formed and when Carrie has grown up, there is no reason why the family should not be reunited, but you know better than I how badly you all got along together before your mother died and how there was nothing to do but let you separate. If Effie sees you again, going away again will be harder than ever for her. She is being taken to the dispensary every day and will soon be better, the doctor says. I am going to write to Carrie, too, and urge her to show her self-restraint and patience. After the way she quarreled with Effie, not a year ago, she ought to be able to go with-
820 out seeing her for a while yet.

Hoping that you are feeling pretty well,

Yours very truly,

EDITH LINTON.

OFFICE SUMMARY, August 1, 1907.

BERTHA: Still at same boarding place. Working somewhat irregularly as her health has been poor. August 1st she is to go away—is to have two weeks' holiday. Told us that the Sister of the church has bought her clothes, as she has been out of work so much. She has not heard from the younger girls for some time. Carrie has been over
830 to see her a couple of times and has helped her out with a little bit of money.

CARRIE: Has been at District Agent's home several times. Has worked very steadily, paid up all her board, almost all the back insurance and is talking about saving for her next winter's clothes. The day of the military parade she was overcome with the heat and was taken to the Bond St. Hospital. Besides reviving her they examined her knee. Told her she had not tuberculosis of the bone and have been treating her three times a week at the dispensary. We tried to persuade her to go down to see Dr. Townsend, but she wants to give Bond St. a trial. When Effie was in town Carrie made a great deal of trouble for the Children's Agency by telling her aunt, who told the father where the child was. Carrie's general condition is a bit encouraging.

DORA: Has been placed by the Children's Agency in a place near where Effie was. Have not heard directly from her.

EFFIE: Supposed to have developed tuberculosis of the bone, brought to town and treated at the Albright Hospital. Boarded first in town, but because her father found out where she was and annoyed the people with whom she was staying, she was taken every night to Exeter at great expense. District Agent spent a whole afternoon with the child at Riverside Park and was much pleased with the change in her. She is still full of high spirits, but admits herself that she is very much tamed. She likes Mrs. Varden but does not like the country, although from her conversation it is evident that she learned much of outdoor life. It was discovered that she was not tubercular and after a lengthy treatment she was sent back to Alstead Corners.

Aug. 8, '07. CHILDREN'S AGENCY. Miss Robbins has been getting letters and telegrams from Mrs. Varden telling of Effie's condition, that she has spasms sometimes lasting ten hours. They have had to call in a trained nurse who has been in the neighborhood. The expense of her medicine, etc., has been tremendous, and the Vardens cannot afford it. There surely must be some institution for the child. They are going to send an agent up Monday. (Folwell, Assistant.)

Aug. 8, '07. DR. TOWNSEND cannot see any possible reason for Effie's having spasms. They must be epileptic or hysterical. If she has epilepsy, of course, she can go to the Colony. Otherwise he can suggest no place for her. (Folwell.)

[About this time the friendly visitor, Miss Morrison, was compelled to resign from the C. O. S. District, owing to ill health. She has never entirely lost sight of the four girls, but has not returned to active work in the Society.]

Sept. 5, '07. BERTHA at office. She had a splendid vacation in the country, but has been sick a week in St. Andrew's Hospital since her return. As the people with whom she boarded are about to move and because she owes back board, she is going up to her aunt's for a short time, but will work in the same place.

Sept. 10, '07. CHILDREN'S AGENCY. Miss Robbins away; told her assistant how sorry I was that I was away when all Effie's troubles came. She has never had so much trouble about a case or spent so much money on one. Effie was not back at Mrs. Varden's a week when she
880 began to carry on dreadfully. She is a victim of self-abuse. Has been in the City Hospital for a week on Saturday in the Observation Ward. They say she should be watched day and night. They cannot consider her a Children's Agency case any more, but would suggest that the Girls' Reformatory is the only place for her. Told the assistant that we would communicate with the Supt. of the Reformatory at once, and she promised to let us hear of any communication she had from the City Hospital. (Linton.)

Sept. 11, '07. Filed petition to have Effie committed.

Sept. 11, '07. MISS PROCTOR, Probation Officer, promised to read
890 our record and back us in court.

Sept. 17, '07. MISS PROCTOR at office. Went over record, said she felt sure that we would have no difficulty in winning the case, but that it would be well to have written statements from the doctors.

Sept. 17 '07. CHILDREN'S AGENCY assistant by telephone. Doctor at Albright Hospital had refused to give any written statement about Effie's condition.

Sept. 18, '07. CITY HOSPITAL DOCTOR says Effie is hysterical and a bad girl, but he has troubles enough of his own without putting any statement about her in writing.

Sept. 19, '07. Appeared in Court with Miss Robbins of the Children's Agency and had Effie committed to Reformatory. Delivered her personally, and she went without the least remonstrance.
900

Sept. 20, '07. Letter to Mrs. Scott:

Mrs. A. J. SCOTT,
Girls' Reformatory.

UNIONTOWN, September 20, '07.

My dear Mrs. Scott:

Here is the record of Effie Carey which I promised to you yesterday:

The child was born December 12, 1892. Her mother died last September with cancer of the womb. The father, James, is still living but is utterly worthless. His wife absolutely refused to live with him for a whole year previous to
910 her death. Effie has two half-sisters:

Bertha Boyle, age 22, a mill girl, suffered greatly with asthma and is probably tubercular.

Carrie Boyle, also a mill girl and also tubercular.

We had Carrie at Pentland all last winter, but on her return she insisted on going back to the mill when we wanted her to do out-door work. She has always been uncontrolled and I imagine is very much of the same temperament as Effie. She has another sister, Dora Carey, who is 17 years of age. She has suffered for years with tuberculosis of the joints and has been both at the Tuberculosis Hospital and at Pentland. At present she is in a private home under
920 the Children's Agency, but they have told me that she does not improve physic-

ally and they really must remove her. Effie was reported incorrigible by everyone last July when I first met the family. She had been discharged from more than one mill because of bad behavior. She would often stay out very late at night and we really thought her in grave moral danger, so that immediately upon her mother's death we placed her under the care of the Children's Agency. I had thought her in better physical condition than the other members of the family. Her letters during the winter filled one with hope, but in the spring the Children's Agency brought her back to town saying that joint tuberculosis had been discovered in her. The trouble was found to be a skin disease which the doctors at Albright Hospital said was originally self-induced. Several of the doctors there told the agent of the Children's Agency that she was a girl of immoral tendency. The Agency, however, gave her another chance in the country home but had to bring her back to town in a few months as she had developed the habit of having spasms. She was again treated at the Albright Hospital and later taken to the City Hospital, where the doctors would commit themselves no further than to say she was hysterical, and what they called a bad girl. I was assured that she has no venereal disease.

It does not seem possible to me that she is of this type, for I have seen her when she was most docile and winning, and I have received, as has Miss Morrison also, a number of nice letters from her, but since the Children's Agency feel that she is a subject for institutional care I am very glad indeed that she is to have the opportunity of being trained by you. I shall do my best to keep the knowledge of her whereabouts from her sisters because I do not feel that their influence will be of any service to her.

If there is any more information you desire I shall be glad to give it to you, or if you would care to see any of her letters I could easily send them over to you.

Very truly yours,

EDITH LINTON.

Oct. 15, '07. Letter to Carrie Boyle:

UNIONTOWN, October 15, '07.

Dear Carrie:

What has happened to you? I have not heard a word from any of you for quite a while and I am wondering for fear your aunt or Bertha or you are ill. I am not going to be able to be home this coming Monday evening. This is the first time I have gone out on my evening at home, but wish you would either write or come down the following week. Do bring Bertha along with you.

Very truly yours,

EDITH LINTON.

About six months after this letter was written, Miss Linton left the staff of the Charity Organization Society, though continuing as a volunteer worker. She has seen the Carey girls from time to time since, but, for the active treatment of the younger girls, we must turn at this point to the files of the Children's Agency and of the Girls' Reformatory.

EFFIE: The original records of the Girls' Reformatory have not been seen, but the following summary is given by the Superintendent:

October 7, '11—Effie was committed September 19, '07. She made a fairly good record until May, '08. That month and the month following, she was in serious trouble, commenced by going to another girl's room. July, August, September and October her conduct was satisfactory. Beginning with November, she grew more and more troublesome.

November 6, '09, having been in this school over two years, Effie was

placed with Mrs. A. C. Bateson, Newton Center, where she received \$2 a week wages. November 20, '09, visitor reported health was good; attended church regularly; she was not satisfactory because she did not do her work well and talked in a vulgar way.

On November 20, '09, Effie was transferred to Mrs. D. F. Elman, Gloversville. This was an excellent home. She was treated as a member of the family. Mrs. Elman was so much pleased with her that application was made for her adoption. The Superintendent replied that the girl was too old to be adopted but we would be very glad to have her live there as long as she was doing so well. January 25, '10, the visitor reported that Effie was doing well with her work; attended church and Sunday school regularly, was very happy but not very well, and she was brought to town to consult our physician, Dr. Mary Horne. February 5, '10, the visitor again saw Effie; reported that her actions with both men and boys with whom she ran around a great deal were suspicious, and the stories which she spread about herself were such that the people of Gloversville threatened to lock her up if she came back again.

Effie was returned to the institution, same date, where at times she did very well. She was kept out of doors as much as possible. At first she was very troublesome, but later, as she improved, she was anxious for another chance to go out to work.

August 15, '10, Effie was placed with Mrs. J. L. King, at Pride's Landing, in the adjoining state, wages \$2.25 per week. Mrs. King took an interest in the girl and tried to be helpful to her. August 23, '10, visitor reported that Effie had attempted suicide by drinking laudanum; was in a serious condition; girl did not know why she had attempted suicide, had tried it several times before.

August 23, '10, Effie was returned. From that time until March 30, '11, she was a source of great anxiety—troublesome, disobedient, making continual attempts to commit suicide. She was tried with outside work at our farm. Various teachers and officers took a special interest in her and endeavored to help her. March 26, '11, she took laudanum and gave it to three other girls. Fortunately the prompt action of the nurse prevented any serious results. The Superintendent then reported to the physician, Dr. Horne, that she felt the girl should be removed to the Detention Ward of the City Hospital on account of her suicidal tendencies. Dr. Horne promised to confer with the consulting alienist of the institution. March 30, '11, Effie, in company with another girl, climbed to the water tower, 160 feet high. It was an intensely cold day with a very high wind. They remained up there over an hour, when the cold drove them down. She was not returned to the cottage but brought directly to the Superintendent's office and sent from there to the City Hospital.

In less than two weeks after Effie was sent to the City Hospital, the hospital telephoned the Superintendent that the girl must be removed at once. They did not consider her insane and she was very troublesome. The Superintendent could not act immediately. It was about thirty-six hours from the time the first telephone message came before she could send a visitor to the hospital. Effie was sent to her aunt, Mrs. Jorn. Considerable effort had been made to locate relatives in Hartford who might be able to give the girl a home, also in Laketon. Effie had repeatedly said that she had relatives in both of these places who would give her a home. In co-operation with other agencies, the institution stood ready to do anything for the girl, except take her back. We felt that she had an unbalanced mind and did not belong here.

Reports from other agencies show that Effie did not remain with Mrs. Jorn but sought out her sisters, who gave her clothing and money. Soon she was heard of as in the tenderloin district. It was here that she encountered, in May, 1911, a young man who married her and, according to her statement, wanted her "to live straight." This she is not doing, according to the Reformatory's latest memorandum, but

is seeking to entice other girls as they are released from the institution.
1030 DORA: The care of Dora was undertaken by the Children's Agency in May, 1907. The following is not a transcript but a short summary of their record, made after an examination of the 137 letters that relate to her case.

Dora was boarded in a country home for a year, at the end of which time the local doctor reported her to have a tubercular abscess of the left knee and an enlargement of the lower end of the ulna of the right arm. Brought to the city, she was placed in the Western Hospital for treatment. During the next two years, with occasional short periods in country homes, she was in or near the city and receiving
1040 special medical care—eye treatments (trouble with left tear sac), treatment for inflammation of the middle ear and deafness, leather arm brace appliance, throat operation, glasses, dental work—the need of all these kept the Agency busy and Dora under their care until the present year. On Dec. 1, 1909, she had taken a position as a telephone operator, but ten days later had to give it up owing to the condition of her eyes. For a while she was in a department store, but the arm became painful and another scraping and course of hospital treatment was necessary.

The child has been a voluminous letter writer, like Carrie, but is affectionate and more teachable. She has come under and responded
1050 to religious influences and has shown, as time has gone on, increasing sweetness of disposition and rare patience under her burden of ill-health. At one time she was very eager to become a deaconess; at present she is serving as a paid attendant in an institution, where her sister Bertha is also employed. The Children's Agency expended, during the four years ending May, 1911, the sum of \$304 for her board, clothing and incidental expenses. This does not include the cost of six months' care in a country home for children.

CARRIE: After her treatment at Pentland, Carrie found work for herself, refusing to consider all suggestions. She returned to the worsted
1060 mill, but later went into a hat factory. Here the old trouble developed, and she has just returned from a nine months' stay in the State Tuberculosis Sanitarium to go back into the hat factory again.

BERTHA: Is now working in the same institution in which Dora is employed. Usually she has boarded with her aunt, Mrs. Jorn, and worked when the frequent attacks of asthma would permit. At various times she has been employed in a shirtwaist factory, a glove factory, at housework, and at running an elevator in an institution.

As already indicated, Miss Linton and Miss Morrison have continued to see the girls from time to time. Bertha and Dora have learned
1070 to count upon this interest, Carrie has been less responsive, Effie has not responded at all. Miss Linton feels that one of the few encouraging facts in this somber later history is the attitude of the older girls toward Effie. When she was released from the Reformatory, they were thoroughly roused as to her moral danger, and did everything to help the agencies and individuals interested to find and to save her.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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OFFICE METHODS IN SMALL SOCIETIES

By FRED S. HALL

PART I.

By a small society we mean one with not more than three salaried workers. A few such societies have been visited recently in connection with the preparation of this article. They do not have and should not have the variety of records required in large city offices. I recently visited a small office (not a charity organization society) where good contributors' money was being spent on record keeping which would have been invaluable in the United States Steel Corporation, but which in that little office of three people was a waste of both time and money. But it is on the other side that small societies usually go wrong. The agent forgets that she will probably resign sooner or later, and so simply "remembers" things she has done instead of recording them. It is the aim of these two articles to indicate what appears to the writer to be a practical mean between these extremes.

In Part I. we consider methods of case recording, filing and indexing, street indexing and the confidential exchange, and the use of volunteers in clerical work. In Part II. we shall treat of the more general office methods, including the filing of general correspondence, subject matter, etc., financial appeal records, systems of special relief

accounting, and the keeping and preparation of statistics for the annual report.

CASE RECORD FOLDERS

Case records are naturally the best records which even the smallest society keeps. I purposely omit all reference to the contents of these records, the degree of detail which is desirable, etc., and consider only their form and the arrangements for filing and indexing them. The two large face-card forms recommended by the Committee on Uniform Blanks and for sale by this Department, represent the experience and study of practical case workers, and are without a doubt the best solution up to date of the face-card problem. They cost but sixty cents a hundred, and can be put into use at once for all new cases without recopying the old records on the new forms. They are 11 inches high and 8½ inches broad, and are filed flat into vertical file folders a trifle larger than the face card. To combine old records with these without copying it is only necessary to drop the old record bodily into the folder and give the folder the number which the old record bears.

I found one society filing its folders and records alphabetically, the agent explaining that by that device she did not need a card index—she consulted the record direct. This form of filing was quite common years ago, but for a variety of reasons most societies, even the smallest ones, have now rejected it, and arrange their case records in numerical order, using an alphabetical card index to show what the case number is. The objections to the alphabetical order are:

1. It is hard to handle alphabetical folders quickly in order to find if there is a record of a given name. A card index can be much more quickly consulted.

2. A confidential exchange or registry of cases by other societies (described below) is almost impossible without an alphabetical card index of all cases—C. O. S. cases and others combined. It is *possible* to have large cards the size of the folders inserted in an alphabetical file of folders—these cards representing cases of other societies; but the arrangement is expensive for materials, and costly in the time involved in consulting a file so difficult to handle.

Heavy cardboard guides should always be used to separate the numerical folders by tens. Besides making filing very much easier, these guides will keep the folders from slumping down in the files.

ARRANGEMENT OF PAPERS INSIDE OF THE FOLDER.—It is of course very important that none of the sheets of the case record and none of the letters, etc., relating to it be lost and that these various papers be kept in their proper order, so that the record may be read as a continuous story. The heavy cardboard records formerly used were punched and held together with brass fasteners, but this is not practicable with the light face card of the new forms and the light sheets which continue the record. As a result, I have found disarrangement of the record pages and letters to be the rule rather than the exception. A suitable fastener

for these records would be one which would hold the various sheets permanently in their order but would not tear through them. We are having a test made of a "clasp folder" which may solve the problem. Until we are ready to say that this is thoroughly satisfactory we recommend the well known "gem clip." It comes off frequently, of course, when the pages are turned over, and the sheets become disarranged. This is its disadvantage. But it is the best we can recommend at present.

Most societies, I am informed, file letters received and carbons of letters sent among the successive pages of the case record, at the place where they belong in the order of date. Others, so as to make straight reading of the record easier, bunch their letters at the back. We advise against this latter course. It tends to make the reader ignore the letters when reading the record. The end desired can be attained much better by using a buff paper for the case records and pale blue paper for the carbons of letters written. Letters received will ordinarily be white, so the reader who wishes to read the record only may skip all pages except those that are buff-colored.

A good method for assigning numbers to new cases is to keep a set of fifty or so face cards numbered in advance in a folder in the vertical file or desk drawer. When a new case is to be recorded simply take the top face card and its number is assigned automatically. It might be well to keep in the same place a set of index cards with the corresponding numbers.

CASE RECORD INDEX

A few societies attempt to keep their alphabetical index of cases in a book. This is so generally recognized as a mistake that it may seem unnecessary to argue the point. It is the writer's opinion that practically no records should be kept in a book, with the sole exception of the treasurer's financial records. A book index is a time-waster because.

1. Names cannot be arranged in alphabetical order under each letter. For example, you must look through a long list of S's to find whether or not "John Syrett" is one of your cases, whereas with a card index you would look at once at the end of the S cards and your search is over.

2. Books fill up, and you are forced to use and consult two or more books, while card indexes are indefinitely expandible.

Any card index becomes hard to consult as soon as five or six hundred cases are indexed, unless division guides are used which subdivide the letters of the alphabet into smaller groups. Thus the letter A will be divided into Aa—Af, Ag—Am, and An—Az. These subdivisions allow quick filing of new cards as well as quick consultation.

The case index card should have on it enough facts about the family so that identification of a case is possible without referring back to the record. It is probably sufficient if beside the number of the case and the name, age and address of the heads of the family the date of the application is given and the names of children with the ages of all at that time.

The following arrangement, on a perfectly plain card (3 x 5), will answer the purpose.

ALLEN-Mary (Mrs.)-40	221
21 4th Street	
	C-1-17-11
John-12)	
Ella- 7)	in 1911
Mary- 3)	

There are a few variables in surname spelling which it is well worth putting into the case record index for the guidance of the new assistant or stenographer who may not think of these possibilities as readily as the agent will. The following is a list furnished by one of the larger societies:

<i>Ahearn</i>	Bryans	<i>Connelly</i>	<i>Fox</i>
Ahern	Brion	Connolly	Fuchs
Ohearn	Bryon	O'Connely	<i>Gardner</i>
Ohern	Bryne	Conley	Gardiner
<i>Allen</i>	Bryant	<i>Connor</i>	Gardener
Allan	<i>Burns</i>	Connors	Gartner
Alan	Burnes	Connors	<i>Gerrity</i>
Allyn	Byrnes	O'Connor	Gearity
	Byrns	O'Connors	Garaty
<i>Anderson</i>	Berns	<i>Cook</i>	Garity
Andersen	Byrne	Cooke	Garety
Andrson	Bern	Koch	Garrity
	Birne	<i>Cramer</i>	Garrety
<i>Bailey</i>	Biern	Kramer	Geraghty
Baily	Beirne		Gereghy
Bailly	Burn	<i>Daly</i>	Gerraghty
Baley	<i>Cavanagh</i>	Daley	Gerritty
Bayley	Cavanaugh	Daily	Gerraty
<i>Barber</i>	Kavanagh	Dailey	<i>Gray</i>
Barbour	Kavanaugh	<i>Dixon</i>	Grey
		Dickson	<i>Gordon</i>
<i>Bauer</i>	<i>Cohen</i>	Dickinson	Gordan
Baur	Cohn	Dickenson	Gorden
Bowers	Kohn	Dickerson	Gorton
Bower	Cohan		
		<i>Fisher</i>	<i>Green</i>
<i>Bryan</i>	<i>Connell</i>	Fischer	Greene
Brian	O'Connell		

Grun	<i>Leonard</i>	Meier	<i>Patterson</i>
Grunn	Leaart	Mier	Pattison
<i>Hines</i>	Leighnard	Mayer	Paterson
Hynes	Lenhart	Maier	<i>Phillip</i>
Heins	Lienhart	Meyers	Philipp
Heinse	Linhardt	Myers	Phillipp
Heinze	Linhard	Miers	Philine
<i>Hoffman</i>	Linhart	Mayers	Filio
Hoffmann	Leonhard	<i>Miller</i>	Phillipps
Hofmann	Leonhardt	Millar	Phillips
Huffman	<i>McCarthy</i>	Muller	Philips
<i>Hughes</i>	MacCarthy	Mueller	<i>Reed</i>
Hewes	McCarthy	Meuller	Reid
<i>Johnson</i>	McCarty	Mollar	Read
Johnston	McCartey	Moller	Reade
Johnstone	McCartie	Moeller	Wrede
Janson	<i>McCormick</i>	<i>Michael</i>	Reeds
Jansen	McCormack	Michel	<i>Reilly</i>
Jensen	McCornic	Mical	Reilley
<i>Kane</i>	<i>McCue</i>	Michaels	Reily
Kanes	McHugh	Michels	Rielly
Kain	<i>McGuire</i>	Mickel	Riley
Kaine	Maguire	<i>Moore</i>	O'Reilly
Cane	<i>McKay</i>	Moor	O'Reillev
Canes	McKey	Mohr	<i>Robertson</i>
Cain	Mackay	Mohre	Robinson
Caine	Mackey	More	<i>Rogers</i>
<i>Kenny</i>	<i>McKeon</i>	Moers	Rodger
Kenney	McKean	Moores	Rodgers
Kinney	McKeown	<i>Mullen</i>	<i>Shea</i>
<i>Klein</i>	<i>Madison</i>	Mullane	Sheay
Klien	Maddison	Millin	Schey
Kline	Mattison	Mullien	Shay
Cline	Matison	Mullens	<i>Smith</i>
Clyne	Matheson	Mullins	Smyth
Clynes	Madsen	<i>Nelson</i>	Schmidt
Clines	Matsen	Nielson	Schmitt
<i>Lawrence</i>	Matson	Nielsen	Schmitz
Laurance	<i>Maher</i>	Neilson	<i>Stewart</i>
Laurence	Mahar	Nilsson	Stuart
Laurens	Mahr	Nilson	<i>Thompson</i>
Laurents	Marr	<i>O'Brien</i>	Thomsen
Lorence	Meagher	O'Brian	Thomson
Lorens	<i>Maloney</i>	O'Bryan	<i>Vaughan</i>
Lorentz	Malaney	O'Bryan	Vaughn
Lorenz	Malony	<i>Olsen</i>	<i>Webber</i>
<i>Levy</i>	Malloney	Olssen	Weber
Levi	Moloney	Olson	<i>Worth</i>
Leavey	Mullaney	Oleson	Wirth
Leavy	<i>Meyer</i>	<i>O'Neil</i>	Werth
Levey	Myer	O'Neil	Wierth
<i>Laughlin</i>		O'Neill	<i>Wynn</i>
Loughlin		O'Neill	Wynne
		O'Neal	Whyne
			Winn

In most large societies cases are indexed not under the spelling which the applicant uses but under the most common spelling of that name (the one in italics in the foregoing list). Thus all Connollys, Conleys and O'Connelys would be indexed under Connolly, with reference cards of a different color as follows:

- 1st reference card—Connolly, see Connolly.
- 2d reference card—Conley, see Connolly.
- 3d reference card—O'Connely, see Connolly.

Some object very decidedly to this plan, so the following alternative plan is described, although it takes more time both to prepare it and to use it. This is to record cases under the spelling which the applicant gives, and to cross-reference from each variation to all the others. For example, the "Connolly group" would be represented in the index file by cross-reference cards reading as follows:

- 1st reference card—Connolly, see Connolly, Conley and O'Connely.
- 2d reference card—Connolly, see Connolly, Conley and O'Connely.
- 3d reference card—Conley, see Connolly, Connolly and O'Connely.
- 4th reference card—O'Connely, see Connolly, Connolly and Conley.

The difference between the two plans in the amount of writing required is apparent. Moreover, on consulting the file under the first plan one is referred at once to the place where the case will appear, if it is in the file at all; while under the second plan one must look under all three places which the reference card indicates.

It is especially important to cross-reference Polish, Italian and other foreign names under every spelling which has been used. Here may be work for a volunteer who prefers clerical to other work. A complete set of cards for as many of these variations as it is desired to use can be made up from the preceding list. The work can even be done by a volunteer at her home and brought to the office when finished and the cards filed in among the other case index cards.

STREET INDEX

Street indexes are evidently very little used in small societies, at least for their primary purpose, the identification of cases which the index fails to show up because of variations of spelling. The writer believes that this is a mistake. The agent whose entire number of cases is less than 500 may feel sure that she will recognize that her "Dahlgén family" of 21 South Street is meant when she is asked if she has any record of an "Agen" family at 21 South Street. Even if memory does enable her always to recognize such cases from the familiar sound of the address, she will do well to consider her successor, to whom she cannot bequeath matters of memory and who should not be obliged at the very start to make up a street index of all back cases.

Apart from this primary purpose, however, street indexes have proved very valuable in connection with housing and tuberculosis campaigns, as well as in a number of incidental ways. Volunteer service,

referred to in a later paragraph, is especially adaptable to such work, for in a small society very little trouble would probably be caused by having the cards written up only once each week or even less frequently. The volunteer need only check the case records as she street indexes them, and at each visit index all new records from the last check on. (The value of the numerical system of filing cases shows itself here.) For changes in address the agent can prepare the way by fixing a "signal" of a certain color or in a certain position on each card in the alphabetical index when she changes an address. The volunteer simply removes these signals when she changes the street index card. She crosses the name out on the card where it stood and writes it in on a card at the new address. The old card should be left in the file, however. Another family is likely to move into the house, and it is valuable to have the house's full record.

A simple form like the following on a plain card will answer the purpose:

Second St., 123

Hammond-Mary (Mrs.) 211

Davis-Ella (Mrs.) 324

This locates Mrs. Hammond (Case 211) as having resided in the house in question; a line drawn through her name would show that she left it and that another applicant was living there later. After a few years' work these cards can be displayed at a directors' meeting with considerable effect.

When a tuberculosis committee is formed, let it card into this street index every house which has had a case of the disease, marking all such cards "tb." and dating and signalling them. Sometimes the tb. marks and the signals will have to be put on the cards of tenements where relief families live, giving a piece of information the agent ought certainly to have if she is to advise well the family in her care.

An incidental use of a street index would be to recall a difficult foreign name. The street on which its possessors live may be easily recalled, and the family name be thus obtained.

CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE

No society is too small to need a confidential exchange. Local considerations may make the effort to establish one an impolitic activity temporarily, but the exchange is never unnecessary.

It should, of course, be a registration of cases only, not a registration of information about cases. Three kinds of cases ordinarily present themselves, those from the Overseers of the Poor (or other public outdoor relief officials), those from private charitable societies and churches, and finally the special Thanksgiving, Christmas and summer outing cases. It will be found best to treat these all alike, carding them and

The easy clerical tasks will appear if the agent is watching for them. Some have been mentioned above. Others will be referred to in Part II. Beside the recurrent tasks, special ones are all the time arising. If the agent asks herself in regard to each such task, "Will it keep until after the next committee meeting?" she will frequently be able to call for and get special help which would not be available regularly.

Forms of clerical work which must be attended to regularly each day or on the same day of each week, ought manifestly not to be given to untried volunteers. Record writing, filing and indexing are in this class. Financial appeal work, the making up of appeal lists, etc., to be described in Part II., is preëminently adapted to volunteer service.

THE TREATMENT OF THE HOMELESS IN THE SMALL CITY

By HELEN B. PENDLETON,

General Secretary of the Associated Charities of Savannah, Ga.

Mr. Lewis's paper on Vagrancy at the Minneapolis National Conference of Charities ended with a summary of twenty-five conclusions, one for nearly every letter of the alphabet. Two of these conclusions stood out from the others with memorable clearness; one because it tallied with the common experience of C. O. S. workers so closely, the other because it pointed to what seemed to be a very simple, workable plan.

The conclusion borne out by experience was as follows:—"Charitable societies have circularized communities with the necessary message that it is an injustice to the beggar to aid him at the door or on the street, yet little permanent success has been achieved in the treatment of the homeless." The truth of this is patent, of course, to everyone who has attempted to investigate and treat homeless men. The other excellent twenty-three conclusions which summed up the whole tremendous problem left one feeling very like the woman who was "convinced of original sin, and, when told to be good, said she would if she could, but she did not know where to begin."

The conclusion which suggested a practical way to begin was this: "There should be an exchange among charitable societies of important facts regarding vagrants."

This suggestion resulted last year in the attempted establishment of a bureau of exchange of information concerning homeless men for certain cities within a given radius. Effort was to be made to follow them up by correspondence and registration. In this way it was hoped to get accurate information about the wanderers who infest the southern

section included in the exchange, to demonstrate the usefulness of such a plan, and in time to see it grow into a regular interstate exchange, ultimately becoming a means of helping to do away with the tramp evil. But after a few cards were exchanged between several cities, silence enveloped the whole scheme—a silence that was only broken shortly before the Boston Conference by the confession of three or four societies that we failed in this effort because we had not sufficient clerical force to keep it up. A few others failed from indifference.

One thing was discovered, however, and that was the number of homeless men applying to the following Associated Charities in six months.

November, 1910, to May, 1911

Jacksonville	262
Savannah	173
Macon	15
Columbus	22
Pensacola	48
Tampa	173
Birmingham	153

846

Adding to these the considerable number (not exactly known) which must have applied to the very live organization in Atlanta, there must have passed in review before these societies nearly, if not quite, one thousand homeless men in six months—another undisciplined regiment of the vast army passing to and fro over the land. We cannot, of course, tell how many of these men made the circuit and were registered in more than one city, but I am inclined to believe from interviews held with the Savannah applicants that there was no appreciable duplication.

For instance, the able-bodied man who was sent to the brick yard in Savannah by the Associated Charities, and who instead of going to the brick yard started for Jacksonville, could safely be trusted to avoid the Associated Charities of Jacksonville, and *vice versa*. The sick or otherwise incapacitated were generally given some sort of treatment that solved their troubles for a time at least.

The failure of this co-operative information scheme has not been without value. Our experience in Savannah indicates that societies in small cities, especially the new ones, are not equipped to carry on the intensive, careful treatment which homeless men need. The more responsive the community is to the educative influence of those urging that wanderers be sent to the Associated Charities, the more inevitable is it that the unmanageable increase in the number of applicants may swamp the society and make good work almost impossible. Then, too, after the community has learned to refer the wanderer to the right source of help, it is extremely difficult to interest people in measures for his benefit, so that they are ready to stand for any continued expense on his account.

The number of resident families referred is apt to be far greater than the homeless, for people naturally feel more interest in what happens to the poor who live among them than in the fate of the tramp. And the sense of neighborly responsibility is more spontaneous and constant in regard to the family group; it is easier to see the relation of the resident problem to the general welfare; hence the charitable organization (without deliberate policy or intention in the matter) is bound to do better work with the home applicant than with the passing stranger.

When the vagrant disappears he is seldom followed up. We know a little about the seventy men who applied to the Associated Charities in Savannah in the six months ending May, 1910; we know very much less about the 173 who applied during the six months ending May, 1910.

Besides the difficulties due to insufficient office help, and community indifference to the homeless man's destiny, there is the complication of getting intelligent response from towns where there is no Associated Charities or where the charity organization worker has never received any training in the central office of the Altruria Society.

In view of the situation as it has appeared to me lately, I believe we cannot depend upon the small community of itself to solve the problem as it touches the small community.

The question arises: Do any results attained *anywhere* justify the multiplication of the ordinary machinery for purely local treatment of the problem? Its local significance is only a small part of its total significance, and yet each society is obliged to meet it from the local point of view. Are there not sound reasons for believing that we should begin to cast about us for ways of meeting this inter-municipal, interstate problem comprehensively through the new National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity?

It is worth while to consider what a good opportunity the small city offers for excellent laboratory work in this direction. If the National Association could supply field agents for different sections with headquarters in towns equipped to use the services of such workers and to serve them intelligently, it might be possible to do effective case work with every homeless man brought within the range of the field secretaries' activities. Such secretaries should be not only the personal friends of the homeless, but the means of educating rural communities, so that co-operation with even the crudest country towns might become possible. We have used the vagrant to point our moral in preaching the principles of organized charity for many years. Should we not make an effort to unite in a common movement the urban and country sentiment and policy regarding the wanderer who claims hospitality at our doors, so that he shall at last receive careful case-by-case treatment?

INSTITUTE IN MAY, 1912

WE have received so many letters from the general secretaries and case workers who have attended the Charity Organization Institute expressing appreciation of its influence upon their work that we have decided to hold another four weeks' session in May, 1912. Mr. McLean will assist the Director of the Department in its management as heretofore. No further printed announcement will be made of this opportunity for normal training. Those who are thinking of applying will please note the following suggestions carefully:

1. Write for a blank form of application to the New York School of Philanthropy, under whose auspices the Institute is held, addressing the Registrar, Miss Adah Hopkins, 105 E. 22d St., New York.
2. Fill out the form and return it to Miss Hopkins promptly. All applications must be received before March 31, 1912, when a choice will be made from among them.
3. This choice will be made with reference to the nature of the course and the needs of different localities. Only a limited number of members can be received. There will be no fee; admission will be by invitation, issued early in April.
4. Those who are accepted for enrolment will be asked to prepare and bring with them to the opening session a Social Outline of their community. The details of this requirement will be furnished later.
5. The opening session of the Institute will be held Thursday, May 2d, at the Clinton District Office of the New York Charity Organization Society, 201 W. 52d Street. The closing session will be on Wednesday, May 29th.
6. Arrangements for board in New York City can be made through Miss Hopkins. At least \$10.00 a week should be allowed for necessary expenses.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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NUMBER 3

OFFICE METHODS IN SMALL SOCIETIES

By FRED S. HALL

PART II

GENERAL FILING

The filing of general correspondence and miscellaneous material presents a problem to a charity organization society which is much the same as that which every social organization faces. A system is needed under which a given document or letter can be quickly found when wanted, and which at the same time allows papers of the same sort to be filed together so that they can all be easily withdrawn at any time for examination. Many different methods are in use.

A letter from William H. Baldwin, of Washington, D. C., in reply to a request for the Washington procedure as to desertion would be filed in a different way in each of three offices which I could name; (1) under "B" (for Baldwin) in an alphabetical correspondence file; or (2) under "Washington" in a file based on geographical location; or (3) under "Desertion" in a subject file. The geographical basis is clearly not suited to a small charity organization society. Such a society needs, however, in the writer's opinion, both a personal and a subject file. Attempts to combine these are sure to cause confusion. One should not have to search through several scores of letters—from people named Davis, Day, Dodd, etc.—for a memorandum on desertion because "Desertion" also begins with "D." (This is not an imaginary

case.) Filing correspondence by subjects is almost as bad. If an agent wishes to refer to a letter from a minister requesting an address before his church on housing, she should not have to rack her brain in order to recall whether that letter is filed under "engagements," "addresses," "housing," or "churches." It is more than possible that she would have to look in all four folders because the right one is thought of last.

THE CORRESPONDENCE FILE.—The safest way is to file just as little material as possible in a subject file. A special correspondence file should contain all letters except those that refer to cases. Ultimately it will be necessary to use numbered folders, but small correspondence can probably be handled with greater convenience alphabetically. Heavy cardboard guides can be purchased, preferably a set which provides several guides for each "large letter." Thus for the letter "E" there might be three guides, "Ea to Ef," "Eg to Em," and "En to Ez." All important correspondents have separate folders (filed in alphabetical order), on the upper left-hand corner of which their names appear. No card index is required. Letters are filed in each folder by the order of their dates, with the latest on top. Letters to and from minor correspondents are kept in a miscellaneous file, for of course it is unwise to give every correspondent a separate folder. A guide and a folder for each letter of the alphabet is sufficient for this file. When more than a given number of letters have accumulated from or to any person—possibly two or even three letters—that person is given a separate folder.

Into these correspondence folders can also be put certain material which is not strictly correspondence, but is closely related to certain persons. Thus tradesmen's bills which have been paid and receipted can go into their places under the tradesmen's names. They can then be quickly referred to when questions arise as to the payment of a given bill. Similarly scratch memoranda of telephone messages, if relating to a matter of importance not connected with any case, can be filed under the names of the persons who send the messages. Be sure, however, that they are dated. Undated memoranda are rarely worth keeping.

THE SUBJECT FILE.—With all case material and all general correspondence provided for, there will not be a great deal of material to put into subject folders. This is as it should be, for there is nothing in connection with filing so difficult to manage as a subject file. Because of its difficulty it is sometimes abandoned and true subject material—valuable newspaper clippings, memoranda prepared by the agent on the housing or tuberculosis situation, the relation of the charity organization society to certain other societies, lists of people made up for special purposes—is jumbled in drawers or tills of a desk, where it is so difficult to find when wanted that it often is not searched for.

The difficulty in subject filing is due to the fact that almost any piece of subject matter can be assigned to three or more different subjects according to the point of view of the one who does the assigning. Nevertheless, subject filing cannot be avoided and the following suggestions are offered as a result of the writer's own experience.

1. Select your subjects as the need for them arises; namely, whenever you have a piece of material to file which will not fit naturally under any heading you have previously established. The reverse and less advisable method is to make out a set of subject folders in advance, covering all subjects you expect to need. You are then likely to force material into certain subject folders where it does not exactly belong, with the result that when you want the matter you forget into which subject you forced it.*

2. If a clerk or stenographer does the actual filing, the agent should indicate where each piece of subject matter is to go. This is easily done by having a "filing basket" into which all kinds of matter are placed for filing.† Correspondence does not need to be marked to indicate its folder, but every piece of subject matter should be marked. *Do not trust your clerk to choose the proper folder.* Her mind is sure to work differently from yours and she may be no longer in your office, or may be out, when you want the paper which her misclassification has concealed. Very frequently the subject you wish to assign will appear somewhere, typewritten or printed, on the paper to be filed. If so, simply

*At the risk of seeming to suggest these very subjects for a subject file, I give the following list taken from the subject folders of a small society in New England:

Agents' Monthly Reports.
Cancelled Checks (agents' account).
Care of Children and Babies, diets suggested.
Central Advisory Council.
Central Advisory Council (Reports of Organizations in).
Charity Organization.
Child Labor.
Co-operation.
Desertion.
Finances.
Gardening.
Housing.
Industry, Trades and Wages (including trades schools).
Insane and Feeble-minded, Institutions for.
Investigation.
Minutes of Advisory Council.
Motion Pictures.
Newspaper Clippings.
Pledges.
Receipted Bills.
Record System, Case Records.
Registration Bureau.
Relief.
Sex Hygiene.
Transportation.
Tuberculosis.
Volunteers.
Widows.
Work Test.

† A filing basket is essential even if the agent does all her own filing. She cannot stop to do filing work in the midst of other important matters. The filing basket enables her to keep a clear desk which is a long step, in office work, toward a clear mind.

circle that one word with lead pencil and explain to your clerk what such circles mean.

3. The folders may, of course, be arranged alphabetically according to subjects, but it will be found better to mark each folder with a number (in addition to its subject) and to arrange the folders, in numerical order, indexing them on cards arranged alphabetically. The great advantage of this plan is that one can index a subject under as many different headings as is wished. Thus the folder "9 Monthly Reports of Agent" would be represented in the index by three cards, one filed under "M," and reading "Monthly Reports of Agent . . . 9," a second filed under "R" and reading "Reports (monthly) of Agent . . . 9," and a third filed under "A" and reading "Agent—Monthly Reports of . . . 9." Thus this folder can always be found quickly no matter which way the subject comes to one's mind at the time it is desired to look up a report. But if there is no card index and only an alphabetical set of folders, one might have quite a search for "Agent's reports" forgetting that they are filed under "M" because of the adjective "Monthly."

4. Clippings and printed matter, even small pamphlets, may be filed into these subject folders, under their proper headings. Large pamphlets and bound volumes will probably not be too numerous in a small society to be kept upright in a bookcase or on a shelf between book-holders. If this shelf supply contains important matter which may be forgotten when the subject folder is consulted to which it relates, it will be well to place full letter-size reference sheets in the folder referring to the book or document kept on the shelf or in the bookcase.

SUBJECT MATERIAL CONTAINED IN LETTERS.—The enumeration of these difficulties involved in subject filing will enable the reader to see the full force of the objection, stated above, to filing correspondence according to subjects. In several cases where social workers have told me their filing troubles this has been the chief cause. They have tried to classify letters according to subjects and have lost track of their letters. The fact is that nineteen out of twenty letters (except those about cases) are never referred to. They contain no information of permanent value, and yet it is not safe to destroy them for a year or so at least. If they are ever wanted, the name of the person is almost sure to be known and the letter can be quickly found under that name in a correspondence file. On the other hand, certain important letters do give valuable information on special subjects, and it is these that have tempted social workers into trying to file letters by subjects. Such letters are comparatively few and the writer's method is to file them in their proper place as letters and to refer to them from the subject folder by means of "reference sheets." Thus when Mr. Baldwin's important letter on desertion is received, it goes into its place in the correspondence file (alongside, possibly, of several minor letters from or to him to which there are no references in the subject file), and in the subject folder entitled "Desertion and Non-support"—which is card indexed under

"N" as well as "D"—is put a cross reference scratched with pencil on a full letter-size piece of paper reading thus: "Desertion. See let. W. H. Baldwin, 1-10-11." The agent merely marks the sheet, tosses it into the filing basket and the clerk files it in the Desertion folder.

TEMPORARY SUBJECT FOLDERS.—It is occasionally an advantage, as the writer has proved, to file together for a few weeks a collection of letters from different persons while these letters are being continually used for some purpose—as the basis, it may be, of an article. Of this sort are such letters as might be received in reply to a circular asking a series of questions. These letters can be put *temporarily* into a subject folder, but when work on them is finished they should be distributed into their places in the correspondence file, a list of them, if desired, remaining behind in the subject folder.

Two other temporary uses of subject folders have proved valuable to the writer. Letters, scratch memoranda, clippings, in fact, anything which probably ought to be brought before the Directors for decision can be marked "Directors" before being tossed into the filing basket. The clerk files all such material into a folder marked "Directors—material for," where it stays only until the next Directors' meeting. After that it is re-marked and filed in its permanent place. By this means one never forgets matters which ought to be considered by the Directors. Into this same folder can be filed temporarily any letter, memorandum, clipping, etc., which refers to the various activities of the society since the last meeting of the Board. These can be used just before the Directors' meeting as a reminder of the matters to be included in the agent's report and then re-marked and filed permanently.* Another convenient temporary subject folder is marked "Unpaid Bills." Its name shows its use. Soon after the first of each month all bills it contains can be withdrawn and O. K'd to the Treasurer for payment. When they return duly receipted they can be filed, as explained above, under the tradesmen's names. Both kinds of bills can be tossed into the filing basket with no further attention by the agent as soon as her clerk understands this plan for filing them.

FILING EQUIPMENT.—Through all the preceding discussion of filing it has been assumed that a vertical file is used. This much equipment, together with a card index cabinet, is essential. Pasteboard letter boxes are intolerable time-wasters. They mean slow filing, slow finding and difficulty of expansion.

A four-drawer filing cabinet is necessary for the proper use of the new face-card case record forms and will hold all the other filing of a small society for several years. Even then its length of life may be almost indefinitely extended by removing old letters and papers to transfer cases, cheap pasteboard boxes of the same size as the vertical file drawers. The folders used in these transfer cases should duplicate

*If this folder is used, its existence must not be forgotten. When one fails to find the paper wanted under its proper subject, the probability is that it is in this "Directors" folder.

the ones left in the file so that if a given paper is not found in the file one can quickly look for it instead in the transfer case.

Most offices still use the small 3 x 5 library index card and cabinets to match. Many of these would change to a larger card except for the labor of copying all the cards they now have. They have found many cases where the series of entries, such as those suggested for the Confidential Exchange, more than fills one card and have had to use two, fastening them together with clips or rubber bands. Small societies have a chance to get started right. By increasingly common consent this means using a 5 x 8 card. It costs a little more and its cabinets are a little more expensive, but eventually it pays for itself in the convenience it affords. Moreover, there is no crowding on a 5 x 8 card with its consequent increase of errors.

FINANCIAL RECORDS

Financial records are of four kinds: the Treasurer's General Account, the Special Fund Account, the list of contributors and their contributions, and the record of appeal letters sent. The first is usually kept by the Treasurer himself and is therefore not considered here. The second is also sometimes kept by the Treasurer as a separate account, or by another member of the Board as "Trustee of the Special Fund." This is a great help to the agent and is a plan to be recommended where possible. Business men frequently have a skilled bookkeeper whose time will admit of the small extra work which is so easy for him but hard for an agent who does not happen to be quick at figures. If the agent is expected to keep this financial record, she should have the help of the business men on her Board in getting the account well under way. The expert bookkeeper whom these men assign to help the agent may advise a more elaborate system than is needed. The agent need accept only so much of his plan as she wishes, remembering that if she has a daily record of amounts received, from whom and for whom, and opposite this a daily record of amounts paid out, to whom and for whom, she has the basis of her account. The separate ledger accounts for each case are drawn from this, and its balance is equal to the total of all the separate case balances. In justice to the agent, the statement of this account which is made up for the annual report ought always to be audited and the certification of the auditor printed below the statement.

RECORDS OF RELIEF DISBURSEMENTS.—No relief disbursements should be in cash. They are, of course, made by check if paid by the Treasurer, and the agent ought to follow the same practice. If any funds, either for special cases or for emergency relief, are left in the agent's hands they should be put in a bank and checked against. Coal, grocery, and clothing orders can be put on accounts and settled by check each month. Landlords will accept checks for rent, and families on pensions will not ordinarily have trouble in getting their grocer to cash their checks. If this method is followed there is no necessity for a receipt book of relief disbursements. The check when returned from

the bank (and pasted to the stub in the check book) is receipt enough. Where it is impossible for the applicant to get a check cashed, it is customary, in some societies, for the agent to cash it and to reimburse herself at the bank later. This gives a complete and uniform set of receipts.

A record of relief payments for each case is usually kept on a separate sheet attached to the case record itself. If case record form No. 3 (for sale by this Department) is used, columns will be found, already ruled, for these entries.

GROCERY AND OTHER ORDERS.—Some societies send no written orders to tradesmen, relying usually on the telephone. This is not wise. It will take less time to write out an order, on a blank prepared for the purpose, than it will to get telephone connection and wait for the tradesman to do the writing. And mistakes are caused by use of the telephone. The following is a copy of a page from an order book (in use in a New England society) which is simple and effective:

NOT TRANSFERABLE. MUST BE RETURNED WITH BILL.
NOTHING BUT ARTICLES MENTIONED ON THIS BILL WILL BE
ALLOWED ON THIS ORDER.

No. (Name of the city printed here on the blank)191

.....
Please deliver to
Beans, Flour, Fish, Plate Meats, Pork, Sugar, Rice, Potatoes, Tea, Coffee
.....Coal to the amount of.....Dollars and charge the
.....Charity Organization Society,
.....Agent.

Alongside of each "order" is a stub to be used as a record. This is unnecessary—in fact it is a waste of time to have to repeat on the stub what is written on the order. By using a small piece of carbon paper and an indelible pencil, two copies of the order can be made at one writing, one to be torn out and given to the applicant and the other left on the order book as a permanent record. If the fact and date of all orders given is made a part of the case record, as it should be, any question as to an order having been given to any particular family can always be settled by reference to the carbon leaves of the old order books.

THE PETTY CASH ACCOUNT.—The following is a simple way to record the small disbursements for non-relief purposes which an agent needs to make. It is based on a method used by many business houses. An advance of ten dollars or so is made to the agent, and when this is nearly spent she sends an account to the Treasurer, in which the items are grouped according to the classification which he will use when his annual statement is prepared. He returns to her not another ten dollars but the amount of the account that she has just rendered, so that with

her balance she again has ten dollars in hand. She is thus always charged with just that amount on the Treasurer's books, which she holds as a revolving fund. Many agents have a cash box into which, for every purchase they make, they drop a slip showing the date, the item and the amount. These are destroyed after they have been summarized on the account referred to above.

CERTIFICATION OF BILLS, ETC., TO THE TREASURER FOR PAYMENT.

—The O. K. of the agent should stand on everything for which the Treasurer is asked to draw a check. But this does not mean that a formal voucher system is necessary. I have personally O. K.'d disbursements of from \$6000 to \$8000 a year without formal vouchers, and the accounts have stood the test of careful auditing by certified accountants. It is only necessary that a bill be made out for every payment, such as salaries, pensions, etc., for which bills are not sent in, and then that all bills be O. K.'d, *listed*, and sent to the Treasurer for payment. The list is held in a "waiting basket"* until the checks and bills come back from the Treasurer, when it is used to check them up. After the bills have gone to the tradesmen the list stays a few days longer in the waiting basket, and as fast as the receipted bills come back, they are checked off. If any receipts are lacking after about a week, they must be written for, for the audit at the end of the year cannot be made unless these are all on hand. When all receipts are in the list is destroyed. The filing of bills both before and after they are paid has been described above.

TRANSMISSION OF MONEY TO THE TREASURER.—Money for the Treasurer, especially special case money, will at times be handed to the agent. For her own defence she should have a record of the amounts, etc., of such money which she receives and gives to the Treasurer. The writer likes the envelope system that one small society uses. Envelopes of the same size as the cards used in the index are printed in the following manner:

DATE	GIVEN FOR WHOM	BY WHOM	AMOUNT	RECEIVED BY TREASURER	
				DATE	INITIALS

*This is one of the permanent baskets on the writer's desk which has proved of great value. Into it goes matter, like this list of bills sent to the Treasurer, in regard to which I am "waiting" for someone else. Every few days I go through it, remove all papers that refer to the things that have been finished, and in other cases remind those whose memory needs to be jogged.

In one of these envelopes, kept carefully under lock, the cash or checks received are allowed to accumulate for several days. They are then sent to the Treasurer, who signs his initials in the last column as his receipt for the sum named, to be credited to the account named. The envelopes are filed in the card cabinet as soon as they are entirely written up. A new envelope is begun each month.

THE LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.—This appears usually at the end of the annual report, and some small societies think that no further list is necessary. They simply make up each year's list from the Treasurer's books, publish it and wait for the next year to come round. Such societies do not realize that the advertising methods of modern business must be used to keep a society's finances going. It is not enough to send each contributor a copy of the report with a letter or slip asking his renewal. Those who do not renew must be approached by some other kind of letter or by some person. This failing, it may be wise to stop appeals for a year or so and let the mails carry incidental matter to the delinquents about the doings of the society. After this period of cultivation, try appeal letters again, unless of course a refusal has been received.

Such a follow-up system as this cannot be worked on the basis of mere printed lists in annual reports. A card file of contributors is essential. On these cards are rubber stamped with a dating stamp the date of every appeal each contributor receives, also the date of each contribution he makes. After a few years the card of a regular contributor will look somewhat like the following. (The dates that are rubber stamped are shown by underlining.)

Anderson, John,
25 Court Street.

<u>Jan. 10, 1907</u>	....	\$50, Jan. 12, 1907.
<u>Jan. 2, 1908</u>	....
<u>Jan. 20, 1908</u>	....	50, Jan. 23, 1908.
<u>Jan. 15, 1909</u>	....	50, Jan. 17, 1909.
<u>Jan. 18, 1910</u>	....
<u>Feb. 6, 1910</u>	....	50, Feb. 8, 1910.
<u>Feb. 2, 1911</u>	....	50, Feb. 4, 1911.

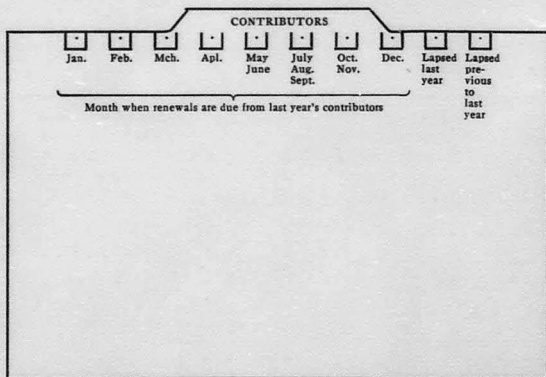
It will be noticed that Mr. Anderson had to be reminded by a second letter in 1908 and again in 1910.

The rubber stamping of the appeal dates is done rapidly on one

card after another, all the cards being stamped at one time which represent persons receiving the form letter of that date.

A file of all financial form letters sent out is bound in a "Shipman Binder," in order of date, and one can thus refer from the rubber stamp dates on the card to the binder and see just what letters each person has received. It is very important also to mark on each letter in the binder the enclosure which is sent out with it, the number of letters sent and the general class of persons to whom it is sent. This is a permanent record which will be frequently referred to as good appeal work develops. The binder is essential, therefore. If put in a financial appeal folder, the letters would too easily become disarranged.

Contributors ordinarily are not willing to give oftener than once each year, and do not like to be asked to do so before their year is up. This fact has tempted some social workers to divide their cards into several bunches, January contributors, February contributors, etc. This is bad practice. The contributors' file needs to be consulted so frequently, especially for the sake of comparison when appeals are being made to new people, that it is a great waste of time to be obliged to look in six, eight, or possibly twelve places to find whether a given person is a contributor or not. The file should be kept unbroken, and the month when renewals are due should be indicated by means of signals fastened in rows to the tops of the cards.* The significance of



*Do not be misled into using signals of different colors or with various letters on them. Uniform signals are much less expensive (for a stock of but one kind needs to be kept on hand), and they can be arranged to show everything which colored signals show.

If there are to be more than three rows of signals, some pains must be taken

each position may be indicated by means of a "key," somewhat like the foregoing written on the guide card at the front of the file.

Any months may be combined to save space or to save overloading the cards with signals, but the months when contributions are few are the natural ones to be thrown together. The extreme right column is your graveyard. Nevertheless, experience has shown that a small number of renewals can be secured even here if skilful appeal work is continued. The column next to it is even more hopeful.

The greatest service that these month signals render is in connection with reminding letters—letters to those who did not respond to the first request for renewals. Many of these persons, of course, intended to renew but simply forgot the first letter or mislaid it. The signals make the reminding letter automatic. For example, if a letter is sent in January to all the January signalled names, the clerks will endorse the contributions in pen and ink on these cards, with their dates, as fast as they are received, and at the same time will *remove the signals*. In about two weeks the "reminder" should be sent, and the signals still standing in the January column show to whom it should go. Those who need a second reminder are similarly indicated.

Once a year there will have to be a readjustment of all the signals, the next to the last ones which still remain moving on into the "graveyard," and the cards still signalled by months getting signals in the next to the last column.*

THE APPEAL LIST.—The most serious omission I have noticed in the record work of small societies is their failure to keep an appeal list—a list of those non-contributors to whom they have appealed more or less for funds year after year. It seems frequently to be the practice to rely solely on such printed or other lists as already exist (and are considered worth while) after crossing out the names of C. O. S. contributors which appear there. There is thus no permanent record of the various efforts made to bring these people into the contributors' class. Some are appealed to frequently because their names happen to be on several lists used at different times, while for the opposite reason others who possibly are more likely to respond are appealed to only once or twice.

to see that they are put at the right spot on each card, so that they will stand in a straight line in the file. To accomplish this take about twenty-five cards, "warp" them in the fingers, as if to count them, until their tops rise up and show each slightly above the preceding. Then place the key guide card on top of the pack and rule heavy pencil lines from the key card across their exposed top edges. Thus small pencil dots will be made at the upper edge of each card at the points where the signals are to stand. In this manner prepare an advance supply of a hundred or so plain cards and keep them in the cabinet behind those that are filled out.

*The writer has used this system for several years with good results. Its only "out" is the clumsiness of the file when the cards become heavily loaded with signals. To avoid a "side heavy" tendency, assign any large column to a position near the center instead of near the edges. Possibly the "graveyard" should be so treated.

Here again it is a card list only that will do the work. It is quite a task to make up a good list, but it is a task in which the volunteer can help to good advantage. Let the agent collect all the lists that seem worth using, contributors to other charities being of course the most important. Persons having *residence* telephones make up a large list but it usually brings enough results to pay. Automobile license holders, country club members, etc., are other possibilities. Put these before the volunteer or volunteers (who must be able *and willing* to write an extra clear hand) with instructions somewhat like the following:

(1) Compare the first list with the contributors' cards and cross out duplicates on the list.

(2) Card all names that remain (last name first, of course) adding the address if this is given and *if the list is a recent one*.

(3) Rubber stamp each card on the lower left corner to show the list from which it comes, using a twenty-five cent movable rubber type outfit so as to set up any letters you need. Always include the year of the list used; thus "Tel. '11," meaning "Residence telephone, 1911;" or "Tb. '09," meaning "Contributor to the Tuberculosis Society, 1909." Put a key to these abbreviations on the guide card of the appeal file.

(4) Take these same three steps with each other list. Omit none even though the same names are plainly repeating themselves frequently.

(5) Alphabetize all the cards into one file, plenty of alphabetical guide cards having been provided in advance.

(6) Go through the entire file for duplicates. (This process will have brought these all together.) In each such case destroy all cards but one after having transferred to that one the marks stamped on the lower left-hand corners of all the others. This can best be done in ink. A name which had been on several lists might thus finally appear as follows:

Baker-George,

20 Main Street.

Tel.'10. C.A.S.'10. Tb.'09. U.H.C.'10.

(7) Add all missing addresses by using the telephone book and directory.

The kind of letter or letters which it is desirable to send and what the enclosures shall be are beyond the scope of this article, which limits itself to the office machinery that good appeal work requires. A copy of each letter that is sent should be *dated* and placed in a "Financial Appeal Binder," endorsed in the same manner as in the case of letters to contributors, *i. e.*, showing the enclosure and in general the class of persons and number of persons to whom it is sent. The dating stamp does service again to mark the card of each person with the date of the letter sent to him.

Frequently it is desirable to use several different form letters, one form to all doctors, for example, another to strong church people, etc. Some workers select the names for each letter and remove the cards temporarily from the files while envelopes are being addressed. This causes trouble and should be avoided whenever possible. As long as any class of cards is out of the file every comparison will have to be made with this special file as well as with the general file. If only three different letters are to be sent, the cards can be divided into the three desired groups without removing them from the file by standing one group on their ends on the left of the card drawer, a second on their ends on the right, and allowing the third to remain in their normal position. Envelopes are addressed to the *third class first* and the cards stamped with the date. The right-hand and left-hand cards, after being similarly treated in succession, are turned down into their places.

As fast as contributions are received the date and amount is endorsed on the card opposite the date of the appeal and the card is transferred to the contributors' file.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—Each contributor has the right to expect a prompt acknowledgment of his contribution. This should be a neatly printed form, preferably bound into a book with a stub attached as a record. The auditor will ask to see these stubs when he examines the society's books.

THE KEEPING OF STATISTICS

No society's report is complete without statistics of some sort. The Committee on Uniform Statistics of the National Conference of Charities in 1907 recommended the following:

1. Total number of different cases dealt with during the year.
2. Total number of individuals in these families at the time of application.
3. Number of new cases dealt with during the year.
4. Number of cases to which some definite service was rendered by the society, in the way of relief or advice.
5. Total expenditures for all purposes, excluding investments and repayments of loans.
6. Total amount of money spent in relief.
7. Number of cases for whom this relief was used.
8. Total amount of money spent for service to the families.

9. Total amount of money spent for
 - a. Administrative expenses and supervision, and
 - b. Industrial agencies for the benefit of families in their homes.
10. Total number of calls made by employes of the society to or in behalf of cases.
11. Total number of calls made by applicants at all offices of the society.
12. Total number of volunteers who have given active service during the year.
 - a. As friendly visitors.
 - b. As members of committees.
 - c. In other ways.

These figures are of three distinct kinds, (1) records of work done, (2) classification of cases handled, (3) financial figures. For figures of work done some sort of "day book" is necessary. The following form is a slight modification of one in successful use in a New Jersey society.

Date

DAILY STATEMENT

APPLICANTS		New or Recur- rent	Case Num- ber	REMARKS	CALLS	
Name	Address				Name	Address

CONSULTANTS

NAME	REMARKS	NAME	REMARKS

The form is approximately nine inches high by eleven inches broad. It contains space for recording fifteen applicants, fifteen calls, and the names of ten "consultants."* The sheets may be bound in a book or kept loose until they are filled out and then fastened in a binder by means of the holes previously punched by the printer. From these entries monthly as well as annual figures as to work done may be easily compiled.

For a classification of cases it is necessary to handle the original case records unless the chief facts have been transcribed upon statistical cards, a procedure hardly advisable at present in a small society.†

*Sample copies of this form will be furnished on request.

†The use of statistical cards—even by the large societies—is still in an experimental stage. At a later date, when a simple card has been tried out, we shall probably have something to say about it in the BULLETIN.

If the case records have been filed numerically, as advised in Part I., it is a simple matter to withdraw from the file all cases treated during the year. It is only necessary to work forward from the back of the file until the first new case of the year is reached. Recurrent cases can be withdrawn by reference to the daily report blanks. These cases are marked "R," and against each is its case number. After the various points in the classification have been decided upon and listed vertically on a "tally sheet," the case records should be examined one by one, and all the items called for by the classification tallied against those items on the list. This same method of procedure may be followed each month, if it is desired to prepare a monthly statistical report for the directors.

Some of the financial figures called for by the committee can be drawn off from the relief check vouchers or their stubs. Others can only be gotten by a careful study of disbursements and an assignment of each of them, in whole or in part, to "relief," "service," "administration," or "industrial agencies." If the Treasurer's books are kept in four columns for disbursements, headed thus, the statistics desired are always at hand. An explanation of the figures called for can be found in the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction for 1907, page 127; or will be sent by this Department on request.

MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS

In this class I include minutes of all kinds, minutes of meetings of the Directors, Central Council, special committees, etc. The only satisfactory method of filing these is by means of a "Shipman binder." This can be taken to each meeting of the Board or Council, and the full record of action taken at any previous meeting is always at hand for reference. I find that the agents of several societies have no file of the minutes of the Directors' meetings, that matter being left entirely in the hands of the recording secretary, a member of the Board. This is not right. The minutes of the various meetings are the Board's instructions to its agent, and she should always have a full file of them in her office. If the recording secretary will not furnish a copy promptly after each meeting, even after being reminded, he should be persuaded to pass his duties over to the agent herself.

Records of engagements, appointments, etc., can be most satisfactorily kept on a calendar pad. The writer prefers a simple fifteen-cent affair which shows a whole week at a time, for it is often important to have the engagement for to-morrow staring one in the face as well as that for to-day. If the single date pad is used one leaf is turned back each day. These should be consulted regularly when the monthly or annual report is being prepared; they are almost sure to serve as a reminder of something done which, but for this record, would go unmentioned in the report.

Some social workers attempt to use the calendar pad as a reminder of things that are to be done. This is satisfactory when the thing must be done *on a given date* and no other—for example, an address to be de-

livered. But for matters that are to be attended to on a certain date if possible but postponed if something more important appears, the calendar pad is very clumsy, for the memorandum must be rewritten on a later date every time there is postponement. A preferable scheme is to use some sort of tickler. The simplest is an open card tray to stand on one's desk, preferably of a size to hold 5 x 8 cards, into which the reminding memoranda are dropped as fast as they are made. A 5 x 8 pad of paper is also kept on the desk for the purpose. The memoranda are examined each day or so and are destroyed (or filed) as fast as the matters referred to have had attention. Stiff guides may be used to divide these memoranda into several groups, as may be desired. For example, one guide may read "Next summer" for matters which will not concern the agent until then. Another may read "Volunteers" for tasks in which volunteers can help as soon as they are secured. The writer uses a more exact form of tickler. In the same kind of desk tray are guides for the months, and each month can be divided into its thirty or thirty-one days. Memoranda are slipped in behind the guide for the date when the matters ought to be attended to. Each day his stenographer removes all memoranda found for that date and places them on his desk with the incoming mail. The matters are then either attended to or the memoranda filed a few days or weeks ahead. The habit of filing these memoranda under "Directors" after the matter referred to has had attention will be found very helpful. It is not much work simply to mark them "Dir" or "D" and toss them into the filing basket, and it enables you to make your monthly report complete.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

VOL. III. (NEW SERIES)

MARCH, 1912

NUMBER 4

CASE HISTORY SERIES

CASE I—(Continued)

COMMENTARY ON FOUR SISTERS

In response to our request for criticisms of the case record of the Four Sisters which was printed in our December number, we have received material enough to fill six BULLETINS of ordinary size. It would be far more satisfactory to publish these criticisms, many of them very valuable, in full, but this has seemed impracticable, and we are forced to give instead an analysis of their contents, a part of it paraphrase and part direct quotation. The result is too involved and contradictory to be of value to the pupils and apprentices of social work, but should suggest many new lines of inquiry to its teachers and master builders. Few things in any department of social work are established, least of all, evidently, in the department of case treatment.

The individuals consulted and reporting are as follows:

DR. ADOLF MEYER,
Johns Hopkins Hospital.

HENRY H. GODDARD, PH.D.,
Training School for Backward and Feeble-Minded Children, Vineland, N. J.

DR. RICHARD C. CABOT,
Boston.

Mrs. J. D. HODDER,
Massachusetts Reformatory for Women.
Miss MAUDE E. MINER,
New York Probation Association.
Miss ZILPHA D. SMITH,
Boston.
Miss ELIZABETH V. H. RICHARDS,
Baltimore.
Miss AGNES M. ROBERTSON,
New York.
Miss FLORENCE L. LATTIMORE,
New York.
Dr. WILLIAM HEALY,
Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, Chicago.

And staff meetings were held and reports submitted by the following agencies:

Boston Children's Aid Society, through
Miss JARRETT.
Baltimore Children's Aid Society,
Mr. JONES.
Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children,
Mr. CARSTENS.
Bedford (N. Y.) State Reformatory for Women,
Dr. KATHARINE B. DAVIS.
Massachusetts State Industrial School for Girls, Department of Boarding Out,
Miss CARPENTER.
Massachusetts General Hospital, Social Service Department,
Miss CANNON.
Boston Dispensary, Social Service Department,
Miss McMAHON.
New York Charity Organization Society,
Mr. BRUNO.
Buffalo Charity Organization Society,
Mrs. FOX.
Baltimore Federated Charities,
Miss JACOBS.
Washington Associated Charities,
Mr. UFFORD.
Minneapolis Associated Charities,
Miss HUTSINPILLAR.

Only a few of the agencies appealed to have failed to respond. Many others could have furnished suggestive criticisms, of course, but the experiment had to be kept within reasonable limits.

INVESTIGATION

The critics all agree on only one point; namely, that the case was very inadequately investigated.

Miss Smith suggests as a useful preliminary to the study of any other difficult record that every tenth line be numbered, as in this one, and that for each member of the family and each important reference on the face card an index be made. With such an index in hand it

would be easy to read the story of each individual separately and trace each strand through the intricate maze of the chronological entries.*

Miss Richards regrets that each correspondent was not asked to draw up, in addition to a report, a preliminary statement consisting of comments upon the record paragraph by paragraph, just as it was read, pencil in hand, for the first time. She feels that it is almost impossible otherwise to avoid reading back into the earlier part of the story one's knowledge of its dénouement. A study of these thirty-five thousand words of criticism would convince those who have taken part in the experiment of the shrewdness of the suggestion. It came too late to be utilized, but, in justice to all who labored conscientiously to help the Carey sisters, it should have been tried. Many of the reports have been accompanied by personal letters expressing appreciation of the care and devotion that went into the treatment of this case, and adding that, in all probability, given the same conditions, the correspondents would have done no better, perhaps not nearly so well. Frank criticisms were asked for, however, and none will be more eager to accept and benefit by them than the case workers who knew Effie and Dora and the rest.

"I would question," says a Boston Dispensary worker, "the way in which the case was referred by Dr. Quarles, who apparently used the C. O. S. as a detective agency mainly. . . . He admitted that he was nonplussed, that he could do nothing with the family himself, but he was unwilling to give the C. O. S. a free hand, and he continued to aid financially without telling how much he was giving." This sentiment is expressed again and again by workers in different cities. Not all of the critics share it, however; some seem to recognize in Dr. Quarles the head of a church that was just beginning to use the C. O. S. and was not in the stage of social development to accept dictation or even suggestion with meekness. "The investigation did not seem to advance from point to point, but rather to center about the temperament of the girls." (Minneapolis A. C.) "When we finish the interview with Mr. Graham we come to the end of the investigation. Many important

* Mr. Boyle, 10, 508.

Mr. Carey, 11, 19, 84, 108, 116, 120, 373, 508, 776, 809, 846.

Mrs. Carey, 5, 31, 60, 64, 87, 99, 120, 197, 239, 296.

Bertha, 27, 41, 51, 72, 171, 182, 185, 228, 235, 246, 294, 310, 333, 339, 352, 360, 377, 418, 482, 565, 625, 741, 804, 825, 871, 1053, 1063.

Carrie, 29, 36, 46, 51, 71, 123, 132, 147, 162, 165, 181, 225, 228, 236, 245, 265, 271, 279, 313, 334, 340, 347, 350, 358, 370, 375, 383, 387, 416, 425, 468, 491, 495, 579, 689, 829, 832, 1058, 1070.

Dora, 5, 30, 33, 69, 75, 90, 198, 237, 245, 286, 316, 348, 370, 384, 390, 410, 454, 470, 511, 630, 774, 784, 843, 1030.

Effie, 28, 49, 128, 152, 172, 182, 213, 235, 248, 273, 284, 300, 306, 310, 319, 321, 329, 338, 379, 393, 415, 460, 504, 612, 782, 786, 790, 808, 845, 856, 863, 876, 903, 965, 1071.

Mr. Graham, 108, 112.

Mrs. Barlow, 505.

Mrs. Norris, 80.

Mrs. Jorn, 77, 91, 267, 280.

Mrs. Lorman, 320.

things, many clues, many sources of information and assistance are ignored." (Boston Dispensary S. S. Dept.) And quotations to this effect could be indefinitely multiplied.

Mr. Ufford points out the lack of family history. "There is a distinct failure to base treatment upon knowledge of the inheritance of the girls. For example, the mother's history as nurse in the insane asylum is not inquired into, neither is her first marriage nor the early home life of the two older girls. Background is distinctly lacking."

Beginning with the first interview and recognizing frankly its difficulties—the blind reference, the very sick woman, the presence of others, etc.—Miss Robertson says: "Whether C. O. S. workers are inclined to overestimate the first interview or not, this first interview was also the last with the one person most deeply interested in these girls. The room should have been cleared of them all and the visitor should have gone to the heart of the mother's hopes for them—how far she felt each could be counted on physically, industrially, morally; where all the relatives were, what they were, whether they were able to help, whether she would like to have her girls with any of them, and why; how she explained the girls' ill health; whether there were other friends like Dora's godmother whose advice and interest would be helpful. Definite information about the insurance is one of the first things that naturally occur when anyone is fatally ill. It may be objected that the mother was too ill for so long a talk, but if the investigator was watchful of the patient's expression, resting her from time to time with extraneous talk, but still persistent, she would have found, I am sure, this dying mother's care for her children expressed in the truth about all these conditions which would affect their future."

Mrs. Hodder writes, "No big, whole-souled talks with Mrs. Carey are recorded; she should have been seen daily and have so felt the worker's interest and kindness that she would have unbosomed herself of her life's tragedies—instead she ate cracked ice and died! From July 5th to her death, August 31st, not one word is gotten from her of the story which might have cleared up so much that is vague in the heredity, health, character and mind of the children. Why not sit by her bedside day after day, help make her comfortable, let her feel that a new friend has come who will watch over the children she is leaving? Get her to talk on the past, present and future. As it is, she can feel nothing but house-cleaning and quarrels in preparation for her death! Why doesn't the worker stop all that by digging about the souls of each member of the family, and interpreting their conduct in the light of ideal conduct in such cases?"

Miss Jacobs suggests that many details might have been secured from Mrs. Jörn if Mrs. Carey was too sick to talk.

Even in this inadequate first interview, the general problem should have begun to shape itself. Acute sickness, subnormal physique, waywardness, were self-evident. What light could outside sources of information throw upon these grave problems?

In these two interviews [with Mrs. Herbert and Mrs. Jorn] as well as that with Dr. Warner, I am disappointed in the failure to make more searching inquiries. From Dr. Warner might not an opinion as to the cause of the poor physical condition of the family have been obtained? Was it due to inheritance, environment, ignorance or poverty? Might not Mrs. Jorn have told more of Carey's character, as indicated by "Mrs. Carey knew what he was when she married him"? Didn't she know something of the first husband's character and manner of life? This would have been important in discussing the inheritance of the four sisters. I have the same comment to make on the interview with Mr. Graham, "the man had been no good for twenty-two years." What was he before that? And more in detail of his ways since then and the causes for his change. . . . I should have tried to discover Dr. Warner's medical standing; to get a record of Dora's physical condition from the Western Hospital and one of Carrie from the Eastern Hospital; also I should like to have seen an attempt made to secure a record of Carey from the hospital and Bridewell in Norfolk. These were all points indicated in the first interview which remained unutilized throughout the record. . . . If it is best to "proceed from the normal and also work toward it," did not the deductions and personal impressions of Miss Linton and Miss Morrison make a dangerous invasion on that principle? It was a most abnormal time in the life of the sisters (180), worn out as they were by the fatigue and emotional stress of sickness. (Richards.)

As the case goes on each new relative or person with intimate knowledge (Mrs. Jorn, Mr. Graham, etc.) should have given a statement as complete as possible of family heredity, traditions and gossip, etc., which so often throws light on family character, and is helpful in comparing with statements of the direct family. The contents of these statements should be the result of "heart to heart" talks with each individual. . . . Death is a solemn moment in family life, and often brings enemies of one blood together. There are a hundred possibilities in such a moment. . . . There is no mention of conference with the Rev. Quarles after the interview with Mrs. Carey. He should have told all he had in mind—the record gives nothing. (Hodder.)

The chief matters neglected seem to be inquiry about the two fathers and inquiries as to the girls themselves. As to the fathers we should have (a) clues to their relatives, (b) their health records, (c) their education, intelligence, virtues, various occupations, (d) any vices other than drink. The relatives of Boyle are not mentioned at all. Carey's sister (16) seems not to have been thought of again. As to health, had any doctors known either Boyle or Carey at all well, or had they been in hospitals? (Smith.)

The Massachusetts General points out that Mrs. Jorn was evidently in touch with Carey and might have given more information than was secured (776). Line 22 gave two clues, the hospital and the Bridewell in Norfolk. The Bridewell clue might have revealed other records of arrest, and so have covered Miss Smith's point (d). Dr. Healy remarks, "One of the most interesting points might well have been the differences which developed in the different sisters who came from two fathers."

Many of the critics urge the importance of seeing the girl's employers. "Were there any former employers who might have been consulted?" asks Miss Smith. "In such a case as this," says Miss Robertson, "no fears should be felt in seeing present employers; nothing but good can result, since even if the information gained is meager (and there is no reason why it should be) irregularity at work is better

understood by the employer and in consequence more intelligently dealt with, if the employee's poor health or family responsibilities are understood. The relation with employer and fellow employes established by each girl, her attitude to her work, her degree of regularity at work, her efficiency—how could one hope to work with these girls and not know these things!"

From many quarters come strong protests because the school-teachers of Effie and Dora were not seen. "The fact that Effie liked to study," reports Mr. Bruno for the New York C. O. S., "should have been followed up. It might have given a suggestion of lines along which the girl could have been developed normally."

Relations with the relatives, seen and unseen, have already been touched upon. It is possible that the suggestion thrown out by Mrs. Barlow (503) was not followed up because she was seen weeks after treatment had begun, when the workers' own preoccupations may have caused them to ignore this rather blind clue. Utilized earlier it would probably have made more impression, and the effort to refute it would have brought new facts to light. (Jacobs.) "As to Mr. Graham (103), who must have known far more about Carey than he told, is it not possible that he told so little because the worker went for one single piece of information, namely, Carey's present address?" (Boston C. A. S.) "The godmother of Dora might have been discovered earlier, and her daughter (682), who was Miss Morrison's first choice for guardian, might have been helpful from the start." (Smith.)

More important than any single clue, however, would have been a study of the mental condition of every member of the family. This was a symptom continually presenting itself to the district agent, but of which she made no use. (New York C. O. S.) Mr. Carstens points out our increasing awareness of this problem. "The story as a whole," he says, "is an excellent example of treatment without an adequate knowledge of physical and mental characteristics. The acquirement of that knowledge is now regarded as imperative. I can, however, very well remember that in 1906 and 1907 I was not so strongly of that opinion, and therefore my main criticism of this history is merely an evidence of my own change of attitude, and perhaps of that of social workers as a whole, rather than a criticism of the work of the Charity Organization Society at that time."

NEXT STEPS IN TREATMENT

Even at this early stage some of the agencies that held staff meetings would have broken up the family, sent the mother to a hospital and scattered the rest of the group. (Mass. S. P. C. C.) This view was not shared by the majority, however.

Criticisms of the financial policy at this period and later are as follows:

Without more knowledge than was then in hand, it was ill-advised to urge Dr. Quarles against relief. The situation was soon to be changed by the death

of the mother and relief could have been stopped then easily, if proved inadvisable. Then it was by no means so proved. (Robertson.)

No human being knows, if he has not gone through it, the moral support that comes to one in Mrs. Carey's position from the consciousness that she may do little so-called foolish things to let up on the strain of her sickness, sorrow and anxiety. I think lines 156 to 160 are absolutely wrong. The worker is putting in her time at the wrong place. Let outside people be extravagant for them during these crises. Try it sometime on yourself, *i. e.*, going without needless things at a time when you are undergoing a great nervous strain. Men take it out in pants' pockets and cigars, and sometimes drink, and a woman takes it out in irritability and wrinkles. Lighten things up for her a little and let her do some foolish things before she dies. She will make up for it later on. (Hodder.)

Lines 157-159. We question Miss Linton's judgment in statement that family should support themselves in spite of sickness, while she has not really ascertained the physical condition of anyone but the mother. What is the source of the tubercular infection? Would it not have been well at this point to have report of competent physicians as to the physical condition of the girls? Line 166. How is family to get on without Carrie's earnings? Does "all her expenses" include giving family equivalent of her income? What is financial status of family now? Page 14. Comment on Miss Linton's letter, "A very human document." Comment on Carrie's letter, "Also a very human document." (Mass. General S. S. Dept.)

Though the income of the family as stated on the face card is apparently inadequate, no definite reference is made to other sources of aid. Reading between the lines, one suspects the girls were seeking aid from different sources. There is no statement of this. What are the sources of support from August 24, 1906, to September 10, 1906? (Baltimore C. A. S.)

Dr. Quarles wanted exact knowledge of the finances of the family but the wages of the girls seem not to have been learned from headquarters. If Effie turned in \$3, was that all she earned or did she keep some? When Carrie stopped work for three weeks, August 2d to 23d, and her earnings were withdrawn, there was no consideration of ways and means and Effie was allowed to work. The lack of a little money seems frequently to have interfered with doing the best thing for some member of the family (376). Was any delay advisable (765) in a tubercular case? (Buffalo C. O. S.)

It is a question whether the district worker acted wisely in reimbursing herself from the insurance money without previously consulting Carrie. The latter's complaint that she would have but \$10.00 left with which to buy clothes and to board for awhile before going to work when she came out of the sanatorium seems to have been a just one. (Washington A. C.)

Diverse opinions are expressed about the moment at which the friendly visitor was introduced to the family. Miss Richards feels that the time was well chosen, "after the agent was familiar enough with the family to make a good choice, and yet not so intimate as to make the introduction of a new friend seem an intrusion." The Boston Children's Aid Society expresses the opposite view. "Should a friendly visitor have been introduced before the visitor had an idea of what she was going to do; or should she not have been instructed to make friends and lie low, instead of taking a hand in the family's plans as Miss Morrison did?" The Minneapolis Associated Charities feels that the district agent left too much to the friendly visitor.

As to the Uniontown C. O. S., the record reveals no backing for the district secretary and the visitor and no clear sense of a division of tasks between them. The friendly visitor herself seems to be chosen by the district secretary (176), and later (397) the district secretary has proposed to take a visitor's part in an afternoon at the Park, where already a visitor has been appointed. Meantime, indeed, the agent visits at the visitor's request (234), but why repeatedly thereafter (264, 309, 338, 375)?

It seems a pity that other visitors should not have had the advantage in conference meetings of hearing the story of this visitor's work from herself. Miss Morrison, with all her initiative, would have benefited, I believe, by testing the plans she proposed, by seeing what other visitors thought of them and getting the advantage of their suggestions as to sources and resources. (Smith.)

MEDICAL ASPECTS OF TREATMENT

We come now to a group of criticisms widely divergent, though all the critics are careful to safeguard their conjectures by pointing out that there are not verified facts enough in the initial investigation to warrant any definite conclusions. The Baltimore Federated Charities notes the tendency to run around to many doctors. Miss Richards refers to the danger of multiplying medical agencies. "I notice," she says, "that it was to the Southern Hospital (350) that they were to be taken and afterwards to see Dr. Townsend. This suggests an unthinking method sometimes used by social workers. They are often responsible for producing the hospital tramp while they decry the principle of medical wanderings. Carrie had been treated at the Eastern Hospital and also by Dr. Yoder; Dora had been treated at the Western Hospital as well as at the Southern. Both sisters were known to Drs. Warner and Osgood. Still it was thought best to take both girls to the Southern Hospital and later for a seventh medical opinion to Dr. Townsend. There may have been a good reason but the record does not bring it out. . . . Five doctors are listed on the face card and this does not count the one at Alstead Corners nor the reformatory doctor for Effie, nor yet the local one (1035) for Dora. This number perhaps could not have been lessened. With the hospitals there is another story. The City and Albright hospitals were unnecessary elements to introduce and probably the Southern Hospital for Carrie."

The Mass. General S. S. Department points out (63) the importance of discovering the medical standing of Dr. Warner, the unsatisfactoriness of the interview with Dr. Yoder (123), and the probability that Dr. Townsend was misquoted in line 797. "A competent physician could scarcely have been so optimistic. Very evident faulty medical co-operation."

The lack of medical co-operation, that is, lack (in the first place) of ability and (in the second place) of frankness on the part of the doctors concerned in the Boyle-Carey family, has been pointed out by various of our social workers at the Social Service Department, and doubtless by many others. But the point that I want to make about it is this: It may very well have been impossible to secure adequate medical co-operation, and the workers on the case may therefore have done everything that could have been done to avert the evils that came from the lack of such co-operation. *But* it is not at all evident that the workers were themselves aware that they were being checkmated and put on false scents so

frequently, owing to the shortcomings of the doctors. When a person is quite unavoidably balked by such means, it seems to me that the records should show some indication of his rueful awareness thereof, just as, when a surgeon tells a patient that he should be operated on and the patient refuses, the surgeon is careful to make it clear in his record that the subsequent disasters are not his fault but are due to lack of proper co-operation. (Cabot.)

The communication received from Dr. Adolf Meyer is so full of interest that we should like to quote it in full, but we are forced to content ourselves with the following extract:

Here we see for the first time (903-949) a real *summing up of the facts* in Edith Linton's letter. It is a very good account, but gives an opening for a number of suggestions which may be of service to you. On the two pages, 22 and 23, I had to mark a number of adjectives which depict the judgment of the writer but do not give the reader a chance to judge of the facts for himself, because the facts are not given: "Incorrigible" (922); "bad" (924 and 937); "immoral" (933); "of this type" (939); "serious trouble" (969); "vulgar" (976); "not very well" (984); "troublesome" (991 and 1014). These are not as bad as the usual notes to be found in the old hospital records, which abounded in adjectives describing what was unpleasant to the attendants and physicians, the noise, acts of violence, untidiness and bad odor, the throwing of a cup, but gave no account of the occasion for these things, or of the patient's own condition and motives.

There is no short way to state the facts effectively except by stating them directly and concisely in terms of actions and perhaps also in terms of motives and prevailing desires and tendencies taken from the person's point of view rather than from that of the critic or helper. We meet here a very difficult problem. As far as I can see, the social worker like the physician must learn to accept human nature and human doings as they are before rushing in with the superior knowledge of how they *ought* to be. The first need is to know *what* they are. Personally, I have been forced by experience to view each case (1) from the point of view of the patient, by putting myself as nearly as possible in the patient's position, at his intellectual and emotional level and scope of resources, and (2) from the point of view of the formal rules of medical diagnosis and standards of advice, and also from the helps in the form of available hospitals and institutions. We all do this instinctively, but rush too quickly into the line in which we are most apt to speak to each other, viz., the impersonal second aspect, which is usually sufficient, and is the product of the practical evolution of our minds and of society, but which will break down before many problems which cannot be handled by rule of thumb and which society has not met yet.

The motto of every social worker and investigator must be that of Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*: "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto." We like to hide our troubles and defects under practical blankets, and to meet them with a remedy without becoming analytical. That may be the best way for society or for those who live a life in easy harmony with ordinary standards. But where collisions occur it is usually because some factors are not properly considered by the traditional routine. One who investigates must be able to "avenge himself" by "*helping* himself" (*heautontimorumenos*) and he must be ready to accept his (or her) being *human*; and, anything human beings think, feel or do as not altogether strange in human nature: "I am but human and I do not consider anything human foreign to me; it is at least worthy of human consideration."

Our newspapers go very far in innuendoes and annoy us by their apparent concreteness on some points. They annoy because they lack the serious handling of the facts and mainly appeal to the pleasure of gossip. But a record of a social worker is a private record; it is usually more forceful and real than a

story or a novel and more satisfactory because as we go along there is something to be *done* about it; but to make wise action possible along new lines one must have the concrete facts in all their freshness and directness even if they should be improper for promiscuous use. . . . The best key to difficult puzzles is the knowledge of the concrete facts and tendencies. Now these are best stated in terms of *what the person does*, and in *what way the person acts differently from others*, the conditions under which these actions and reactions occur, how they respond to ordinary influences or special tests (giving them opportunities to satisfy the pressure of instincts or hunger in better ways); and then it will be necessary to size up where the necessary props are weak, and to what level of self-dependence we should assign the person. The fact that on closer inquiry the tendencies appear more human must not make us believe that therefore they are less serious and less difficult to handle and perhaps hopeless. But we know at least better what to do or what to try, and in the light of experience what to expect, and ultimately how to size up future cases.

What the elements of incorrigibility and badness of Effie were and what could be appealed to (in the first months at Mrs. Varden's and at Mrs. Elman's) is worth noting in terms of what she did to be discharged and of the right to let her shift like an adult from the age of thirteen, or again "to be adopted."

Nobody knows better than a conscientious and self-critical physician how hard this is and how little our available machinery does justice to the needs; and I frankly admit that the physicians involved in the case did much more unsatisfactory work than the lay persons. But that is to quite an extent due to the fact that the *medical* end of social work is not organized, as I said in Boston last summer, and also that the physicians were not in the possession of sufficiently concrete facts, or, when they had some of them under their own eyes, as in lines 856-900, were not under the necessary responsibility, by training or by definition of their job, to see the case through to a finish. The fault lies largely in defective training, and in the fact that success is measured by very fallacious standards in our communities and with our uncritical, self-indulgent public.

Where misdemeanors occur such as are referred to on page 22, they can only be sized up if one knows *what* they were, and what we can expect in the way of a more wholesome utilization of the tendencies or cultivation of interests which would outflank the cravings. The Alstead Hospital and the Albright Dispensary, the City Hospital observation ward and Dr. Townsend suffered all from treating diseases and not the patient. But even with this concession, the appearance of hysteria and other facts should have opened their eyes, if it were not for the habit of hiding behind the venerable conception of a "disease" which they are wont to handle without bothering with the facts, which are left unmentioned by common consent. They probably also never had a written summary of the type of the one sent Mrs. Scott; they probably made no adequately *written* record of their own observation; hence they kept shy of a *written* statement which would have gone beyond their own written documents. Now a consulting alienist such as was to be appealed to (1906) would really have been unjustified in making a far-reaching estimate without such documents or copies of documents. The City Hospital is probably so poorly equipped with help that the work is just good enough for the critics who decide on the tenure of office, *i. e.*, a compromise by people who do not know the conditions; and probably if the ideal alienist had had all the facts and opportunities, he would have found that there was no institution that could handle such a case. . . .

Now your questions: Do the Psychological Clinic in Philadelphia and the Neurological Institute in New York meet the need of expert diagnosis from one who is something more than a general medical practitioner? They and the Cornell Clinic, the Vanderbilt Clinic, the Bellevue Outpatient Department, and the growing number of dispensaries throughout the country will meet the need in a measure as concrete facts are brought to them, preferably in a written statement which then is easily amplified but remains available, while the most complete or the most touching story is ultimately forgotten and is not likely to

elicit business methods; and if the business of the dispensary and the hospitals becomes so organized that the work is not a mere by-product of a busy existence, but a well-defined sphere of our public work.

Both of the social service departments reporting think that this was a case for a medical social worker; Dr. Cabot is careful to note, however, that not all social work is to be absorbed into medicine. Dr. Meyer points out (790-803) that the best thing would have been to send the country doctor a full statement of the case and get *his* advice, rather than the reflections of an evidently busy man who makes a hasty inference and talks of plans of action on very insufficient facts. Dr. Healy also calls attention to the probable value of the psychological clinic in such a case. Dr. Goddard writes, "You ask what will be the treatment of such cases in 1912. I am afraid it will not be very different from what it has been in the past. I will say, however, that we do now know enough to examine the heredity of these cases back as far as we can get them, to examine into the mentality of all the persons concerned and to take that carefully into consideration in our treatment."

Again and again, throughout these communications, appears the suggestion that Effie might have been a high-grade feeble-minded child.

This diagnosis is usually made quite as much from the social history as from any mental manifestations in the patient. No one thing in her record stands out as proof, but the combination of many things is significant. When feeble-mindedness is a possibility, there are certain things in the social history which one must be alive to.

She was evidently uncontrollable, self-willed, impulsive, lacked consideration for others, though easily influenced, as evidenced by Carrie's remark (172) and the readiness with which she promised to stay at home when urged by Miss Linton (259). Her love of pleasure was little influenced by the nearness of her mother's death. She was eager for the excitement of going about with men. Her heredity was apparently bad, though little is known of her father beyond the fact of alcoholism. Her mother had a cancer, but there is nothing in the record about her intelligence or character, and nothing is known of her ancestry farther back. There is no evidence of physical or mental examination before she was taken by the Children's Agency. At first she was pleased with the change to country life and appreciative of all the good things coming her way. The excitement of new people and new surroundings held her for a time (eight months). She was about fifteen when illness came. Effie, it seems to me, never had the right kind of medical treatment. Nobody seemed to understand or to study her mental condition. Dr. Townsend (page 19) apparently accepted another doctor's diagnosis without seeing the patient himself or suspecting the possibility of hysteria. Was the lengthy treatment spoken of in line 855 for the supposed tubercular condition? No diagnosis is given. Was not a diagnosis most important (855-860), considering the differences in the causes and treatment of hysteria and epilepsy? Self-abuse is common among the feeble-minded, and the "self-induced" skin trouble spoken of in Miss Linton's letter is sometimes seen in the feeble-minded, who think they can prolong hospital care in this way. Of course the suicidal attempts may indicate that she had become insane, though I believe the feeble-minded may become violent. (Miss Edith Burleigh of the Mass. Genl.)

The following analysis of the tuberculosis situation suggested by the record is submitted by Miss Gertrude Farmer of the Massachusetts General S. S. Department:

As tuberculosis is the most wide-spread of all diseases, it is important that social workers should be alive to its possibilities. I think that in the case reported some suggestions were at first overlooked which would have thrown light on the family and have saved time in forming plans.

As a result of the first visits to the family and the family physician, we find that one sister, Dora, had a tuberculous joint, another, Carrie, a "sore joint," and another had asthma(?). The mother was cancerous, the father of two of the girls was alcoholic; no details about the father of the two others. One sister, Bertha, was "too tired to do anything when she came home." Coupled with a diagnosis of asthma this was suggestive. The visitors might have considered whether:

(a) With bone tuberculosis in one sister, *was* the "sore joint" in the other tuberculous? (b) What foundation was there for accepting either diagnosis?

We have often known a consumptive to be called "asthmatic" and vice versa; coupled with that "tired feeling" and the suggestion of tuberculosis in other members of the family, this was sufficient to call for an expert examination of Bertha.

Special effort should have been made to get definite information concerning sisters' inheritance: (a) If dead, of what did Boyle die? (b) Had any member of the family on either father's or mother's side consumption, malaria, bronchitis, constant cough, swollen neck, hunchback?—these names constantly used by members of the family to explain conditions later found to be tuberculous.

Line 162. With sufficient knowledge of the real condition, should the visitor have considered Carrie a fit person for a convalescent home?

Lines 165-166. As immobility has been ordered for C.'s "sore joint," it was possible that whoever ordered this treatment could have told the visitor something about the diagnosis. There is no evidence that such information was asked or obtained at this time. The plaster was another warning signal that the visitor overlooked. Immobility is a common method of treating tuberculous joints.

Lines 185-186. Again the visitor should have received a suggestion that Bertha's inactivity might be due to something more than "laziness."

Lines 240-243 and 287-289 suggest that Dr. Warner's advice may not have been very expert in regard to tuberculosis. So far as in known cancer is not infectious. Tuberculosis of the lungs is, and he seems not to have considered the possibility even of an expert examination, although the bone condition was so serious as to call for amputation of the arm—very radical treatment. The visitor might well have consulted the other physician referred to in lines 288-289.

Line 350. Carrie is to be taken to yet another hospital; there is no evidence that the visitor tried to insure some co-operation between these institutions. After three months' observation of the family the visitor now seemed to realize the grave need of finding out the exact surgical condition of her charge. Here again we can find no evidence that there has been any suggestion of the need of an expert lung examination.

Line 353. Dr. Samuel Townsend seems to be the first to have expressed a wish to examine the family as a whole. Not even he is quoted as having asked to see the fourth sister, and the father of the two younger girls, or as wishing to obtain data on the father of the two elder.

Lines 362-363. What was Dr. Warner's diet; was it for that tired feeling, or for the asthma? Special diet is seldom ordered for the latter condition by physicians of the first class. It had not yet come to Dr. Warner's knowledge that Bertha's condition might have been of a tuberculous nature, although Dr. Townsend had made the suggestion. In forming social plans for a patient a worker would find it helpful to lay the foundation on sound and credited physical foundations.

Lines 371-372. Carrie's diagnosis was still only "probable," but sufficiently definite to suggest lung involvement.

Line 389. Confirms the above. The patient had been under close and almost daily observation for a period of over three months.

Line 630. No definite statement as to whether Dora's condition had included phthisis. This is probable, as she had been admitted to a tuberculosis sanatorium. A social worker should get a clear statement from the sanatorium of a patient's condition, whether sputum has been and is positive, and prognosis on discharge. Future plans depend upon this information.

Line 713. Gives first clear statement that Carrie had phthisis and probably was infectious, on July 30, 1906, at the time the visitor and Dr. Warner wished to send her to a convalescent home. Social workers should use convalescent homes with caution.

Lines 721-722. Suggest that Carrie's temper may have had a partly physical basis, as noted by the specialist. That tuberculous, especially phthisical, patients sometimes suffer from grave mental disturbances is known to those who deal with these patients. After nine months' observation and the expenditure of an immense amount of effort, Carrie's real physical condition has been brought out.

Line 755. For the first time the visitor seems to realize that Bertha's "laziness" may have a physical basis. As Dr. Townsend had promised to look over B. to determine "whether her condition was tuberculous," would it not have been well to have this done? Dr. Townsend's advice sounds more expert than that of Dr. Saunders. If B. is "liable to become hysterically a phthisis case," she needed the services of a nerve specialist. In view of her sisters' condition, coupled with her own symptoms, an expert lung examination would seem in order.

Lines 782-783. Confirm diagnosis of tuberculous condition of all four sisters. Later Effie was said not to be tuberculous. One would like to know a little in detail as to the basis of this change. The child has a bad family history, has been directly exposed to tuberculous infection and has gone to work too young. What sort of place was the Albright Hospital? Had Effie been seen by an orthopedic surgeon or a specialist in diseases of the chest?

I think it is clear that a working knowledge of tuberculosis would have been helpful and have saved time and effort.

Dr. Post of the Boston Dispensary feels that, with a drunken father with such a degree of drunkenness, a mother diseased with cancer, and supposedly tubercular children, it would have been possible at the very start to see that the children must have been mentally and physically below par. As to syphilis being the underlying cause of the physical and mental condition, Dr. Post feels that it does not enter in, although the suggestion made in the record would have justified the following up of that clue. The only ground for thinking that syphilis might enter in, as shown by the record, is the fact that most chronic drunkards, be they men or women, are at some time syphilitic.

A practical suggestion apropos of lines 890-900 is made by Miss Richards: "With a little more knowledge of hospital routine, the Children's Agency and the C. O. S. would have employed a simple device for securing a report of Effie's diagnosis from the City and Albright hospitals. A physician interested in either society might have obtained such a statement. Hospitals seldom like to make written reports and when they are necessary, as it seems in this instance they were, it is better not to run the risk of a refusal. A doctor's request would have insured a full report."

THE TREATMENT OF EFFIE

To everyone who read the December BULLETIN, the story of Effie must have come as a shock. That, through lack of knowledge of

backgrounds and the inexpert handling of foregrounds, we are permitting such things to happen is a terrible indictment of social work. It is still more depressing, therefore, to find that beyond the advice to study the family history of each such case with greater care and to consult the psychiatrist, the critics of Effie's record have little by way of specific instruction to give. A majority feel that custodial care should have been given much earlier and in an institution better adapted to her needs, but the whereabouts of this institution (unless Effie can be admitted to a school for the feeble-minded) is not indicated and its methods of care are not described.

The head of our Reception House was a public school teacher before she came into our work. She has had wide experience in handling girls. Her suggestion was that by July 30th there was sufficient information obtained to warrant the placing of Effie in a training school; that the data showed that she was undisciplined; that she was earning a minimum wage and was in danger of falling into an immoral life through her uncontrolled nature; and that prevention would have been better than cure. By the time she was sent to a reformatory it was already too late. (Dr. Davis of Bedford Reformatory.)

It is clear that the girl is constitutionally inferior and should have been placed in a custodial institution at an early age. With a bad heredity, a wretched environment, no moral training or uplifting influence in the home, we could only expect failure. (Miner.)

The plan for Effie was based upon too slight observation of her, and too little account was taken of the environment of Effie's life as a mill hand at thirteen years of age. The assumption either that there were no vicious marks on her or that if there were a country environment would obliterate them, shows a lack of grasp of an ugly side of life that has very deep roots in our rural communities, as any district school-teacher could testify. The records do not give any adequate knowledge of Mrs. Varden. She might have been ignorant of the possibilities of Effie's vicious development, or so accustomed to that phase of life among country children that no impression of it reached her with any force. (Dr. Lucas of the Boston Dispensary.)

Social workers know much more now about the possibilities of congenital mental defect than they did in 1906. Nowadays to hear that Effie did apparently uncontrollable things especially when out of the house, and yet that "if you worked her right, she would do a great deal for you" (173), that Miss Linton apparently had quick influence (259, 274-5) and that at thirteen Effie had reached only the fourth grade in school (251)—would lead, I think, to an inquiry of the school-teacher as to which subjects she did well in and which poorly. If she did well in memory studies or imitative ones and failed where reasoning and analysis were involved, as in arithmetic and grammar, it would suggest feeble-mindedness and the need of special continuous protection. (Smith.)

With regard to the placing of Effie in a country home, the following comments are typical:

The responsibility of placing Effie without having made a careful study of her, rests not only upon the Children's Agency but primarily upon the society who referred her to them and allowed them to place her. Even if the C. O. S. had made a study of Effie before referring her, it is likely that the Children's Agency should have supplemented it with an investigation of their own. We find in the Boston Children's Aid Society that if we take a child from another society, we need to add to the information they can give us. The view-

points are so different, for example, of the S. P. C. C., which is chiefly concerned in collecting evidence, the C. O. S., which views the family as a whole and the different members in relation to one another, and the C. A. S., which throws a strong light on the particular child that it has to deal with. When the S. P. C. C. sends us a girl to be cared for, they give us a full record of the external facts; but there are things about the nature of the girl which we ask and need to know in order to understand the kind of girl she is and how she will react to new conditions, which their record does not show. This applies equally to other agencies referring cases to us. (Boston C. A. S.)

According to the information at hand, the Children's Agency's reason for placing Effie in a boarding home at a distance, instead of putting her in a free home near-by was not the knowledge that such a course fitted the needs of this particular child, but because there had been good results in sending other children "to this somewhat distant settlement." It is a question as to whether it was wise to place a girl like Effie, with her family history and restlessness, far in the country; but even if it was the best course, it should have been preceded by a thorough physical examination and followed by adequate supervision. (Lattimore.)

The fatal experience of the Children's Agency seems to me to have been inevitable in view of the fact that they made no careful investigation. For instance, on September 1st the family were willing that Effie should go away through the Children's Agency. On September 4th Effie apparently was placed, and there was no evidence that the Children's Agency had any intimate knowledge of the case available except as they got it piecemeal in the course of treatment. (Carstens.)

Too much reliance was placed (400) on the success of the plan to board Effie because of her own early happiness in her new home. A temperament such as Effie's would be likely to respond happily for a time to any new experience. (Richards.)

Lines 930-938 describe briefly what was not made clear before, namely, that the Children's Agency returned Effie to Mrs. Varden "to give her another chance," after learning from the Albright Hospital about the self-abuse. "At least it would have been fairer to the child," writes Miss Richards, "to place her in the home of some woman having a nurse's training. This is not a Utopian idea, but one which has been tried in similar instances. Under such supervision, re-enforced by the expert care of the right physician, it could have been determined what was responsible for this habit. A physical reason might have explained it as well as a moral one. At this point I can see no possible excuse for the failure to have a psychopathic examination. Even without such an examination, I long to know just when Effie matured and whether adolescence might not explain some of the physical and nervous developments of this time. When the most carefully weighed and considered opinion of Effie was necessary, and such a one could hardly be hoped for from a doctor who had not followed her case, she was taken to still another hospital (880). At no period of Effie's history does the care of the Children's Agency seem as vital."

With regard to Effie's treatment at the Reformatory, the question is raised by the Mass. General S. S. Department how it was possible for Effie to get the laudanum (1002).

Naturally, much of our interest as officers of a reformatory institution was in the case of Effie. We were unanimously of the opinion that the experiences of the Reformatory with her, in the want of success while she was on parole, and her conduct after her return, all marked her as a defective, and that instead of being turned back into society after her experience at the City Hospital (1012), she should have been sent to a custodial asylum. Here, again, I pointed out that in our own experience we were constantly returning girls to society who we knew were not fitted to succeed and who we felt should have permanent custodial care, simply for the reason that our custodial institutions are all full and that we are rarely ever able to secure a transfer. (Dr. Davis of Bedford Reformatory.)

Effie never should have been placed out, but should have been kept under custodial care. (Mass. State Industrial School.)

With most of the foregoing suggestions Mrs. Hodder's report is at direct variance:

Wild child? Where is proof in record? With history of tuberculosis, alcohol and cancer, one is not surprised. It may be due to feeble-mindedness; she may be tubercular and irritable from lack of vitality. It may be the natural exuberance of a child of her age, which is apt to overflow (especially where there is sorrow in the family) in seeking gaiety outside. Her wanting to go on the stage is very natural—most girls do at her age—and her hungering for the affection of men is quite as natural. If social workers would only get it out of their heads that because a girl is fond of men she is therefore on the straight road to the reformatory, and they are justified in hardening their hearts against her like Pharaoh, there would be a great deal more done of worth-while work. As far as one can see from this record there was nothing at all extraordinary about Effie in the beginning, and I am not sure that the end is not due to bad management. Prof. Freud has said a strikingly solemn thing for us all to consider,—that masturbation in little children very often comes when they are lonesome and heart-hungry. Effie needs love, and the worker should have sat down to reason with the child about her life and interpret it to her. Father dead, mother dying of cancer, poverty facing them, irritable aunts and hatefulness in sisters! Here is enough for a strong person to contend with, let alone a child.

What Effie needed from the first was a friend who would have stayed up nights, if need be, to try to understand the child, to talk with her about masturbation from the point of view of ethics and cleanliness and womanly dignity, and to fill her life so full of more interesting things that she would drop it as most children do.

Lines 50 and 51 show the attitude of the family to her, and the family ought to be helped to a kindlier attitude. One sees later on that when she comes under kindlier interest she really responds to it. There is something very tragic about the way she is shifted from place to place. Of course the reformatory that would send her out because she is difficult does a bad job. The difficult girl problem usually works out in some such vicious circle as this: An outside society gets to its wits' ends from lack of time, usually, and lack of sufficient workers of the right type to deal individually with the person needing moral help. They think the reformatory has all the time needed, and the girl is sent there. She has been and is hungry for affection and, getting it nowhere, finds that she gets excitement and attention (a sort of substitute) by being hateful. She keeps up the turmoil at the reformatory and they declare her unsuitable for their care and an alienist is called in. The school for the feeble-minded being full, the alienist wins out, and the girl is sent to an insane hospital. She is there found to be difficult, nay, impossible, and upsets everything, and so is declared normal and is returned to the community! The outside society, having failed in the first place, does not take her up again, or she does not care to be taken

up, but the red light district is always ready for recruits, and there we drop her and draw the curtain.

Now she may have needed in the beginning a "change of ancestry," but she also needed what we all need, that the first person that got hold of her outside of her family (since her family evidently was not a success with her) should struggle with her as Jacob wrestled with the angel! It is worth giving up everything to accomplish that, and I think you have to turn things around for people again and again until they see them clearly. I feel that if that child was normal mentally she should have been straightened out morally.

THE OTHER GIRLS

The Washington Associated Charities asks, "Has the city in which the Carey family were treated no non-support law, no child labor law or compulsory education law; and if not, is it not up to the people to secure needed legislation along these lines?" This same critic also notes a lack of collective planning. In a case of such difficulty there should have been more conference from time to time with relatives, church workers and others interested.

With regard to Dora, the very brief summary (1030-1057) does scant justice to the resourceful work done by the Children's Agency. Their battle with Dora's disabilities was much more intelligently planned and much more consistently carried out than the earlier attack upon Effie's problem.

Carrie's temper is given as the root of the evil (690), but what was the root of her temper? Was it a moral difficulty or a physical one? Not until they had been known nearly a year does the suggestion come from the physician that her peculiarities may be in part due to her disease. A nerve specialist might have found the difficulty in a nervous condition and have suggested both a régime of life, and training by herself or by others, that would induce an improvement. The effort would seem well worth while, since she is only twenty-one and her character has many good sides. (Smith.)

Carrie's disposition, of course, made it harder to influence her and yet the return to the mill meant throwing away seven months' treatment. Miss Morrison, in realizing (738) that some "alluring" employment was necessary, shows that interpretation was not lacking even if the ability to make it good was. . . . To find Carrie returning to the sanatorium a second time (1060) is not a surprise, but for her to be going back to the mill work a second time is very depressing. The tuberculosis sanatorium is certainly long-suffering, and I am afraid Carrie will be also. (Richards.)

Carrie's letter of October 9th shows two things that would help in caring for her. There is good stuff to build on. She can endure pain and appreciate beauty. In lines 443-445 especially, "I could not sleep, my leg was paining me, just lay there and looked up at the sky. The moon was shining right in my face." (Hodder.)

Bertha's motives do not seem to have been discovered, at least they do not appear in the record. Co-operation with her Catholic friends might have made them clearer. (Smith.)

The Washington Associated Charities urges that the priest should have been consulted as to Bertha; and the Buffalo Charity Organization Society complains that the lack of early medical treatment for Bertha shows its effects all through the record. "Why could not some member of her church have been

interested to bring a thorough physical examination about? Why could she not have had treatment by a specialist?"

A CHALLENGE

A doubt of the use of it all appears now and then in some of the reports. This doubt is clearly expressed by Dr. Goddard:

The thing that impresses me profoundly as I read over the pamphlet is the immense amount of time, labor, anxiety and even money that has been expended on these children, and I wonder if it has paid. I do not raise the question in the heartless way that it may sound, but really I am not able to discover from the conclusions, or the situation as it stands now, that the same results or as good could not have been attained much quicker and at a great deal less expense of time and money by another method, which while not as pleasant to apply perhaps would, nevertheless, be more efficient and really more scientific. If a person has a dislocated joint, it cannot be put into position without a good deal of pain. It has to be pulled oftentimes with very great force before it comes back into place. But we do not hesitate to do this. No one would think of taking a person with a dislocated joint and soothing him and giving him morphine to ease the pain and keeping him along in that condition. We apply the remedy, drastic though it is, knowing the outcome will abundantly justify the present pain.

I wonder whether there ought not to be a close analogy between these physical conditions and our treatment of these social dislocations. It is very evident from the context that these girls were not normal girls. . . . I wonder, then, if society as a whole, that is the State, not a local organization, not a private organization, or anything of the sort, but the State, which has the authority to deal with such matters, should not step in and say: "Here you are because of certain conditions, a drunken father and an incurably diseased mother. You are in the situation in which you are. Now we propose to do for you what our experience has taught us is the best thing that is to be done, not as a punishment but as treatment."

It seems to me that these people were allowed to decide their own affairs altogether too much. They, clearly, were not competent to exercise good judgment for themselves. It should have been used for them and should have been enforced, and if this came from a state regulation and state authority, there would have been no question about it. They would have accepted it and having once accepted it, it would not have been a hardship to them.

In other words, it seems to me that instead of inflicting the pain necessary to put the joint in place or to amputate the limb, or whatever we may take for our illustration, we have wasted our efforts by pitying the poor unfortunates and pampering them and working along the line of least resistance, hoping that the thing would cure itself and come out all right. In our efforts to be humane, we have really been inhumane, because we have prolonged agonies and undesirable conditions, which we might have terminated by prompt and quick action and fairly quickly ended. . . . What I have suggested here will not come about in 1912; let us hope that in 2012 it will certainly be in vogue.

If we use the word "State" not as an empty formula but as the name for *us* collectively, it would be admitted by Dr. Goddard, probably, that anything which gives us convictions in the place of opinions and a vital series of details in the place of vague outlines, will help us to be a State that can be trusted with control. The State has done what it now knows how to do for Effie and Carrie. How can we help it to do better in the future? Says Dr. Meyer:

To me this case is an inspiration to go on in the effort towards reforming the social end of organized medicine. My work in the dispensary leaves me highly dissatisfied unless I feel sure of the social end; and no work in a hospital is on a safe basis unless it is backed up by work with the home. The same holds for reformatories and truant schools. If we do not tamper sentimentally with the healthy demand for a system of penal retribution but use the time secured to cultivate a spirit of responsibility and a knowledge of the level on which a defective or criminal can keep himself straight and satisfied, and if we demand *records*, and an accounting for the work done, and critical digests of the experience *as a matter of official routine*, we can make some progress and give the public and the specialists something to learn from the accumulation of experience. We shall hear the narrow-minded complaints of the cost of distributing charitable funds or using appropriations until we teach the public what the expense is worth. . . .

The literature for the social worker's instruction does not exist to-day. Reviewing the cases at hand will be the best reading for them, and if there is enough pressure and enough demand the proper kind of literature will shape itself. Hence my hope that you will go on reporting actual cases and induce the moneyed powers to provide for possibilities to do more work fit to be published.

A SUMMING UP

What are the lessons drawn from this record that the case workers and secretaries of our charity organization societies should take straight into the day's work?

1. We can study our own case work, especially our failures, in the way herein illustrated; and we can draw out, in such study, the expert criticism available in our several communities.

2. We can insist upon closer study of each family history, beginning at first with a small minority of our cases, perhaps, if the resources for good work are quite inadequate, but pushing quietly and steadily for more thorough diagnosis. Effie's work history, school history, family history, physical history,—all were significant, and there were clues enough at hand, if they had been followed up promptly, to have saved—we cannot say with certainty to have saved the child, but perhaps to have done this, and to have saved years of blundering at least. In reading this record, the mind of the trained investigator fairly aches for more facts. Whom the gods wish to destroy they first prejudice against investigation.

3. We can heed Dr. Meyer's warning about the use of vague terms (page 61).

4. When the evidence is in, we can study the data gathered, examining each item in the light of all the others, sifting, co-ordinating, *considering*, until we see the situation sanely and as a whole. This drawing of reasonable inferences from our facts after scrutinizing the record paragraph by paragraph, after tracing the story of each member of the family personality by personality, is the most important single step in the whole helpful process. It challenges our ability to think, and no work is worth while which fails to do that.

5. We can keep a flexible, adaptable standard of relief (page 59) when we really think things through. If our main plan of action is

wholly sound, we can afford to ignore the popular superstitions both for and against relief-giving.

6. We can weigh the evidence of doctors and seek the advice of the best of them instead of merely numbering their separate statements and accepting all as of equal value. We can also make their judgments more helpful by giving them clear summaries to date of the social side of the case (see page 62). One of our correspondents says that, in her experience, doctors vary greatly in their willingness to study such summaries, and she has found it best to state her case verbally, as clearly and succinctly as possible, and then to hand the doctor the written summary before leaving.

7. The psychological clinic is a new tool. We can learn to use it, or to substitute for it, when we must, the best mental examination available.

8. If the compulsory education and child labor laws are no better enforced in Uniontown in 1912 than they were in 1905, when Effie went to work, then the C. O. S. has failed and succeeded in its family work largely in vain. But if, on the other hand, it has helped to mould public opinion and has worked successfully to secure better enforcement of the laws, its case work has probably been an important factor in this success. We can all make our case work count on the side of better laws and better administration.

9. "Several of our district secretaries," reports the New York C. O. S., "thought that this case and others like it presented a good opportunity for the awakening of public opinion in regard to the need of greater knowledge of such moral break-down and the making of provision for the care of people who are in this way a menace to the community." We can do little without the doctors and the courts, and the public institutions and the child saving agencies, but we can aid all four to find a program and put it through. The first step in that program is a clearer definition of the problem than we now have, and this clearer definition must come, in large part, through careful and devoted case work that is accurately recorded.

10. Mr. Ufford writes for the Washington Associated Charities, "We all agree that this is one of the best things that you have done for us through your Department. The interest in the record has been keen, and at least one of our workers—who chances to be one of the very best—confesses that the study of the record has prevented her from making mistakes which in her judgment were made in the treatment of this family group." It is in this spirit that we go forward; it was in this spirit that the workers who were responsible for these mistakes in treatment consented to submit the record of the Four Sisters for our study.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

VOL. III. (NEW SERIES)

APRIL, 1912

NUMBER 5

METHODS OF RAISING MONEY

A SYMPOSIUM

I

DELAWARE, OHIO (Population 9076)

By MRS. LEWIS G. WESTGATE

THE society which supports the organized charitable work in this Ohio university town is a federation of women's organizations called the Women's Federation for Social Work. Although the Secretary of the Federation is doing the work, so far as possible, along associated charities lines, her salary and most of the money she expends in relief and other work are raised by the women. When the organization first decided to employ a social worker, it was proposed by the President of the University that thirty men should subscribe ten dollars each as a contingent fund, to be drawn upon if necessary. The subscriptions were secured, but so far it has not been necessary to call for them.

Aside from this there has been no solicitation of subscriptions whatever. Some of the church societies and many of the business men have voluntarily given occasional relief. Physicians have offered their services gratis, and almost all persons from whom services or commodities have been purchased have given liberal discounts, because of the interest they have felt in the work.

The members of the Federation pay dues of twenty-five cents a

year. The income from this source, however, has been comparatively small. The remainder of the money expended has been raised by the various methods so well known to the ladies of the Middle West. Just before the work was actually begun, a play of humorous character was given in the opera house by local talent, the proceeds to go to the Federation. Two bazaars have been given in the University gymnasium, netting about eight hundred dollars. The French Club connected with the University gave a play in French, for which it charged admission, and turned over the proceeds to the Federation. An amateur club of girls also gave a play for the benefit of the work. The Histrionic Club of the Department of Oratory in the University is to donate part of the proceeds of its next play.

The most reliable source of income, however, during the last year has been the markets held every Wednesday afternoon through the season. For this the city was divided into districts, each district furnishing the market four times during the season. Home-made eatables of all kinds that would sell were solicited by the efficient committees, and the markets had no difficulty in building up a fine custom. It has not been so easy to secure the supply as the demand, for the solicitors are apt to become tired after working for awhile unless they meet with generous and adequate response in their districts.

It is not claimed that these methods of raising money are ideal, or that they can be expected to give a permanent income. They have had the merit, however, of calling the attention of the whole town to a kind of charitable work of which most of the people have been entirely ignorant. The publication of judicious reports from time to time as the work has progressed and the enlisting of volunteer workers to assist the Secretary have co-operated with the wholesale advertising of the plays and markets to make a great many people in the town more enlightened on the various subjects connected with modern philanthropy, and these people are waking up to the fact that many radical changes are needed from the old way of dealing with the poor and unfortunate. So the work of the Federation is preparing the way for a regularly organized Associated Charities in the city, which it is hoped will combine the resources, both of service and money, now employed in the various relief agencies of the city. Then these methods here outlined will be only supplementary to a plan of getting money organized on a more thorough business basis.

II

KENOSHA, WIS. (Population 21,371)

By LOUISE COTTRELL

The preparation of the list of people to whom appeals were to be made for the General Fund was in the hands of the Secretary of the Board of Directors, who was born and brought up in Kenosha. She used the telephone directory and her personal knowledge of the financial rating of possible contributors as the basis of her list, which included

five hundred names. Lodges and members of the Woman's Club were included. The list was referred to the Finance Committee, which made a few additions.

The chairman of that committee prepared two four-page leaflets and signed the letter of appeal which was sent with the first of the leaflets to every name on the list. This leaflet, entitled "What the Kenosha Associated Charities has Done," was attractively printed in red and black. An empty, desolate-looking room was pictured on the front page, with the following explanation: "A little girl eleven years of age was nurse to mother, mother to seven little ones, and landlady to seven boarders in this home." On the inside, thirty four-sentence paragraphs, numbered in red, told what the Associated Charities had done.

Remittances were checked off as they were received, and after an interval of one week a second letter, signed by the members of the Finance Committee, was mailed with the other leaflet enclosed to all who had not responded. This second leaflet bore on its first page a large clock dial about which were heaped huge coins. Above this was printed in colors, "What the Kenosha Associated Charities Can Do For You," and below it, "It Can Save You Time and Money." A few detached sentences inside told how. Both of these leaflets were eight inches high and six inches broad. With their accompanying letters they were mailed flat in envelopes of the same size, on which the titles of the leaflets were printed in colors in letters a quarter of an inch high.

After an interval of six weeks a third letter, signed by the President of the Board of Directors, was mailed, with stamped addressed envelope enclosed, to all persons from whom no response was yet at hand. Large posters in red and black were distributed in the more important stores for a period of two weeks immediately before the holidays reading as follows:

What the Associated Charities
Can Do For You

THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES CAN SAVE YOU

TIME

1. By interviewing for you those who seek your aid.
2. By furnishing, through the services of a trained investigator, facts concerning any case of distress in which you are personally interested.
3. By placing at your command the services of charitable organizations in 47 cities of America and Europe.
4. By presenting to you the physical, moral and industrial problems that face our community.

MONEY

1. By changing a supported into a self-supporting family.
 2. By preventing duplication of relief through correlating the work of all charitable organizations and individuals in the city.
 3. By freeing you from imposture.
 4. By applying your money where results accomplished will be permanent—best investment.
- By assuring you that:
5. All who seek aid are given an unbiased hearing.

6. All who seek aid are given emergency relief pending investigation of facts when circumstances demand it.
7. No cry of real suffering is ignored.

SUPPORTED BY VOLUNTARY LOCAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Put Us On Your Christmas List

This was our first campaign, for the society was only organized in 1911. The money appealed for was to be used for administrative expenses as well as for general emergency relief. The responses were as follows:

To the first letter	\$56	in cash and	\$50	in pledges
" " second "	700	" " "	100	" "
" " third "	200	" " "	150	" "
Total	\$956	" " "	\$300	" "

Previous to the mailing of the first letter and not in response to any former letter we received about \$900 in cash. The total amount received was thus \$1856 in cash and \$300 in pledges.

III

ELIZABETH, N. J. (Population 73,409)

By NELLE L. SWARTZ

Thirty years ago Elizabeth, with a population of thirty-three thousand, was a city of homes and, as was stated in a history at that time, it was hoped that a workingman would never set foot within it. Situated as it is only fourteen miles from New York City, with good railway and harbor facilities, it has naturally become an industrial city, and in thirty years its population has more than doubled. It is the same old story of transition from a village to a city, and many of its inhabitants go along serenely in the glorious tradition of the past, forgetting to look into the looking-glass and so shirking the challenge that it sends back to us.

The financing of a charity organization society in a city of this type presents a difficult problem. Twice a year, in spring and fall, the Charity Organization Society of Elizabeth sends out appeals for its General Fund; the list is prepared by members of the Finance Committee or members of the Board. A card index is kept of all to whom appeals are sent with the date of the appeal, and when a response is received the card is transferred from the appeal index to the contributors' box. Some cards indicate that five appeals were made to one individual before he responded. In other words, we keep everlastingly at it. Only about one-tenth of the people to whom we send appeals respond, but when they once contribute we can depend very largely upon their contributing from year to year.

Our appeals take various forms. One may be an informal letter from the Chairman of the Finance Committee; another most successful one has been a small printed circular, "What you are supporting when you contribute to the Charity Organization Society," with a list of our

activities following; another, "What we have done in the past three months about begging on the streets, widows, deserted wives, neglected children, old age, sickness, unemployment," with a statement of what we *must* do in the future.

When persons have once contributed our method is as follows: At the beginning of the same month one year later notices are sent, signed by our Treasurer and reading as follows: "Last year at this time you kindly sent us \$—— as your annual subscription to the Charity Organization Society. We beg to remind you that the Society is greatly in need of aid, and ask for a continuance of your assistance." Last year 8 per cent. of our subscribers failed to respond to this notice. After waiting a month a second letter, less formal and signed by the Superintendent, is sent to those failing to respond to the first one. In the same year slightly over one-fourth of those failing to respond to the first reminder responded to the second. Thus we are left with a very small percentage who fail to respond to either. The names of those in this class are turned over to the Finance Committee, whose members endeavor to make personal calls upon them or to write personal letters. Slightly less than 2 per cent. respond to these personal solicitations, leaving only 4 per cent. in a given year who fail to renew their subscriptions.

For our support we depend to a certain extent upon the press. We learned by bitter experience, however, that it was not wise to make appeals in behalf of families in the daily press. If the beneficiary does not see the appeal printed in the paper, one of his friends is sure to recognize it. When an appeal was made last year in behalf of a widow and her four children, our visitor one afternoon found the oldest girl, a child of ten years, with a crowd of interested neighborhood children about her pointing to the appeal and saying, "That's us!" We do use the press, however, to approach the public on the sentimental side. For example, in the extreme cold of January the papers printed daily stories of the demands made upon us and how our work had practically doubled. The responses were liberal. One red-letter day we received one hundred and twenty-five dollars from individuals who had never before contributed. Last summer in the extreme heat, when almost all of our well-to-do were enjoying the mountains or the seashore, we attempted some fresh-air work, the first ever done in this city. The newspapers took it up and stated each day how many mothers and children had been sent to the country by us, how much money was needed to carry on the work during the summer, and the amount received the day previous. We were amazed at the response. We were not only able to carry the work on successfully through the summer, but still have a little nest-egg to start the work this year. We made no attempt to get this money, the newspapers did it all.

For special family relief we aim to make personal appeals. Often those from whom we ask support for the General Fund will reply that they do not care to contribute toward administrative expenses but would

be glad to contribute toward the relief of a special family. Clubs, societies, etc., tell us that they wish to help in the same way. A card index is kept of those wishing to contribute and those contributing toward the relief of special families, with the kind of family in which they are most interested, so as to enable us to know how to reach them another time.

IV

YOUNGSTOWN, O. (Population 79,066)

By J. M. HANSON

Practically all of the funds of the Charity Organization Society of Youngstown, Ohio, are secured through the personal solicitation of the General Secretary and one of his assistants. About the first of January a subscription paper is opened consisting of six sheets on which the subscriptions are classified according to amounts. One sheet is for the \$300 subscriptions, the largest amount now received, the others for \$200, \$100, \$50, \$25, and smaller amounts, respectively. These sheets are issued by the Charities Endorsement Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and have a printed certificate across the top which is duly filled in with name and amount and signed by the proper officials of the committee and the society. Each sheet, being complete in itself, can be used singly if desired.

These sheets, folded and protected by an envelope, are carried by the secretary while about his regular work, and are presented to both old and prospective subscribers as the opportunity is found from day to day. Seldom is any special time given to the work. It is almost all incidental to the regular work of the society. Of course special calls have to be made at residences and occasionally several persons are called upon in succession in a given locality.

The exact procedure varies according to circumstances. The paper is usually presented at once and, in the case of an old subscriber, the statement is made that it is the annual call upon the subject of finances, and while the subscriber is looking over the paper the Secretary improves the time by talking of the work of the society. He reports upon some specific phases and results, and calls attention to the growth of the work and the need for larger financial support. The subscriber usually remembers the amount he has been giving and signs as the conversation proceeds. It is always promptly and cheerfully done, and frequently the amounts are increased.

When the Secretary approaches one who has never contributed, he presents the paper for examination while he makes apologies for having failed to give the opportunity of sharing in the work before. The fundamentals of the work are briefly referred to and some of the accomplishments of the year narrated. The value and the convenience to the community and to the prospective subscriber personally of having this clearing-house at hand to which all in trouble can be sent, is urged as a reason for his support. If he does not yield readily, the matter is not pressed too far. Tickets are given him for use in sending appli-

cants to the society and he is cordially urged to make free use of them. He is thus left under obligation to the society and will probably be ready to sign when seen at a later date.

There can be no doubt that this annual call upon all of the subscribers and this canvass of a considerable number of new ones, which gives them a chance to ask questions and to learn from the actual workers just what is being done, is productive of great good and well worth the time it consumes. It makes enthusiastic supporters out of the contributors and gives a united moral backing that is irresistible. Scientific charity is good business sense. It appeals to business men, but they must understand it before they will endorse it enthusiastically and the best way to inform them is through these personal interviews. Apart from the economy of this method, the advantages of a large personal acquaintance are self-evident. Full co-operation is assured from those personally acquainted with the Secretary, and the society finds it a great advantage in seeking employment to know the leading employers personally. Through this fuller co-operation the resources of the society are increased and it is made more helpful to the community.

As the city increases in population and the work grows, more help will be asked of the Board of Directors and other volunteer helpers in pushing this personal canvass. Next to the salaried workers, these are the ones to do this work, for they can give reasonably full information in regard to the principles and practice of the society.

In general our feeling as to personal solicitation for funds is this: People dread to ask for money for charity because they are made to feel like common beggars by the treatment accorded them by many of those that they approach. The solicitor is himself partly to blame for this. Too often he carries with him the beggar spirit instead of the independent bearing of the tax-collector asking that each individual give to the community what he owes it for the benefits he derives from the existence of charitable institutions. When attention is called to the matter, no one denies that the charities that take care of the unfortunates of a city are a necessity under present conditions. No one would willingly live in a community that did not maintain such institutions. They enhance the value of property and make the city a better place in which to live; they are therefore an asset to the city and the obligation is upon each citizen to contribute towards their support in proportion to his ability. This is not placing the matter on the highest ground, it must be admitted, but it is an effective argument with that large element in every community that will not hear the altruistic appeal.

V

ATLANTA, GA. (Population 154,839)

By JOSEPH C. LOGAN

The backbone of the support of the Associated Charities of Atlanta has been the five-dollar dues of members who have signed subscriptions for that amount annually until further notice, and to whom, until such notice is given, unadorned bills are sent regularly each year. The constitu-

tion provides for "sustaining members" who pay twenty-five dollars or more annually, and for "life members" who pay as much as one hundred dollars at any one time. These two membership classes have been practically ignored in the money-raising. From time to time the membership dues have been supplemented by the proceeds of special campaigns, conducted quietly by one or more members of the Board and usually for the specific purpose of paying off a deficit.

The Directorate assumes responsibility for the finances of the society, but expects the office force to raise funds used for material relief over and above the amount required for interim relief. Until this year the office force met this expectation, but one by one donors to case funds have been taken over as subscribers of larger amounts annually to the General Fund. This process has broken down the sharp barrier between maintenance and case funds, though the two funds are still kept entirely distinct on the books. The General Fund has now become a frequent contributor to cases for other than interim relief, though this was never true in the first four years of the society.

The Association was organized in April, 1905, and on November 1, 1906, at the conclusion of eighteen months, had 744 members, 717 of whom contributed five dollars only. For the year ending October 31, 1907, there were 820 members. For the fourteen months ending December 31, 1908, there were again 744 members, but during this period thirty-seven special contributors gave the sum of \$2800 in addition to the income from membership dues. For the next twelve months there were 1499 members, all but 65 of whom contributed five dollars, and during the year ending December 31, 1910, the membership was 1159. The deficit created during 1910 was in part made up by special contributions and in part carried over into 1911.

Starting 1911 with only about 1100 members and a deficit, the Board recognized that something had to be done to raise money. For one reason or another an organized canvass was postponed from time to time. The pressure of this duty interfered at every meeting of the Board with the prosecution of larger constructive work which otherwise would undoubtedly have been undertaken.

In August it was definitely planned that the Association would send out a series of ten follow-up letters at intervals of ten days to a selected list of names. Every third letter was to contain a definite appeal for an annual subscription, leaving the amount to the giver. All the while newspaper publicity was to be especially pressed. The letters were to be followed by a public mass meeting on Thanksgiving Day at which some man of national reputation was to be speaker and drawing card. Subscriptions were to be taken at this meeting. It was hoped that the meeting would also serve to fix Thanksgiving week as the season for annual reinforcement of the Association's treasury. If necessary, during the three days following the meeting, and prior to Thanksgiving Day, the Directors of the society were to solicit personally those upon the mailing list who had not previously responded.

These plans got as far as the eighth letter, which was mailed on November 9th. In the meantime it had developed that no speaker of such commanding prominence as was deemed essential could be secured for the public meeting. The Directors seemed to be faced with an arduous and unenthusiastic personal canvass. The direct financial returns from the letters had little more than paid for their cost. Undoubtedly these letters had had a high educational value, but how was this value to be converted into cash?

Pending the development of these plans, one member of the Executive Committee of the Association induced the Chamber of Commerce to send out a letter, over the signature of its President, asking each of one hundred and fifty prominent business men to furnish the Chamber with the names of "five young men between the ages of twenty and twenty-five whose real worth and promise were not generally recognized, but who gave evidence of becoming factors in the city's future growth and progress." The Directors of the Chamber of Commerce were advised of the fact that the Associated Charities desired the use of these names, but no publicity whatever was given to the effort to secure them. The names of one hundred and seventy-five young men were sent in.

When it became apparent that the public meeting would have to be abandoned and a personal canvass made, the member of the Board through whose initiative these names were secured suggested that the young men be asked to make the canvass. This was agreed upon. They were invited to a smoker by the President of the Chamber of Commerce to consider "one among the many important matters which from time to time will require your consideration, as one interested in the onward march of Atlanta and in all things that make for a greater and better city." The letter recited the manner in which the names of those receiving it had been secured.

About one hundred were present in response to this invitation. A representative of the Chamber of Commerce opened the meeting with the statement that they had been asked to come together for the especial purpose of considering the work and needs of the Associated Charities. The meeting was then turned over to the Directors of the Association.

The way those boys listened to a succession of lay sermons ought to give a cue to the ministry. The definite request was made of them that they secure \$6000 in permanent new annual subscriptions to the Association by Thanksgiving Day. They were asked to do this through their own organization, in their own way, but it was pointed out to them that the circular matter which most of them had received had been sent to two thousand people, a list of whom was available for them to work upon. They took the meeting in charge, elected a chairman and unanimously decided by a rising vote to undertake the job. The chairman was authorized to appoint an executive committee to manage the canvass, after which the meeting adjourned to meet four days later to perfect organization under the committee appointed.

No man who attended that meeting or afterwards did any actual

work in the canvass will ever regret it. There were some among the older men who feared that these juniors would feel buncloed when asked as a matter of grave public concern to raise money for charity. The outcome served to renew the faith of their youth.

It was decided at the adjourned meeting on Thursday to begin the canvass the following Monday morning, November 20th. The twelve members of the Young Men's Committee, who individually constituted the chairmen of as many separate soliciting committees, met Saturday night prior to the 20th and allotted among themselves the persons on the mailing list who were to be solicited. Arrangements had been perfected whereby the ministers of the city boosted the campaign in their Sunday morning services. Sunday afternoon all the committeemen met with their chairmen to receive final instructions concerning the canvass. It should be borne in mind that at all the meetings which had been held, charity organization was discussed fully and frankly. The fickleness of some objections and the superficiality of most complaints respecting individual cases was pointed out, but criticism based on verifiable facts was invited. The canvassers were inspired to investigate complaints personally. The result was that critics who could not give the name of those "whom the Association would not help" were confounded with their own ignorance. "Did you not even get the name or address?" they were asked. If these were furnished, the record was consulted and the true situation explained.

At the lunch on Wednesday, the 22d, more than \$6500 in new annual subscriptions was in hand. The work was done. Through it the Association had been put on a much safer financial basis and a strong group of coming young men, with many others whom they had solicited, were confirmed in loyalty to organized charity.

I was asked for this statement and have written it in spite of my feeling that it can be of little service to any other community. I have, however, a good prescription for raising money for an Associated Charities. It is this: DO GOOD CASE WORK.

VI

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Population 331,069)

By WALTER S. UFFORD

The basis of our appeals is a mailing list kept as accurately up to date as possible. This is made up from the social register, the élite book, the Government Blue Book, telephone book, assessors' lists, mercantile agency reports, society notes, automobile license-holders and the like. Its revision is constant on account of the frequent removals that occur at the national capital.

The chief method of appeal is the process letter. By having our own multigraph we are able to control the quality of these letters and to adapt them to special groups. A letter used this winter was printed in three colors. Red ink noted the fact that the Associated Charities

is endorsed by the Charities Endorsement Committee, the body of the letter was printed in purple, and the signature was inserted in black. For two or three years past the order of our appeals has been determined quite largely by the fact that Washington is a winter capital; that those who are best able to give do not return to town until late in the fall, so that it is not practicable to send appeals when our fiscal year begins, October 1st.

ORDER OF APPEALS.—1. By December 1st, the annual report is issued for the year ending September 30th. This report carries on its face a brief greeting to friends and contributors, and a subscription slip and return envelope are inserted between the cover and the title page.

2. On January 1st, the first formal appeal is sent out, with a leaflet enclosed, to former contributors.

3. At about the same time a general appeal with the same enclosures is issued to from five to seven thousand non-contributors.

4. About February 1st, a follow-up letter is sent to those who have contributed within recent years but who have not responded to the appeal through the annual report or the first letter. Usually another leaflet is enclosed.

5. About March 1st, another follow-up letter is sent to former contributors who have not renewed. This letter is individually typewritten in the case of larger subscribers and sometimes for the entire list, and is signed in autograph by the Chairman of our Joint Finance Committee.

One more attempt is made to reach the larger subscribers or special individuals who have not replied to previous appeals. The list is divided among members of the Finance Committee who are willing to write or sign special letters of a more personal character than the first three forms described above.

The above general method has its modifications from year to year. We are constantly in search of new names, and following the general appeal to non-contributors a follow-up letter is sent to certain of the same group more or less carefully selected. Among the variations this year was a Christmas letter sent about the 15th of December to a selected list of one thousand non-contributors. The immediate returns were not very large, namely, \$184.

In order to test the value of an old mailing list that last year yielded extremely scant returns, an experiment was tried with some twenty-five hundred non-contributors and a few former contributors who had not given for many years, all of whom had received repeated appeals. A letter was sent them inclosing a prepaid post-card reading as follows:

File No.

For several years past we have sent you our annual appeals.

We do not wish to cause you annoyance.

If you do not now feel like giving, will you not kindly indicate your pleasure by checking and remailing this card?

1. Before giving I should like to know more about your work.

2. I hope to give at some future time.
3. I shall be glad to be kept on your mailing list.
4. Please do not send me further appeals.

Kindly mail without signature.

These post-cards were numbered consecutively to correspond with the numbers stamped upon the file-card of the person addressed. The result of this procedure was as follows:

Number of letters sent with post-card enclosures.....	2,557
Number of subscription returns.....	115
Amount given to date.....	\$662
Number of post-cards returned without contributions.....	166
Divided as follows:	
Asked to be kept on mailing list with prospect of giving in the future.....	86
Requesting to be taken off list.....	52
Reported deaths, removals, etc.....	28

In other words, about eleven per cent. made some acknowledgment. Those who have not responded, it is safe to say, may be removed from the mailing list without spending further postage or expense upon future appeals. Some of these, however, may be restored to the list if the name comes up from some favorable source in the future. We believe that not a few persons who were in entire sympathy with our work, when asked to decide for or against giving, decided in our favor. This much should be said, however—these appeals were sent out doing the extreme cold weather so that the returns were probably more favorable than they would have been in the average Washington winter.

Last year in our annual report we inserted a slip just before the list of subscribers, asking for the suggestion of names of persons who might be interested in receiving a copy of the annual report and become contributors. Some two hundred and fifty new names were given us in this way. This year a similar experiment in a somewhat different form brought less satisfactory returns.

APPEALS FOR SPECIAL FAMILIES.—For the past two years just before Christmas we have appealed through the newspapers for special families where we needed to raise pensions or to give continuous relief. In 1910, the first year of the experiment in Washington, we appealed for eight such families, asking for \$1500. The response brought us approximately \$1200. This year we appealed for fourteen families, asking for \$2660. The response was prompt and generous, and the total amount given and acknowledged through the newspapers was nearly \$2800.

ORGANIZATION OF COMMITTEE.—The letters of appeal are issued in the name of a large committee which meets upon the call of the chairman. Last year this committee held frequent meetings throughout the winter. This year it has not been found necessary up to this time to do more than consult individual members of the committee. A little later it may be necessary to bring them together to plan the raising of the last two or three thousand dollars needed to complete the budget.

Of course, there is no way so effective in raising money as the personal appeal of one member of the Board or Finance Committee to his own associates, but experience seems to show that while this may be done in times of emergency few men are willing to engage in a personal canvass year after year.

We are still of the opinion, expressed on more than one occasion, that our methods of raising money lead to unnecessary competition and unnecessary duplication, and are therefore more or less wasteful and ineffective. The ideal method would be to have our private charities submit their budgets to a voluntary Board of Estimate and Apportionment, to have these budgets explained and justified in open meeting, and to have an endorsement by the Board of Estimate of the amounts approved by them for specific pieces of work by accredited agencies; to have this Board assume responsibility for the raising of this joint budget; to create such strong public opinion in favor of this endorsed philanthropic work that every person in the community able to give should be interested and led to assume his share of the responsibility; to have the campaign sharp and short; to assign, possibly, a Charities' Day for the collection; and to give full publicity to the list of those contributing. We believe that such a method carefully thought out and put into practical operation would enlist the services of the strongest men in the community; and that whereas at the present time men shrink from approaching their associates for their favorite charities they would have no hesitation in doing so with the appeals systematically made on some such plan as that outlined above. Our Hebrew friends, through their United Hebrew Charities, have already pointed the way, and demonstrated the success of the joint appeal among their coreligionists. When the civic conscience becomes as strong as the religious consciousness, we believe gentile charities will be able to put a similar scheme into operation.

CASE ILLUSTRATIONS IN APPEAL WORK

IF the management of a hospital, in order to raise money, wished to use in their printed appeals illustrations of medical and surgical work, they should state their cases accurately, should draw no inferences, however flattering to the institution, that did not square with the facts of disease both in the hospital and outside of it. But should they offend by writing about cases in sloppy journalese, the medical staff ought to strike, and so should we social workers when social case work is similarly treated. The following is a portion of an appeal issued by a charity organization society, all of which is in the same tenor. We select it from our files because it is a striking example of what we mean; the actual work of the society is probably far better than this account of it.

1. HERE'S A WIDOW—A GOOD WOMAN—A KIND AND INTELLIGENT MOTHER. SHE has four little children to support. The most she can earn won't do it. She starves herself to feed them. She falls sick. Poverty has caused disease. Her

income stops. The children lack for food. Disease has caused more poverty. Doctors would call such a process "the vicious circle."

2. HENRY IS A NOT OVERLY AMBITIOUS HUSBAND. ONE DAY HE LOSES HIS JOB. He hunts a while in vain. Even when he worked steadily he and his family of five lived from hand to mouth, because it's impossible for a family man who earns \$9 a week to live nowadays anywhere else than on the poverty line. When his hand stopped for those few days, mouths began to suffer. Because he lacks spirit he gives up. He deserts his family and skips across Newtown Bridge. He takes to the Broad Highway, begs—which he finds easier than working for a living—and becomes Hungry Hank, the hobo. Pretty soon he is a thief as well. Poverty, the cause of crime. Back home, his worse than widowed wife and worse than orphaned children are starving. Crime, the cause of poverty. That "vicious circle" again.

3. MARY IS JUST A WORKING GIRL. ONE DAY SHE FEELS SICK, BUT SHE STICKS to her work because she must hold her job, being the sole support of an invalid mother and little sister. Serious illness results from this overwork. While she lies on her sick bed in that miserable tenement home she hears the little sister crying for bread. After she recovers, she finds another girl feeding her machine. After a fruitless search for work, utterly bitter and disheartened, she takes to the "Easiest Way." Poverty has bred disease, disease more poverty, and this poverty, vice. That malicious circle still.

4. THERE'S YET ANOTHER CIRCLE. POVERTY MAKES FOR SULLEN OR VIOLENT, but ever deep, discontent—this may swell into a great wave of social unrest—this will mean disrupted business, restricted credit, shut shops, unemployment, lawlessness—and the upshot is that poverty may clutch even you in your comfortable home and make you one of its very own.

We didn't imagine the first three cases. They are the daily happenings in hundreds of homes.

What's the remedy? It's A QUESTION OF DOLLARS.

Case 1 needs relief—such a sum weekly as shall maintain health and working efficiency—a sum arrived at by working out scientifically the budget of necessary expenses and subtracting from that the woman's earnings. It needs also skilled service—medical attention—day nursery facilities—proper employment—instruction in domestic economy and child care through a visiting housekeeper. Care in the home always costs less than institutional care, and besides, it preserves family life.

Cases 2 and 3 need a soul doctor—a trained welfare worker who knows how (1) to get at the causes of distress; (2) to formulate a plan; (3) to carry out the plan by enlisting the co-operation of other agencies, employers and legal machinery, if need be, and by restoring the man and girl to self-respect and self-help. Both relief and skilled soul-service cost money.

This appeal fell into the hands of a single-tax agency, which forthwith proceeded to publish it with strong commendation of its premises and hearty contempt for its conclusions. "Just why a trained social worker should be needed to get at the cause of the distress when the circular of the society plainly states that poverty is the cause does not appear. The reason may be that one of the duties of this trained worker will be to find a cause less likely to reflect on existing conditions," etc. And then, in another paragraph, "The society complains that it has been supported by less than half of one per cent. of the citizens of ——. That is less than 2000 persons. That seems about all who ought to support it. The number of beneficiaries of legalized robbery in — is probably no more than that."

We do not urge writers of appeals to be more careful in order that they may avoid the fire of the one-cause men of various social faiths.

The one-cause men have their uses and we have ours, but ours are sadly crippled when statements such as the foregoing are *not* challenged. It is monstrous to suggest to a man that he should attempt to relieve or forestall distress because otherwise distress may clutch him. The danger is not in his revolt from such an argument but in his acceptance of it. The homeless man story leaves the most important causes of homelessness quite unaccounted for, if Mrs. Solenberger's study means anything. The story of the girl who took the easiest way leaves out of account one of the most frequent causes of prostitution, namely, mental defect (see *Survey*, March 2, 1912). The story of the widow omits entirely the cause of her widowhood. In a group of four paragraphs all dealing, presumably, with the subject of causes, there could hardly be a larger number of dropped stitches. And then the remedy—it is all a question of dollars; you send us a check and we'll do the rest. The more profoundly we believe that a sound case work method will reveal many social remedies that are now hidden from us, the more heartily should we rebel against permitting case work to be used as a substitute for those remedies that are now definitely revealed. It is of the very essence of a sound method, in fact, that it is vigilantly on guard against such substitution.

“OFFICE METHOD” CRITICISMS

Since the publication of Mr. Hall's two articles on “Office Methods in Small Societies,” we have received letters from a number of writers—one from Kingston, Jamaica—telling of the help these articles have given in the office problems which confront all of us. We have also had a few letters of friendly criticism, like the one printed below from Mr. Berkeley G. Tobey, the financial secretary of the Philadelphia society. We wish we might have more letters such as these. The particular methods that Mr. Hall advised—and he was considering only the methods which would be worth while in a small society—may not all be the very best methods. If any one of them seems to a reader particularly bad we hope he will not hesitate to suggest something better. Mr. Tobey's letter is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY,

My dear Mr. Hall:

February 20, 1912

In the February BULLETIN in your article on “Office Methods in Small Societies,” I take exception to what you say on page 42 under “Records of Relief Disbursements” that they should never be in cash, and also to your grocery order form. It would seem to me that both your check and your grocery order would be a hardship and possibly a mortification to the applicant in many cases. [Mr. Tobey's own society, I am informed, follows the practice described—checks for all relief disbursements, the visitor herself cashing the check for the family in the few cases where the recipient cannot get it cashed easily at some grocery store. I see no “hardship” in that. “Mortification” there would possibly be at having the grocer know that charitable relief was being given. This knowledge by the grocer is also, I suppose, the basis of Mr. Tobey's objection to the grocery order form, but it is inseparable from all relief-giving unless we

simply hand the cash over to the persons relieved, allowing them to spend it as they please, for coal, groceries or what-not, or for the payment of rent. This is an alternative far worse than the mortification referred to, for what assurance would the society have that the money was spent for the purpose the society intended? F. S. HALL.]

Again on page 46 you state that "contributors ordinarily are not willing to give oftener than once each year, and do not like to be asked to do so before the year is up." As a general rule, this is probably so, but I feel very strongly that all contributors should have an *opportunity* to give to some special work of the society in addition to their general contributions, and I have found in my own experience that many contributors appreciate this opportunity and avail themselves of it, an appeal sent out in June for summer work to November, December, January, February, March and April general contributors bringing in excellent returns. The more we consider our contributors as friends interested to help whenever and wherever possible, the more liberty we will feel it right to take in appeal matters. [I agree most heartily. F. S. H.]

In my experience the signals fastened in rows to the tops of the cards of a contributors' or non-contributors' file, of whatever size, are an abominable nuisance. Reason, the best of them will not stay put. [This is a serious objection. I have used signals for three years and have never known one to come off, and others have made the same report to me. Still others, I find, have had Mr. Tobey's experience. Under the system described a signal off means that a giver is not automatically asked to renew when his year is up, and there is danger therefore that he may be forgotten altogether and his gift lost. This danger is not great in a small society. It would hardly exist at all in the case of a large giver, and the convenience of the automatic reminder more than offsets this risk. But I am convinced that with a large list of contributors—300 or more—the risk is too great. Some experiments are being made with another scheme, about which we may have something to say later on. If signals are to be used, none should be considered at all except those with broad steel jaws equal in width to the top of the signal itself. Those that have a slender tongue in the center of the signal are quite useless. F. S. H.]

On page 49, under "Acknowledgment of Contributions," I think it is of vital importance that you should have added, after your statement that "each contributor has the right to expect a prompt acknowledgment of his contribution" and that this should be a printed form, the additional item that a *personal letter* from the General Secretary or Financial Secretary should accompany the formal receipt to every *new* contributor, if not to all contributors. It is no additional expense in postage, a slight additional labor, and a courtesy very much appreciated. [I entirely agree. This has been my own practice for a number of years. F. S. H.]

I hope you do not object to my criticisms, and I think your effort to standardize office methods and appeal systems is very fundamentally important work and one in which I wish you all and every success.

Sincerely yours,

BERKELEY G. TOBEY.

IF ANY CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY HAS FOUND OR INVENTED SOMETHING IN THE LINE OF OFFICE SYSTEM WITH WHICH IT IS MUCH PLEASED BECAUSE IT WORKS WELL, THE SECRETARY WILL CONFER A GREAT FAVOR BY WRITING TO THE DEPARTMENT ABOUT IT. MR. HALL, THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, IS GATHERING MATERIAL ON "SYSTEM IN SOCIAL WORK," AND WILL PROBABLY HAVE SOMETHING MORE IN PRINT WITH REGARD TO IT BEFORE LONG. HE WISHES TO BE KEPT INFORMED AS TO THE BEST METHODS DISCOVERED IN EACH OF OUR SOCIETIES IN ORDER TO PASS THEM ON.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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MAY, 1912

NUMBER 6

BEGGING STREET VENDERS AND PEDDLERS

By CAROLINE DEFORD PENNIMAN,*

General Secretary of the Associated Charities of Cumberland, Md.

THERE is one phase of the "passing on" system which more than any other brings home to us the shifting of responsibilities by one community upon others, and that is the generally adopted plan of dealing with so-called street vendors or peddlers, who in reality cloak their begging intentions under an exterior of seeming business enterprise.

These individuals, as far as I have been able to find out, are dealt with usually by the police departments in collaboration with the Mayor of the city where the peddler happens to be, or with some other official to whom his authority is delegated. The method of procedure appears to be as follows:—The peddler, with or without his goods to sell, drifts into the city from a near-by point. He is apt to be either wholly or partially blind, lame, suffering from the loss of one or more limbs or from some lifelong deformity, half sick or wholly immoral. The rôle of wandering peddler in cities, towns or villages, when cloaking, as has been already indicated, the desire and intention of begging, is only in demand among the unfit and abnormal.

* Since this article was written Miss Penniman has become secretary of the new Associated Charities of the Bethlehems (Pa.).

Having arrived in town, the peddler may try his luck at selling without a license, until some individual or policeman demands it of him. If the police find him without it, he is sent to the Mayor's office, where a typewritten permit is usually given him, allowing him to sell without payment of the usual fee. For the rest of his stay in the town he is safe, therefore, unless someone objects to his begging and makes a complaint, which does not happen very often. He is safe because an unthinking official has set the seal of his approval upon the man's methods of making a living, and an unthinking public follows the lead by buying shoe-strings and other commodities "for anything you want to give." What unthinking person would fail to spend a few cents upon a poor blind man or a physical wreck or monstrosity? Hearts are easily touched by apparent misery and suffering, and the small coin passes easily from one hand to the other in lieu of personal interest. If one could count the money thus expended yearly in any city in this country, it would probably mount up very considerably, and the number of peddlers would be found to mount up, probably, in any community where permits are freely dispensed.

The peddler, having exhausted the benevolence of one town, passes on to the next, where his possession of the typewritten permit from the Mayor of the town just left usually insures him an unquestioned right of way to the pocketbooks of the public. And so he continues his journey from one place to another—more degraded, more beggarly, less helpable as the years roll on.

In Cumberland, during 1910-11, we have induced the Mayor to send to the Associated Charities all applicants for free peddler's licenses. Without exception they have been strangers to the town, coming in to stay only a few hours or days. None were going to stay long enough, apparently, to make it worth while to pay the regular fee. Not one was normal, and yet there was not one who could not have been taught in the past to make an honest living; nor was there one whom the Associated Charities could conscientiously recommend for the desired permit. When investigation was possible such letters as the following were received:—

December, 1910.

Dear Madam:

I am just in receipt of a letter handed me by our Mayor in reference to one W— N—. I beg to state I have known this man for fourteen years or more. He has never given us any trouble, he never begs here but goes away, gets his money, comes back and spends it with us. I think his statement to you about his past and present condition is correct. He has no real estate here, has some little personal property. As for his financial condition I can say nothing. He seems always to have money to buy what he wants, and lives well.

As to advising you what to do with him when he visits you again, that is hard for me to do. We have a law here that prohibits begging.

Very respectfully,

J— A—, *Chief of Police.*

The above letter refers to a blind man, travelling during the Christmas holidays with his wife and little daughter. He sold cards bearing printed doggerel verses, and was stopping at one of the best city hotels.

February, 1911.

Re Samuel M—

Dear Madam:

I duly received your letter asking us to get the particulars about Samuel M—. I called at the mother's house yesterday afternoon, and found that Samuel had just arrived home that morning. She says, when he lost his limbs she gave him a good business education at a Business College here, but he got in with a lot of wild boys and she could do no good with him, and instead of wanting to learn something like book-keeping, he preferred to come and go from his home, and travel about the country begging his way. . . . His statement that he makes thirty-five dollars a month and expenses, travelling for his firm is untrue, for he simply begs his way about. . . . Samuel lost his legs when he was twelve years of age. . . . The mother is a widow and takes in boarders. . . . She says she cannot do anything with the boy as the life he likes is to roam about the country begging, though he never begs in this city.

Very sincerely yours,
W— S—.

The subject of this letter was a boy about eighteen years old, whom I found one morning, sitting on his crutches on the pavement, exhibiting one wooden leg with his trousers turned up above the knee. A more truly repulsive sight can hardly be imagined. He was ostensibly selling pencils. He had no permit, and rather than apply for one to our society he left town.

It is time this custom so universal and so fraught with opportunities not only for imposition and degradation on the part of the peddlers, but for conscienceless neglect of its defectives on the part of different communities, should be checked. It would seem wise to strike at the root of the trouble through individual investigations made by local societies co-operating with the police forces and the Mayors of towns and cities, followed up by strict enforcement of existing laws and enactment of additional necessary ones. The custom can only be stopped by making it unlawful and by each community conscientiously caring for its own defectives—not sending them out through neglect to other places to beg for a livelihood.

I have in mind one instance which we have discovered in Cumberland. It is that of a blind white man who claims Cumberland as his home, owns property here, and is a member of a prosperous family in Baltimore. He makes his living entirely by selling cards in western cities, where he is guided about by a very handsome dog, whose photograph is on the cards which are sold. He has travelled extensively and in the last year must have visited at least a few large cities, yet we have had no inquiries about him from any society anywhere. He never begs in Cumberland, and probably no one here save the Associated Charities knows how he makes his living. In his case, as in the case of the other blind man I have mentioned, nothing can be done to stop his operations in other places by his own community. To stop his begging

career in the cities where he sells his cards is the only protection for those cities, and that can be done of course by investigation and enforcement of the law.

While we have refused to recommend the permits in Cumberland, we have tried to investigate each case, and the same story has developed each time. A man once caught in the meshes of the "wandering" net is a hard fellow to help, but while we may not be able to influence him, surely we ought to try to prevent new men from falling into the same net.

CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT A RUNAWAY BOY *

JERRY at office. Says he ran away from home in Kingston in August because his father whipped him. Went to Holt and then beat his way to Jackson. Decent-looking little fellow. Says he is willing to go home now.

March 4, 1901—Letter written Kingston Associated Charities.

JACKSON ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, March 4, 1901.

Associated Charities,
Kingston.

Dear Mr. Lovell:

A boy by the name of Jerry Hughes Mason came to our office to-day asking for work. He gives his age as 16 and says that he is the son of John and Mary Mason, 111 Perryman St., Kingston. He says he is the oldest of six children, having four brothers and a sister at home; that he ran away from home in August on account of a whipping which he received from his father because he refused to attend school. He tells us that he attended the summer school on Queen Street of which Mr. Rocksford is Principal. He also says that he worked for a man by the name of R. J. Searls and for a short time for the Northwestern Telegraph Co.

The boy went from Kingston to Holt and then to Jackson. He has been here one month and has had a very hard time getting along, having had no employment during that time. We thought he would be willing to go home, but he is a little ashamed to do so and perhaps dreads meeting his parents and in addition to this he is ragged and entirely without money. He is, however, willing that we should write to his people. We have arranged for his care temporarily at the Central Y. M. C. A. and will try to give him work for the necessary clothing.

Will you kindly call on his parents to ascertain what they wish done for the boy? If they are unable to pay the full rates we can secure a half-rate ticket for him. He tells us that he has neither written to nor heard from his people since he left in August.

Hoping to hear from you soon in this matter, I remain,

Very truly yours,

MARY THOMAS.

KINGSTON ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, March 5, 1901.

Miss Mary Thomas,
Jackson Associated Charities.

Dear Miss Thomas:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication in reference to Jerry Mason. We are quite familiar with his case and the facts furnished to you

* See "One Thousand Homeless Men," Alice Willard Solenberger, p. 259.

by him concerning his previous history coincide with our record. He has previously absconded from home and this Society has co-operated with the father in his efforts to reclaim him. Our last record, October 1st last, runs as follows:—

"J. ran away from home again July 31st and has not since been heard from. His father is in failing health. He has been ill and out of work and the mother is oppressed with grief and anxiety. Mr. M. says that he has not the means to pursue J., who as he has discovered is getting to be a desperately bad boy. He gets drunk, runs with vicious girls and is coolly defiant of parental control."

The father, John Mason, formerly employed in this city by the Northern R. R., moved in December last to Brantingham, where as we are informed he is now in the employ of the Great Northwestern R. R. The family comprises a wife and four children younger than J. We have written Mr. M. informing him as to the contents of your letter.

Yours very truly,

ALBERT LOVELL.

KINGSTON ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, March 6, 1901.

Miss Mary Thomas,

Dear Madam:

I enclose you a letter received this day from the father of Jerry Mason of whom you wrote. This letter although a little incoherent sufficiently indicates his situation and desires in reference to the boy. In my effort to find Mr. Mason after receipt of your letter, I first learned that he had moved out of the city. To ascertain his location I applied to the railroad people among whom he formerly worked. Operator Pratt kindly offered to wire him information concerning the boy obtained by perusal of your letter.

This communication is in reply to the telegram, which was naturally received in advance of my letter written to him that same day. My letter fully satisfied the inquiries as to your address and also included to some extent the advice sought as well as all the particulars mentioned in your letter. The advice given was to the effect that J. after such an experience of hardship as he had suffered might, if given the opportunity, be content to settle down into a steady boy at home. The father is distrustful, fearing to place in his hands even a railroad ticket. This distrust I think is quite reasonable. Perhaps you are better suited than anyone else to sound the boy as to his inclinations and purposes. If he shows any honest disposition to return home, go to work and be a decent boy, that desirable result might be easily promoted. The father doubtless can raise the price of a half-fare ticket.

If, however, he is not disposed to submit himself to what is right and necessary, it would be well to keep him in sight if possible until the father can claim him. You will doubtless deal directly with the father hereafter and it seems scarcely needful that we should enter further into the case although entirely willing to do so in any way that may seem helpful.

Very sincerely yours,

ALBERT LOVELL, *Sec'y.*

BRANTINGHAM, March 5, 1901.

Mr. Lovell,

Dear Friend:

I this A. M. received message from Bert Pratt, operator in Northern R. R. Yard's Office, stating that you had my son in Jackson. Now Mr. Lovell please give his address. I will write to him or do my writing to you. Now this is my intention to go and get him. Give him one more trial first. I will send him some clothing and if I would send him money he might use it some other way. Of course my intention is to go after him. I got to arrange to go or send after him. I have not got only my month's pay and I will not get it until the 13th. I will stop and see you on my way back and bring him to you. I do not know

how I can ever pay you for the trouble you have put yourself to on my account. Thanking you for all.

My whole family is sick and of course I am all broke up on this account. Please send me the address to write to and to send his clothing to also. Please have them to look out for him not to let him get away from them until I can arrange to get him. Please advise what to do.

Yours respectfully,
JOHN MASON.

March 8, 1901—Boy given errands to do for the office.

BRANTINGHAM, March 6, 1901.

Miss Mary Thomas, Supt., Associated Charities.

I received letter to-day from Mr. Lovell, General Secretary of Associated Charities of Kingston stating my son Jerry is in your charge. I will go and get him. Of course it will cost me a large sum of money. Mr. L. says that you would get him a half-fare ticket from Jackson to Brantingham. I will send you the money in a day or so. I expect to hear from Supt. of Eastern Ry. also Supt. of Great Western Ry. in regard to rate. If I can get half a cent a mile will send to you the money, but money is a hard thing for me to get. I have five children to look after and small pay barely make ends meet. My wife been sick almost two months. Also my little girl. They don't have just the right kind of care on account of no means to do. Yesterday I got message from a man named Bert Pratt from Kingston stating my son was in Jackson so I had Chief of Police of this city to send word to Chief of your city to go to Central Y. M. C. A. and take him and hold him until I could get away and go for him. I did not know that he was in your charge. I would send some money to clothe him but I will find it hard to raise the \$9.50 to send to you. He is the cause of his mamma being sick. She is up nights crying and taken on about him and he the oldest of the family. If he wants to come home he is welcome. I have spent lots of money on this boy. Give him private school lessons and tried to make a man of him. Also music lessons. Always liked by his teacher and behave in school. I started October 1st, 1900 to look for him. Went to St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Holt. Got back to Kingston the second day of November. This put me back in money by losing so much time. Now Miss Thomas will you please give him a good talking to and good advice. I see no way of ever paying Lovell of Kingston back for all the trouble he has gone through for me. Also thanking you for your kindness. I may telegraph you the \$9.00 before you get this letter to send him home or send you a letter for ticket as I took matter up on receipt of message yesterday to Supts. of these roads as I am a railroad man. I remain,

Yours respectfully,
JOHN MASON.

March 11, 1901—Boy has done errands and odd jobs all week to pay for board and lodging. Gentlemanly and well behaved.

Letter from his father orders him arrested.

Called at Central Y. M. C. A. to see if police had taken J.

Found that he had not been there for three days.

Telephoned Men's Lodging House. Boy has been staying there several nights.

J. at office. Telephoned police that he was here. Thought best to allow him to be arrested as he talked of going out of town and his father asked that he be held until his arrival.

Boy taken to Morrison Street Police Station.

March 12, 1901—Called at police station. Found boy in under-

ground cell. Was shocked with change in his appearance; dirty, haggard, pale. Looked real ill. Was faint from lack of food. Had not taken the jail food. Had a talk with boy. At first would not consider going home. Finally agreed to do so.

Had J. paroled to me. Took him back to office, gave him food.

After lunch took him to a clothing store and bought trousers, shirt, underclothes, suspenders and cap. Gave him second-hand shoes at the office.

Gave him 20 cts. for night's lodging and breakfast.

Put him upon his honor to return in the morning.

JACKSON ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, March 12, 1901.

Dear Mr. Mason:

Your two letters in regard to your son Jerry, the first enclosing a letter for J. and the second a check to pay for his ticket, have been received. Since writing Mr. Lovell on March 4th, I have kept the boy from day to day until final word should be received in regard to him. He has had work of one sort or another about the office by which he has earned enough to pay for his board and lodging. I have also furnished him with a few absolutely necessary clothes as he was almost in a destitute condition when he came to us.

During the week or more that he has been here I have become quite well acquainted with the boy and have won his confidence more or less. The first day he agreed to go home, but yesterday when he heard through my assistant that I had heard from you he seemed very restless and told a friend of his (a young boy whom we have also been assisting) that he thought he would go out of town. For this reason I thought it best to allow the police to take him up as you had already requested through the Brantingham Chief of Police. J. was therefore arrested and taken to the station yesterday afternoon to be held until I had orders from you in regard to his ticket.

Your second letter enclosing a check came to the office not long after he was taken away and this morning I went to the jail to see him hoping to secure his consent to return to Kingston in time so that he might take the 10.30 A. M. train as you requested. This unfortunately was not possible, so the boy will not start until to-morrow, Wednesday, on the train you specify.

The change in J. during his short confinement in the jail is almost startling. He had eaten nothing from the time he was placed there until I took him away this morning. He staggered with weakness and looked really ill. The Police Station is a wretched place for a boy to stay even for a short time. The cells are in the basement below the level of the street. The place is dirty and the air is vile. I thought it would not be safe for the boy's health to leave him there an hour longer. I had a talk with the boy and think the greatest part of his objection to returning home lay first in the fact that he was still poorly clad and disliked to return in that way, and secondly because he feared his welcome there, saying that you might not say anything at first, but afterward would taunt him about having run away. At first he seemed much afraid that you would send him to a reform school, but I assured him that you had promised in one of your letters that you would not do this.

J. has gone through some very hard experiences, and with a boy's own pride, he may not admit it to you and may even rather boast of his travels, etc., but I think at heart he really means to try to go to work and be a good boy if given this opportunity. He has promised me that he will try his best.

I will follow your instructions exactly in regard to the train and hope to send him on to you to-morrow. I shall be very glad to hear from you after his arrival.

Very truly yours,

MARY THOMAS.

March 13, 1901—Boy at office.

Went with him to the depot, bought ticket and gave him \$1.00 for incidentals. Put him on train in care of conductor.

Boy came in office at noon. Said conductor had refused his ticket and put him off the train. Had ticket with him. Could see nothing wrong with it. Went with boy to depot. Ticket agent said nothing was wrong with the ticket. Changed the stamp on it so boy could go on next train. Put him on train again. He agreed to write soon after he got home.

Telegraphed boy's father asking him to meet him.

BRANTINGHAM, March 14, 1901.

Miss Thomas,

Dear Friend:

Our son arrived home at 10.45 this morning, clean and looking very well. Thanking you for all. I don't know how to express for thanks to you for all the kindness he says he received from you Miss Thomas and her assistant in office. I now pray for his good behaviour and staying at home. His mamma is only thirty-four years of age. To-day she looks as if she was forty-five also myself. I have been up night and day looking for him. He has never done anything in regards to dishonesty not as I have heard of. J. says that you are going to come East some time this summer. If you do we both would be pleased to have you call on us. Please let us know ahead about one week. You would enjoy to go to Niagara and go through Lake Michigan or Lake Superior as I think that I could get a pass to go to Duluth and return. That is the length of Lake Superior. Of course we are poor, but lots to eat. Now hoping you will come to see us. You can write to Elizabethport or to P. M. or to Pres. of Village for my records or to any bank, but on account of hard times we have none just now. Now please write to our J. and give him advice. I will close by thanking you all in office for your kindness. We remain,

MR. AND MRS. JOHN MASON.

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MAY 2 TO 29, 1912

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DOUBLE NUMBER



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VOL. III. (NEW SERIES) JUNE—JULY, 1912 NUMBERS 7 & 8

CASE HISTORY SERIES

CASE II

RUTH STRONG

NOTE.—This record and that of Blanche Potter which follows are reproduced here because they throw light upon the treatment of difficult girls, a subject already considered in the December and March BULLETINS. Before turning, in this series, to other types of case work, it has seemed worth while to illustrate a more successful handling than in the "Four Sisters" of border-line cases. The records are reproduced quite fully in the hope that social case workers will be interested in the details of the Children's Agency's technique. We can often learn more from other forms of case work than from our own. No correspondence is given, and a few other entries, including all merely formal ones about letters sent and received, are omitted. Names of persons, places and agencies have all been changed, and the city in which the work was done is called "Burlington." Suburban towns round about are indicated by letters of the alphabet, with the distances from Burlington in brackets. In changing case records for printing, the geography, which has a distinct bearing upon treatment, is one of the most awkward things to indicate.

Date, June 1, '06.

Residence, 17 Wood Rd., Carlisle.

Application: First? Yes. *Made by* Mother.

Sent by Dr. L. E. James, 43 Riverside St.

Sept. 19, '08, 89 Rivington Ave., Burlington.

Col. of ch. wh.; *fa.* wh.; *mo.* wh. *Relig. of ch.* P.; *fa.* P.; *mo.* P.

Date of birth, Sept. 19, '87. *Age on ap.* 18 yrs. 9 mos.

Vaccinated, Yes. Physical condition, Lacks vigor, has eruption on face. Has attended school where, Carlisle.

Character, Wayward.

Father's name, Herbert.

Residence, 14 Spruce St., Burlington.

Occupation, what and where, Shoe store, \$18 (Webster's).

Character, Dissipated.

Mother's name, Mary Lawrence.

Residence, As above, with girl.

Occupation, what and where, At home, has lodgers.

Character, Respectable.

Married, when and where, Divorced 10 years ago.

Other members of family, names, ages, characters and occupations,

Stepfather, Alexander Lawrence.

Mat. aunt, Athens.

References, Dr. James.

New add., 4 Delancey St., Carlisle.

- 1 June 1, '06. MOTHER appeared at office asking advice for Ruth, who is entirely beyond her control. Had gone to Dr. James, her family physician, for advice, and he had recommended some institution where she could be under rigid control. [Ruth's home in Carlisle, 10 miles from Burlington.]

- Ruth was in school until year and a half ago. Left grammar school when in last grade. Mother wished her to finish grammar and go on to high school, but R. refused to do this, saying wanted to get to work. Went into store as salesgirl for a time, but soon tired of this and went
10 into shoe factory. Only stayed a little while there, and then mother found her a place where she could care for children. Tired of this and went into shoe factory. Left that after trying several positions, and now refuses to work at all.

- Mother and father separated long ago. After two years mother secured divorce, and two years after that married stepfather, Alexander Lawrence. Latter and R. have always gotten on well until recently, as stepfather has left discipline of R. entirely to mother. R. has had good home and has had everything done for her. Stepfather has grown disgusted with her, however, because she will neither help mother in home
20 nor work out of it, and has said she cannot stay at home unless she works.

Ruth will not mind mother at all. When she wishes she comes into Burlington to see her father, who gives her money. R. will do this against mother's express command. Recently came to Burlington, got money from her father and went to maternal aunt in Athens [another state]. First news mother had of her whereabouts was letter from aunt saying she was there. Aunt has written several times during week saying can do nothing with R. Would gladly give her a home if she would mind and make self useful. She has said will not go home.

- R. has never been out evenings and does not seem to want to. Went
30 to dancing school several years ago, but mother always accompanied her. Does not go to dances at all. So far as mother knows, has never received any attentions from young men and does not care for their society. Mother thinks she is perfectly moral.

R. never sticks to anything. Was two years in Catholic convent where learned to do pretty fancy work. Seems to care little for this and never finishes anything. Had music lessons for two years but would not practice. Will not do anything about house of own accord. When told to do a special thing, will generally do it in her own way and own time, but never anything more. Now and then will seem to take an interest in her clothes, but this soon flags also. Mother has never been able to interest her in prospect of learning any trade or doing any special kind of work. Seems deft enough with her fingers when cares to try.

R. writes very nicely and reads well. Did fairly well in her studies at school. Mother often talked with her teachers and their only complaint was of lack of application. Never gave any serious trouble so far as discipline was concerned.

R. is well grown and good looking, mother says. Is not very vigorous and probably has not much endurance. Has never, however, had a chance to test it. Goes to bed very early and would stay there until noon if allowed to.

R. menstruated once at age of 13, not again until 16. Mother was constantly worried and gave her much medicine. Catamenial function seems perfectly normal now, however; seems to have little pain or discomfort at time of the period. Lack of nervous balance may be more marked at this time. Mother did not seem at all sure on this point.

R. has been much harder to manage during last year. Is very disagreeable toward stepfather; is cross and discontented. Alternates from lightheartedness to deepest despondency, and is much of time depressed. At times will "fly all to pieces" at slightest opposition. If combing her hair and it is snarled, will throw down brush and stamp her foot. Will often say she never goes anywhere or has good times, but never really seems to want to seek them.

R. has lately taken up the reading of silly novels, which she gets wherever she can and reads constantly. Mother tries to keep track of these books but never finds them anything worse than silly love-stories. Has no friends. Is constantly forming ardent sentimental friendships with girls; these, however, never last; mother thinks because R. is so disagreeable.

R. has never had an examination for any possible pelvic trouble. Dr. James treated her for a time for her "nerves" without apparent benefit. She used to seem affectionate and would do little things for mother of her own accord when mother was ill or tired; now no longer does this. Has considerable self-control; keeps pleasant before neighbors or friends, no matter how bad a mood she may be in. Never willing to admit she is ill or tired.

R. was born when mother was only 17. Father was 29, was drinking at time of marriage, though not so heavily as later. Mother had a comfortable pregnancy and confinement. Cannot remember that she noted any peculiarity about child until after an attack of scarlet fever at age of ten years.

Was no insanity or feeble-mindedness in either side of family with one exception; maternal aunt, Mrs. Alfred McCracken, committed suicide in a fit of melancholia following death of her child and a severe illness from diphtheria in which much antitoxin was used.

Mother when asked if had ever suspected R. of masturbation said a doctor had once asked her that, and that had made her watchful. She had never seen anything to make her think R. had formed this habit. Had asked Sisters in convent if they had ever suspected anything of sort and had been answered in negative.

90 Father is very dissolute. Mother has seen nothing of him for 10 years. Dr. James has told her he has kidney trouble and has of late been forced to give up bad habits to some extent. His willingness to give money makes it harder for mother to deal with R. Father has never done anything for either mother or R. since separation except in this way.

E. H. M. [agent] talked with Dr. James, who said nothing in family history as he knows it to make him think of mental defect. Father is a bright man. Thinks R. has no nervous trouble and has no reason to suspect pelvic trouble. Thinks R. not immoral, simply naughty
100 and perverse and needs strictest kind of discipline. Has known both mother and R. a long time. Mother a "very respectable lady" and anything she says can be relied on.

After a talk with C. D. F. [assist. secretary] it was agreed mother to go to Athens and get Ruth, then to communicate with E. H. M., who will arrange to have Dr. Winthrop see her if possible.

Throughout mother seemed intelligent; seemed to have thought much over problem.

June 5, '06. MOTHER called with R. Asked that she might be provided for at once, that she might not have to take her home. Step-
110 father was unwilling she should come back on account of boarders and fear that could not get her away if once went home. Said R. was apparently very angry at thought of coming to Children's Agency, but came along without making any disturbance.

Mother said in answer to question that Ruth had been a very precocious child up to age of 10. Then had scarlet fever and after that developed very slowly. Considers her childish, amused by trivial things, etc.

C. D. F. had long talk with R., who acknowledged that temper was bad and that she did not control herself. Did not know why was so irritable, would like place where was young child. Said eyes troubled
120 her a great deal, could only read 15 minutes or so at a time. Seemed very sullen when in presence of mother. C. D. F. felt no evidence of mental defect which would justify examination, but felt sure R. would be better off elsewhere than at home.

C. D. F. says: "Children's Agency to place R. in a family. L. H. R. to be visitor."

June 9, '06. Placed Ruth in family of Mrs. Abram Acker, Crestmont, A— [15 miles from Burlington]; to be paid \$1 per week, out of that 15 cents given her for spending money. On way R. talked freely with L. H. R. about self. Has no definite purpose, takes an unwholesome, moody view of future, has no ambition. R. had one paper when she arrived at office, "Daily American," and on train bought "Republican." On way to A— R. would casually glance at first one paper, then other, but did not appear to have any purpose in getting either. Mrs. Acker received her nicely and before L. H. R. left R. acted more on the alert; said she would try to do well.

June 11, '06. FATHER'S LAWYER and friend telephoned to inquire for R. L. H. R. told him where she was and all particulars. Said he was sure it was best thing could happen to her; would report to father.

140 July 2, '06. Telephoned Mrs. Acker to inquire for R. Mrs. A. said she felt they were getting along nicely, was well satisfied so far.

Father of Ruth, Mr. Herbert Strong, telephoned to ask if he could see L. H. R. at home, as it was impossible for him to get to office during office hours. Father called in evening and showed letter from R. in which she described the situation and family and made no criticism except that she only earned \$1 per week and "she guessed she would find another job." Father was afraid R. was getting restless; said she came to him in April and said she was working in factory and boarding with strangers and it took all her money for board. Asked for money 150 for clothes, father gave her \$10, R. gave him address but said she could not remember name of firm. Father investigated and found R. at home in mother's house, and her story was all trumped up. R. in her letter wanted father to visit; he asked what he should do. L. H. R. told him to visit, but not give R. one cent and to impress it upon her that she was in charge of Children's Agency and he could not interfere.

July 6, '06. V. E. R. [appointed visitor] visited Ruth. Mrs. Acker says she is getting on fairly well with her; likes her, will not make any definite statements until she has known her longer. R. has no clothes; has sores on face; is going to read "Mill on the Floss," keep 160 an account, make a chemise, learn to cook. Seemed amenable.

July 8, '06. Wrote R. to see Dr. Cavendish of A— about face if necessary.

July 11, '06. Letter from Mrs. Acker, and from R., who wishes to go home for visit to mother.

July 12, '06. Wrote R. could not go; sent clothes needed.

July 13, '06. Postal from R. Clothes received, no mention of going home.

July 14, '06. Telephone from father, saying he had visited R., found her "very comfortable." Father much pleased with place.

170 Wrote Mrs. Lawrence about her daughter.

July 17, '06. Letter from mother; thought us right in not allowing R. to go home. Will go to see her before long. Is not seriously ill as R.'s letters to V. E. R. indicated.

July 30, '06. Letter from R., wishes V. E. R. to come down. Says "am tired of this just existing and I am tired of not having any clothes." Has "no little comforts that *I ought to have.*" Has something to tell V. E. R. V. E. R. wrote that could not go down just then, R. to write troubles.

180 Aug. 1, '06. Letter from R. First, no clothes, long list of things needed is given. Wants a work basket. "Oh dear, I do wish I were dead then I would not be unhappy worrying and not having any clothes, not company, or not going anywhere."

Aug. 6, '06. Postal from R. Has something to tell V. E. R. that "cannot be told by mail." V. E. R. wrote would be down "at once, as there must be something *very* serious the trouble if it cannot be written."

190 Aug. 11, '06, V. E. R. visited R. She wishes to leave and must have clothes. Mrs. Acker says R. doing fairly well, but is slack, lies, and uses money for novels; also makes atmosphere of home uncomfortable. R. says she is very unhappy. V. E. R. said she would always be so wherever she was, so this not important; R. does not resent straight talking, hasn't much spirit, no head and is sentimental. R. admits she lies; is very stupid about it. V. E. R. looked over clothes and found R. really had very little; made proposition that V. E. R. would send down what she needed, but that if, when V. E. R. called next time (which would be without warning), clothes were not clean, mended, laid away in drawers neatly or in wash bag or tub, all but most essential things would be taken back; if clothes in satisfactory condition, R. would begin to pay for them. V. E. R. took four dime novels home, read one and found it disgusting, 200 not "bad" but thoroughly nasty and sickening; R. promised to buy no more such; agreed that Mrs. Acker should take first one she found and send at once to V. E. R.; agreed that it was fair allowance should be cut down to 10 cents (instead of 15) per week because of foolish use previously made of it; also promised to try not to be sulky and make home disagreeable for others; will tell truth. (!)

Aug. 15, '06. Sent R. 2 nightgowns, \$1.58; 2 chemises, 1.00; 6 yds. cloth for underskirt at 6½c., .39; 1 white skirt, .59; 6 hdkfs., .42; 2 pr. stockings, .30; 1 Ferris waist, 1.00; 1 big apron, .50; also ribbons, stocks, etc., from supplies.

210 Aug. 22, '06. Picture postal from R.; received package.

Aug. 27, '06. Letter from Mr. Acker; cannot keep Ruth any

longer. V. E. R. telephoned Mr. A., who promised to keep her until V. E. R.'s return, Sept. 10, '06.

Aug. 29, '06. Letter from Mr. Acker to J. F. [of the Children's Agency staff] saying that if absolutely necessary will keep R., but he would do anything within reason to get her out of the house. J. F. wrote Mr. Acker would transfer her Sept. 1st.

Aug. 30, '06. Letter from Mr. Acker.

Sept. 1, '06. Ruth transferred to home of Mrs. Emil Bird, at B—.

220 Sept. 13, '06. MRS. BIRD telephoned that someone must come out for R. at once.

Sept. 14, '06. MR. BIRD brought R. to city. Long talk with her and Mr. Bird; R. has been unhappy and Mr. and Mrs. B. both thoroughly dissatisfied. At first she was splendid, did everything as well as anyone could ask, but lately had been sulky and unwilling.

Placed Ruth with Mrs. Andrew Child, 43 South St., C— [4 miles from Burlington], terms, \$1 a week.

230 Sept. 18, '06. MRS. CHILD telephoned could not keep R.; not satisfactory, and also father of Mrs. Child ill and she might be called away any hour.

Took Ruth to Dr. Frank, who referred V. E. R. to specialist on skin diseases; saw Dr. Haines, assistant to Dr. Wood. Dr. Haines said eruption on R.'s face not contagious in any way, that it was an atypical form of psoriasis; gave R. ointment.

While going to the doctor R. made an exhibition of her very petty, wilful, childish temper; she refused to go to Dr. with V. E. R., pouted and fumed, lagged behind, acted like a six-year old child; said she wouldn't let doctor go near her, but was fairly self-contained when actually before Dr. Haines.

240 Placed Ruth with Mrs. Henry Dreier, 3 Woodside Pl., D— [10 miles from Burlington], terms, \$1 per week.

Sept. 19, '06. Sent R. birthday present.

Sept. 27, '06. Letter from Mrs. Dreier. "This girl will not do. I have given her a perfectly fair trial but she is so wedded to slack ways that she is beyond me. I have found her unreliable."

Sept. 29, '06. Wrote Mrs. Dreier.

Oct. 2, '06. Letter from Mrs. Dreier; R. has been corresponding with Vance's business college, an offer has been made her of tuition for evening school three evenings a week in return for assistance in cloak
250 room; R. is determined to take position and is planning to meet mother in town this week and come to see V. E. R. Does not want to keep her, as she is so slack and untidy, "and what I say lasts anywhere from five minutes to half an hour—that is all." Family to move Oct. 3d to 11

Washington St., Darlington [7 miles from Burlington]. Telephoned to Vance College, Mr. Vance said that he was expecting "Miss Strong" in at any time to complete arrangements as already described. V. E. R. gave a few characteristics of R. and Mr. Vance agreed to cancel agreement with her.

Oct. 3, '06. MRS. LAWRENCE, mother of Ruth, called at office.
260 V. E. R. told her that R. was doing very poorly, and that under no condition should any arrangement such as work at Vance's in evening be thought of for her; she must do better in housework before anything else be undertaken. Mother said father might be persuaded to do something for her financially if this became necessary. Mother to go out to see R. and to encourage her to do better, also to bring her a few new clothes. Mother is very much better dressed than R. V. E. R. wrote Ruth a long letter.

Oct. 5, '06. Letter from mother; had been to see R., whom she found very unhappy, discontented and in need of clothes. R. still deter-
270 mined to study evenings; promised mother would do her work better; is very sick of children. Mother does not think it worth while to keep R. in this home, says if father will pay her board she will manage to clothe her. Wrote mother that could not decide on change for R. so soon—to wait.

Oct. 17, '06. Letter from Mrs. Dreier. "She has really tried hard off and on, but she is a hard case"; asks about father's visiting girl. Mother's influence over her is of the best.

Oct. 20, '06. Letter from mother; R. writes such discouraging letters. Mother has just sent her some clothes. Father should do
280 something for her; works for Webster's shoe store; rooms 14 Spruce St.

Nov. 7, '06. Letter from mother enclosing postal from R. "Dearest Mamma. Do come out here tomorrow if you can. I must see you I am nearly mad. Do come and as early as you can. I shall watch and wait for you. Ever your loving Ruth." Mother is sick and cannot go. Mother writes R. says Mr. Dreier swears at her.

Nov. 8, '06. Visited R. Mrs. Dreier's reports moderately encouraging. Nothing particularly wrong with R. She admits she writes these discouraging letters to mother or to V. E. R. and half hour afterwards everything all right again. While V. E. R. with Ruth, she seemed to
290 have unbalanced manner, lightheaded, laughed easily, nothing to take hold of. V. E. R. had talked previously with C. D. F. regarding examination of Ruth by Dr. Winthrop. C. D. F. said nothing could be determined, as Dr. could say no more than that she was on border-line of simple-mindedness. R. said Mr. Dreier swore badly. V. E. R. spoke to Mrs. Dreier about same, and she said it was true, that husband had quick temper and that she tried in vain to stop him; promised to make

husband stop swearing at R. if possible. R. agreed to give letters to Mrs. Dreier to keep about six hours, when she would reread them and then mail if she still wished it. R. said she was happy and wanted to
300 stay with Mrs. Dreier.

Nov. 9, '06. Letter from R. Says will do as V. E. R. has said (which was in great part to stick to what she was doing and not keep asking for another place), but would V. E. R. get her another place. This is thoroughly discouraging and points out clearly R.'s inability to grasp an idea, to get any sort of a tenacious hold on it, and her absolute incapacity to act on it. There is no *purpose* in the girl, no continuity, no concentration. In letter R. asks to be in place where was girl or boy 14 or 15 years old. So far there has been no evidence of sex feeling in R. It seems to be part of her mental condition that she is devoid of same.
310 No particular evidence of perverted instinct (for women).

Letter from R. More trouble with Mr. Dreier. V. E. R. reported to C. D. F., R. to be transferred, home to be brought up for disapproval.

Nov. 19, '06. Letter from Mrs. Dreier; wants R. taken away as soon as possible. "I have done my best but at times I think she is almost hopelessly bad."

Nov. 21, '06. Wrote Mrs. Dreier will take Ruth as soon as possible. Wrote R. Postal from R.; "when will you take me away from this horrid place?"

320 Nov. 28, '06. Wrote Mrs. Dreier to have R. ready Nov. 30th.

Nov. 30, '06. V. E. R. called for R. Not ready and was very exasperating. Placed her with Mrs. Thomas Eldridge, Lynnwood Rd., E— [5 miles from Burlington], housework, \$1.25 per week.

Mrs. Dreier said Ruth had been pretty good for a time and then had come an outbreak the worst she had gone through; R. was angry about some little thing, called Mrs. Dreier names, said that home was a "horrid old place," then went upstairs and jumped and stamped in her room. Later she took baby out in carriage and shook carriage up and down and pushed it forward letting it run down hill. Mrs. D. went
330 for police and couldn't get anyone. Later R. repented and wrote maudlin letter to Mrs. Dreier.

Ruth says she went through 7th grade in school as far as percentage in arithmetic, all geography. Teachers, Mrs. Forsythe, Forsythe School, Avon; and Miss Anna Peters, Fordham School, Elm St., Provincetown (spring of '03).

Dec. 3, '06. Wrote mother about transfer of R.

Dec. 8, '06. Telephoned to R. and to Mrs. Eldridge; latter says R. is willing, hasn't lost temper yet, and that if she keeps on as she has done, there will be no fault to find.

340 Dec. 19, '06. Letter from Mrs. Eldridge; cannot keep Ruth. "She is more care to me than I am able to stand." "She needs constant looking after. I have no fault to find with her as I think perhaps she does as well as she knows—but she is only one more to cook for and cannot do as much work as she makes for me." Wrote Mrs. Eldridge could not transfer R. immediately, would look for another place.

Dec. 20, '06. Postal from R.; wishes V. E. R. to give consent to her having all her money as she needs many things, viz., soap. R. will show things and tell prices to Mrs. Eldridge. V. E. R. telephoned to home; Mrs. Eldridge says R. is worth about three cents a day, she does
350 not do one single thing well. Has not been disagreeable or saucy, main trouble is absolute incapacity and slackness. Talked with Ruth, told her that she could not have any money (Mrs. Eldridge had said that she had already advanced her allowance, 15 cents a week, two or three weeks ahead, R. also had asked for 10 cents for stamps and had spent it for newspaper, etc.). R. took V. E. R.'s refusal meekly, probably had forgotten for what she wanted money. V. E. R. told her that Mrs. Eldridge had said could not keep her but that she might have from now till New Year's to try to do better, so that Mrs. Eldridge would want her. R. said would try.

360 Dec. 25, '06. Sent Christmas present, which R. later acknowledged.

Jan. 4, '07. Letter from Mrs. Eldridge; cannot keep R. after this week.

Jan. 8, '07. Placed R. with Mrs. Sylvester Frick, 302 W. 4th St.,
F— [3 miles from Burlington], housework, \$1 a week.

Jan. 12, '07. Letter from R.; wants V. E. R. to take her away.

Jan. 14, '07. Letter from Mrs. Frick; R. will not do.

Jan. 18, '07. MRS. FRICK called at office; could not keep R., same story. Transferred Ruth to home of Mrs. Francis George, Forked Lane,
G— [4 miles from Burlington]. Housework, \$0.50 a week. Mrs.
370 Frick said R. could make more dirt in 2 days than she can clean up in a week. Letter from mother about R. thanking Children's Agency for care.

Jan. 19, '07. Wrote mother of change.

Feb. 2, '07. Letter from Mrs. Eldridge about R.'s wages; does not feel that she owes her a cent; R. left a lot of her clothes behind in water in tubs. Mrs. Eldridge had to hire woman to come and clean up her room, toilet utensils left in filthy condition. R. broke things, but Mrs. Eldridge will pay her if V. E. R. thinks she owes her anything.

Feb. 8, '07. Letter from Mrs. George; R. of no help but a "great
380 extra care," wishes her taken at once.

Feb. 9, '07. Sister of Mrs. George called; sister cannot keep R.

Feb. 11, '07. Letter from R.; has been thinking about her "actions, words and deeds" and so on since last June the 9th (date of her first placing), and is sorry for everything; is sorry about worry to V. E. R., about expenses of travel and things which have had to be done on account of "horrid me;" writes has not had one outburst of temper since she has been at Mrs. George's.

V. E. R. visited R. Mrs. George much discouraged, will try her a little longer; definite accounts of what she does each day to be sent
390 V. E. R. each week.

Feb. 13, '07. Postal from R.; wants clothes and blue glasses to wear out of doors. Writes is going to get "Mill on the Floss" and finish it!

Feb. 18, '07. MR. GEORGE telephoned; wants R. taken away at once. Talked with C. D. F.; felt no use in keeping R. at housework, as all efforts had been failures. R. shows little improvement, has had opportunities in seven homes in eight months, and the same story has come from each place. Ruth has said many times that if Children's Agency would try her in something beside housework she could do
400 much better.

Looked for work for R. in city, found work in National Mfg. Co., recommended by Miss Ross of the School of Industries; and Miss Mann, the forewoman in dept. (waist-making) where R. to go, spoken of by Miss Ross very highly. Another long rambling letter from Ruth.

Feb. 19, '07. Went for Ruth. Mrs. George gave V. E. R. weekly report showing items as follows: Tues. morning took her 1 hr. to wash breakfast dishes (for 3); Thurs. morning, 20 min.; time itemized in this way for one week.

Took R. shopping, to see father and to Natl. Mfg. Co., 120 No.
410 4th St., Burlington, where she started in work; piece work, sewing on buttons. Later placed her with Mrs. Carroll Harker, Winter St., H— [5 miles from Burlington]. Boarding home, at \$2 a week.

Feb. 23, '07. Telephoned to Miss Mann; R. doing very poorly, very slow. Father called at office and said would pay her board, while she was not earning enough to pay it herself.

Feb. 25, '07. C. D. F. says: "R. to be boarded if necessary, pending finding of other work for her; cost of board or any other expense be charged to father."

Went to see R. previous to this dictation. Miss Mann said she
420 could not do work, could not keep her as she was taking the place of some more competent girl. Saw R. at work sewing on buttons, hands trembled, nervous force seemed to be strained to utmost, but no results. Telephoned to Mrs. Harker.

Mar. 4, '07. R. still at National Co., though Miss Mann keeping her merely out of kindness; during this time V. E. R. in touch with Ruth, Mrs. Harker and Miss Mann. R. reported how much she earned each few days (for week ending Mar. 2d she earned \$1.18, other girls earned \$3 and \$4). Visited R. on date (at factory).

430 Mar. 9, '07. Visited Ruth at factory. R. left National Co. and within few days went to work at Quimby's candy factory, place which Mr. Harker found for her.

Letter from mother; has visited R. and Mrs. Harker; wishes R. could be nearer H—. Mr. Harker thinks he could get her better paying position. Wrote mother.

Mar. 16, '07. Tried to investigate through various organizations Quimby's factory. Ernest Masters, Principal Assessor, recommends factory as one of best places in No. Burlington to work in, says Quimby a thoroughly moral man. State Factory Inspector said would send man
440 out to look into conditions.

Mar. 22, '07. Bill from Harker sent V. E. R. showing R.'s expenditures and receipts.

Mar. 23, '07. V. E. R. has heard from R. and Mrs. Harker by telephone at various times (Mar. 18, 21, 22); R. doing fairly well. On date Mrs. Harker telephones and says she feels she cannot keep R.

Mar. 26, '07. Saw Mrs. Harker; will keep R. a little longer.

Mar. 30, '07. Letter from stepfather saying Mrs. Harker has written to mother saying cannot keep R. Stepfather discouraged, appreciative of Children's Agency's efforts. Sent postal to mother.

450 Took R. to dentist, Dr. Finch, and to visit friend of hers, Mrs. Walker. Took her shopping and visited her at H—. Mrs. Harker will try her again, R. to try harder, board to be increased.

Apr. 1, '07. C. D. F. says: "Board to be increased to \$2.50 per week from Mar. 17th." Wrote letter to mother, all would try again.

Apr. 6, '07. MRS. HARKER telephoned; Ruth discharged from Quimby's for taking candy, went to work in Reynold's candy factory, 4 No. 6th St., Apr. 4th, at \$3.50 per week; leaves there today and will go to work April 8th at Trill's candy factory, Water St.

460 Apr. 13, '07. Letter from Ruth; is getting on well; is having trouble with sore thumb, blood in poor condition. Wants to learn telephone operating, wants something hard "to conquer"; has not had "one of my tempers or fits" for over two weeks. Wrote Ruth.

Apr. 15, '07. R. telephoned and said thumb so bad had had to leave work.

Apr. 17, '07. Visited R.; took her to Dr. Wood's assistant, Dr. Haines, who said trouble with her skin was staphylococcic, not contagious. Finger attended to; took her to see C. D. F.

Letter from Mrs. Harker; R. has not lost temper for about two weeks, is much better than when she came, is lazy.

470 Apr. 22, '07. Letter from Mr. Lawrence in answer to letter from V. E. R. to mother asking her to help with expenses (father not paying regularly); is not able to do anything for R. financially.

Apr. 23, '07. Letter from R.; is taking cold baths and feels better; has not lost temper yet; lost work Apr. 22d; is now going to Hazlitt's candy factory.

May 2, '07. Long letter from R.; is getting on well, has not lost temper yet, is never going to again; signed "your ever loving and trying Ruth."

480 May 4, '07. Telephoned to Mrs. Harker; R.'s finger all right; stayed in bed one morning two weeks ago until 12 M., has not done so since. Is earning \$4 a week with Hazlitt. Every time she hears from mother she acts disagreeable; father hasn't been out to see her.

May 8, '07. Bill from Mr. Harker.

May 9, '07. Wrote father sending bill for \$16.23.

May 10, '07. Bill returned from father; letter unopened enclosed in envelope.

May 18, '07. MRS. HARKER telephoned R. wanted to go to F—in afternoon to visit a friend; C. D. F. in V. E. R.'s absence said she could go.

490 May 27, '07. Telephoned to Mrs. Harker; R. has been to First Meth. S. School and Church. Mother came to see her two weeks ago, since then R. has helped Mrs. Harker with supper dishes and evening ironing. Says that at a test in factory R. was praised for fast packing; face much better.

Letter from R.; has been working in Hazlitt's one month—"isn't that pretty well for me?"

June 3, '07. Bill from Mr. Harker.

500 June 5, '07. MR. HARKER called at office to say R. needed more clothes. V. E. R. arranged for her to get new suit; is not earning enough to pay board and pay for clothes; father not paying, bill to Children's Agency growing larger.

July 5, '07. MRS. LEDYARD, sister of Mrs. Harker, telephoned; said trouble in Harker family, R. breaking up home. V. E. R. visited Mrs. Harker, who said R. coming between her and Mr. H., said couldn't say exactly what, but manner of both attracting attention from

neighbors. V. E. R. took R. to Burlington. Gen. Secty. of Children's Agency saw her, found that she had been kissed by Mr. Harker, he had put arms around her, R. said nothing more. Gen. Secty., V. E. R. and Ruth went to supper and then placed her at Goddard Settlement, board
510 \$3 a week.

July 6, '07. MISS BARNEY of Settlement telephoned to find out more about Ruth.

July 20, '07. Telephoned to Miss Barney; R. getting on pretty well, has been disappointed in her, has no resources. Walks on street in evening, became friends with only girl in Settlement of doubtful character; this had to be stopped, as found them one night talking to neighbors, not good people. One of reliable girls in Settlement said saw R. talking with man in People's Park. R. doesn't sew or read; pays
520 board regularly; went to church in H—, and Miss Barney thinks she stayed for dinner somewhere there. R. to be kept from going out alone evenings as much as possible.

July 23, '07. Letter from R.; still working in Hazlitt's, but is not happy; says she wants to go to sit in Central Park in evenings, mother says she can have a good time and have friends; loves to be alone; is "blue today," still has a temper. Wrote to mother.

July 25, '07. Letter from Mr. Lawrence: "Ruth is now a woman and unless her mental faculties are impaired ought to know right from wrong and ought to realize the source of constant trouble she has been to everyone connected with her since a child."

530 Aug. 3, '07. Took R. to luncheon. Letter from mother; wrote to mother.

Aug. 26, '07. Letter from Ruth; has found out that she is "her own boss," is going to look for other work. Has been to a lawyer. (V. E. R. away on vacation.)

Sept. 5, '07. Letter from Mrs. Harker; wants V. E. R. to watch Ruth and see whom she meets in evenings. Mr. H. much changed, does not want Mr. H. to know she has written.

Sept. 17, '07. Miss Fox of the Settlement tells D. A. U. that R. says she is to be married to a travelling salesman in A. R. Miffin's.
540 Saw lawyer, Robert West, to whom R. went (Castle Building). R. owes Settlement \$16, hasn't been at work.

Sept. 25, '07. R. not to be married at once we hear. At work in Mendenhall's candy factory.

Oct. 7, '07. V. E. R. telephoned to R. at Goddard Settlement; arranged to lunch with her Oct. 8th.

Oct. 8, '07. Rained, R. did not come.

Oct. 25, '07. Visited Ruth at Goddard. 10 A.M., R. not at work; left Mendenhall's candy factory (\$4 per week) Oct. 16th, they did not want her until face was better. Sores on face looked badly, 550 R. said they had been worse; had been to Western Hosp. Dispensary and they had given her prescription there, but she had no money to buy it. Dr. had said that trouble was probably made worse at candy factory; R. said she ate a great deal of candy. Has not seen father since at Goddard. Mother came to see her about two weeks ago, and mother and stepfather were to set up housekeeping again; R. said mother had not mentioned her living with them and had not enough money to help her with clothes. Said would like scheme of going to School of Industries which V. E. R. suggested. (V. E. R. had seen Miss Ross of their Training Classes for Girls on Oct. 16th and discussed advisa- 560 bility of R.'s taking work on power machines; R. does not like to sew and has no taste which would be useful in millinery. Miss Ross had said was willing to take her.) R. said at first wanted to study stenography, but finally agreed that this would be too hard for a girl who had been out of school as long as she had. R. to return to Mendenhall's for remainder of week if possible, and V. E. R. to see father this afternoon about her expenses. Gen. Secty. directs application to Roberts Memorial Fund for money to help Ruth.

Saw Miss Barney, who said R. owes at end of this week (Oct. 26th) \$25.24; said R. did not work steadily all summer, was lazy; said 570 however that thought she would be regular if were going to School of Industries. Said R. would not eat breakfast or luncheon; was not going out in evening as had done earlier.

Ruth promised to eat some breakfast and luncheon, is to keep account of what she spends for clothes (Miss Barney will remind her to do this); says there is nothing more between her and travelling salesman at A. R. Mifflin's, says she went to theater with him once or twice, meeting him at door of theater. Said man was too shy to come to house; said she didn't like him very well anyway. R. has earned very little 580 probably and has spent most of this on clothes, cheap jewelry, sweets and carfares; says cannot go to church because clothes look so bad.

V. E. R. saw father at Webster's shoe store; has been ill with pneumonia, is well now. Father is of course not legally responsible for R.; said had questioned her mental soundness; said she had a second maternal aunt who was insane. V. E. R. told him she thought Ruth had tendencies toward melancholia. Father agreed to pay \$3 a week for a year while R. in Trade Classes, and to pay direct to Children's Agency, and when possible to pay extra for her clothing, etc. Father gave V. E. R. \$5 for one week's board, and \$2 extra for clothing.

Oct. 27, '07. RUTH at School of Industries in morning as per 590 arrangements made previously. Miss Ross will start her with hand sewing, later will be placed on clothing power machines, and when there is a vacancy on the straw-hat power machines.

Wrote to father, who has not yet been to see R.; sent him pamphlet of school.

Letter from mother; assents to any plan of Children's Agency for Ruth (she visited mother Oct. 26th). V. E. R. wrote mother asking what she could do towards clothing R. and towards cancelling bill at Settlement.

Oct. 31, '07. V. E. R. talked with Ruth about meeting men on
600 street; R. said that man whom she talked about this summer as man she was going to marry was Rex Flinch, was not employed by A. R. Mifflin, but was a travelling salesman for St. Louis firm, on what business she does not know. Said that man spoke to her on street and that she did not meet him at friends' as she had previously said; said she spoke to man and he had walked with her a little way and made an appointment to meet him again; had gone twice to theater with him. Said had asked man repeatedly to come to Settlement and meet Miss Barney but man had refused; said at their last meeting she had asked him this, saying that it was the last time she would do so; he had again
610 refused and she left him. Man said he was going to Japan, had not seen him since.

R. said that a few nights ago another man, Bert Hafner, who said he lived at Bayside, spoke to her on street car, and had asked her to meet him at Empire Bldg., London St., Friday evening. R. said she would not speak to men who spoke to her on street after this, said she would have nothing to do with men who would not come to see her at Settlement house, said other girls had men come to see them and she wanted men she knew to come to see her; said older man was a cousin, Walter Robb, from Washington, whom mother did not like; said man had asked
620 her to kiss him and she had refused; said he was not "fresh" otherwise; said that other men had not been "fresh," but she had broken with the first man simply because he would not come to house. R. said happened to see W. Robb on street, that he had now left city, did not wish mother to know that she had seen him.

Nov. 2, '07. Took Ruth to Pratt Clinic; has muscular trouble with eyes, eyes tend to turn outward, no trouble with vision. Dr. Smith gave her exercises for eyes.

Nov. 6, '07. MISS BARNEY telephoned; R. had not gone to school today, had slept all morning, said felt miserable and tired. Miss Barney
630 thought that she really felt sick.

Nov. 7, '07. MISS BARNEY telephoned; R. had not gone to school this morning but had gone to see father and she thought she would give up School of Industries.

R. came to office; said father had advised her giving up school, said she must earn money, could not go on for one year at School without earning; said father's wages likely to be cut down and he might not be able to help for long.

V. E. R. telephoned to Miss Ross at the School. Miss Ross said R. had been there so short a time that she could say little of her capacity, but thought that if she was restless so soon it would be a losing struggle to try to keep her at school. Telephoned to father, who said didn't know what to say to Ruth; had told her that he could not advise her to give up school (R. admitted she told untruth), but said he would help her as long as he could get money together, said that his work likely to be cut down to three days a week, giving him \$7.50 instead of \$15 per week. After consultation with Gen. Secty. and after he had talked with Ruth, it was decided that she should try to get work in candy factory and try to pay up debt at Settlement (now about \$28); after this paid, possibility of her returning to school and at season when power machines not in such demand to be considered; father to pay cost of board, R. to try to get \$5 per week at factory, to pay \$4 to Settlement (this her own suggestion) even if she received \$4.50 only per week. (Application had not been made to Roberts Mem. Fund.)

R.'s cold better now but not well; R. has bought face salve and face and arms better than V. E. R. has ever seen them; says has done eye exercises faithfully three times a day. Did not go to church on Sunday, as friend who invited her did not go.

Nov. 9, '07. \$3 received from father, who wishes all mail sent to 9 Roscoe Pl., Burlington.

Nov. 11, '07. Sent father letter and receipt for \$3; told him that R. had given up school and had as yet no other work. Telephoned to Settlement, R. out, had been to Mendenhall's Nov. 7th, but had not been working there. Miss Barney away for two weeks, Miss Briggs talked. Sent \$3 to Settlement.

Nov. 12, '07. Telephoned to Settlement, R. not in, had not found work yet. R. telephoned later, had found work with Standard Mailing Co., First Ave. and 14th St.; work is addressing envelopes, piece work, does not know what pay is.

Nov. 13, '07. RUTH telephoned; has been to work first day; says gets 5 cents per 100 letters addressed, said did 3000 today.

Nov. 16, '07. FATHER sent \$3, sent same to Goddard Settlement. Wrote father of Ruth's work and that she would try to pay back bill at Settlement.

Nov. 21, '07. MISS BARNEY telephoned; R. made 76 cents at Mailing Co. during week, has therefore left this place, has no new position. Paid nothing towards back board bill.

Nov. 22, '07. Letter from Miss Briggs; a new resident worker at Settlement, Mrs. Cotton, has become much interested in R. Miss Briggs told Mrs. Cotton of V. E. R.'s suggestion that R. ought perhaps to be transferred to a private home; Mrs. Cotton asks that she be

allowed to remain at Settlement for a time, that Mrs. Cotton could see what she could do for her in way of rousing her to her duties to herself and others, would also help her to find a position. R. seems to like Mrs. C. Telephoned to Miss Briggs that was very much pleased with new opening of help for R.

Nov. 23, '07. MRS. COTTON called at office; talked over R. with V. E. R.

Nov. 25, '07. Telephoned to Settlement, R. still has no work. Miss Fox suggested to V. E. R. Girls' Friendly Home. R. always
690 complaining of illness, has no appetite.

Nov. 27, '07. Telephoned to Settlement; R. still has no work. Mrs. Cotton says R. now claims that another man, "finest man ever made," is going to marry her and then she will be happy.

Nov. 29, '07. MRS. COTTON called at office (V. E. R. out); told stenographer that R. had not yet found work, thought she had been "doing better," hoped V. E. R. would leave her at Settlement, as thought influence there good.

Nov. 30, '07. MRS. COTTON called at office. Miss Fox of Settlement sent her to say that she could keep R. no longer. A delegation of
700 girls in Settlement came to Miss Fox last night saying that roommate (R. now not alone) of R. had said she stood before window with clothes half off and motioned to man across street. Telephoned to Miss Fox, who feels convinced that R. is defective morally.

Conference with Gen. Secty. about Ruth. Gen. Secty. says: "Dr. Nathan Winthrop to be asked to examine Ruth." Telephoned Dr. Winthrop, who set 2 P. M., Dec. 3d, as date of examination.

Later telephoned to Mrs. Cotton of Gen. Secty.'s decision; says will keep R. a little longer.

Dec. 3, '07. DR. WINTHROP examined R.; said no evidence of
710 mental defect, said she might be near type of morally defective girls whom Dr. Ballard takes at Benedict School for Feeble-minded Children, but that she was not now near enough this class for him to receive her. Dr. Winthrop could make no suggestions as to what could be done with or for Ruth. Gen. Secty. discussed case with E. H. M. and V. E. R.; the girl is mentally (as well as otherwise) incapable of supporting herself at any good employment, and is now beginning to show serious signs of moral defect, increasing lack of self-control. There had been no signs of this tendency up to her trouble with Mr. Harker, from
720 this time on her wish to be married has increased, she is at this date saying that she is to marry a man whom she knows; she has told V. E. R. that this story was not true, and that she was telling it only "for fun." On this date V. E. R. tried to find out whether R. had been meeting any man since time of previous talk with V. E. R. on this subject; R. denied having done so. R. has severe headache about once every two

months, she has also periods of depression, times when she feels that she is a failure and she can never be anything else. At such a time encouragement and suggestion will put her on her feet for a few days. The girl has in great part conquered a very ugly temper, but even now when only the young girls of the Settlement are about she will be cross and disagreeable and will swear at them.

730 Gen. Secty. says: "Every effort to be made to get her into the Girl's Shelter" [a private home for wayward girls].

Dec. 4, '07. V. E. R. went to Settlement; talked with Miss Fox, who said that R. had been noticing man in opposite house from her window for some time, and that on occasion mentioned, Nov. 30th, the man had appeared naked at his window and R., who had been in night gown, exposed herself to him. Miss Fox feels R. defective. Says has seldom seen a girl who tried harder to do right; has sworn less lately, has stayed out at night less. Says that during summer R. was out after
740 twelve sometimes. Miss Fox feels that Ruth should be under restraint and with someone who would show kindness and patience; is not willing that Miss Allen (of the Goddard Settlement) should help her get position at Follansbee's, as she could not have her known as one of Goddard Settlement girls. R. had told V. E. R. and Dr. Winthrop that she had position at Follansbee's; on further questioning it turned out that Miss Allen had said would take her to Follansbee's and try to get her position. Saw Ruth, talked with her. As usual determines to reform and show more self-control.

750 Telephoned to Girl's Shelter; scarlet fever case has developed, cannot accept new residents for three or four weeks.

Dec. 6, '07. Telephoned Miss Fox of reasons for delay. Spoke to Gen. Secty., who consented to R.'s being placed in boarding home temporarily.

Dec. 9, '07. Called on Miss Fox arranging for R.'s transfer next day. Miss Fox said had never had a girl who had so little to her who tried so hard; she has not been out nights lately, and has helped about house, so that Miss Fox will credit \$1 on her account.

Shelter notified V. E. R. that R. could be taken in there in about 10 days, no new cases of fever. Gen. Secty. then consulted and said:
760 "Children's Agency to board Ruth in a family, father to pay cost of board." V. E. R. saw father, who said would pay board for next 10 days and would try to pay up bill at Settlement.

Dec. 10, '07. Transferred R. to Mrs. Henry Ittel, 4 West 6th St., I— [6 miles from Burlington]; terms, \$2.50 per week, and R. to help about house a little. Ruth had not been told V. E. R. was coming for her and does not now know of plan to take her to Shelter. When V. E. R. had told R. she was to leave today for boarding home in I—, she cried, stamped feet, swore (God damn), declared she would not go, later in her room she sat on floor throwing books about room and

770 kicking her feet, threw clothes V. E. R. tried to put in suitcase on floor. V. E. R. left her for a short time and on return two girls of house in room, R. trying to be mysterious, wrote some letters, talked in whispers with one of girls and finally packed suitcase and left in fair humor, but pretending had something "up her sleeve." When she reached Mrs. Ittel's she was gentle and ladylike, voice soft and sweet, manner refined and attractive; R. acts out "situations," assuming whatever character she thinks fitting. Is to be allowed to go in to Settlement Dec. 12th. V. E. R. told her it would be better for her not to go but she might if she wished to.

780 Dec. 11, '07. Wrote to mother saying must see her at once.

Dec. 16, '07. MOTHER telephoned could not come in; told her of plans and of previous difficulties; she agreed to have R. go to Shelter. Telephoned to Shelter; girl could come Wed. Made appointment with Dr. Carpenter of No. Burlington to make examination of R. as required by Shelter. Telephoned to father, who agreed to have R. go to Shelter. Telephoned to Miss Fox, who will see R. Wed. morning, Dec. 19th.

Dec. 19, '07. Called for R. at Mrs. Ittel's; Mrs. I. says R. has been away most of time, that Sun. she was out until 10 P. M., other nights in by 7; that R. says man she knows is to marry her; Mrs. I. 790 saw letter which girl wrote addressed to Mr. Carroll Pratt, 3 Preston St., Burlington. R. said man worked in William McCurdy's; to marry her in month; spent Sunday with him and his family. Mrs. Ittel says R. has not been saucy nor has she lost her temper, but that she had talked against Children's Agency, V. E. R. and Miss Fox. R. went down to see mother on Monday (verified by mother); has sulked and said she hated housework and children; has been twice to Settlement (verified by Miss Fox); emptied chamber which contained not only urine but bowel movement out of window on bulkhead beneath. Mrs. Ittel did not see it done, but said there was no doubt what it was; bulkhead 800 immediately under R.'s window. R. denied this.

Took Ruth to Miss Fox much against her will. Miss Fox told her of real reason for her having to leave Settlement; R. did not deny exposing herself to man across street. R. did not respond to the proposal to take her to the Shelter. She went quietly with V. E. R. to appointment with mother. Did not make a scene with mother. All three started and arrived quietly at Shelter. Dr. Carpenter made examination; R. very rebellious. Dr. reported that was sure evidence of R.'s having had sexual relations with man or men, said results not obtained by self-abuse. Mother overcome by this. R. declared to Miss Pond that 810 she would run away; very angry with Children's Agency, with V. E. R., with mother; cried, eyes became very much inflamed and was completely overcome by temper. Finally said would come back to Shelter for a while if she was allowed to go out to I— for her things. After long debate mother and R. went out to I—, mother to stay with R. until she returned to Shelter.

Telephoned to Shelter; Miss Pond reports that R. returned with mother to Shelter at 5.30, that she had seemed quiet and amiable since then.

820 Jan. 1, '08. Telephoned to Shelter; Miss Copperthwaite answered, said R. not doing well, had been obstinate and created disturbance in school today.

Jan. 2, '08. MISS COPPERTHWAITE telephoned; R. had been so obstinate and disagreeable Miss Pond had finally decided could not keep her; on month's probation anyway. Miss Copperthwaite feels confident that Miss Pond could not be persuaded to give her another trial.

Jan. 3, '08. Reported to Gen. Secty., who called up Shelter, urged Miss Copperthwaite to keep Ruth.

Jan. 6, '08. GEN. SECTY. consulted, said ask Dr. Winthrop to see R. again.

830 Jan. 15, '08. MISS COPPERTHWAITE telephoned, said R. getting on fairly well.

Jan. 20, '08. GEN. SECTY. reported Miss Copperthwaite telephones that they think R. has more character than they thought; has been doing decidedly better. Miss C. says she is showing a seriousness she did not show at start, and they feel hopeful of making a good woman of her, they do not think it would be right to have Dr. Ballard examine her for feeble-mindedness.

840 Feb. 28, '08. V. E. R. called on Miss Pond in response to request from her to do so. Miss Pond reports that she thinks Mr. Carroll Harker is man in R.'s case, R. has not admitted this, but has claimed that man is Carroll Herbert, 3 Prescott Sq., City. Miss Pond went to address where was told no such man, but that Carroll Harker there. Man described by other girls in Shelter as short has been seen two Sundays walking on street in front of Ruth's window; R. has received valentines; man, slight, sandy complexion, brought laundry to Shelter one day, Miss Pond went to door, said would recognize man again, description like Mr. Harker. Mother of R. informed of proceedings by Miss Pond, wrote to Mr. Harker asking him for laundry slip so that she might get R.'s wash. Mr. Harker said, writing back, laundry 850 had gone to R. R. wrote letter read by Miss Pond to Mrs. Harker, all right, but Miss Pond feels that intent was to let Mr. Harker know that she was still at Shelter. Letter which R. wrote to "Herbert" found by mother in package of collars which R. had given mother to give to some woman friend of mother's, read by mother; said: "Shave off your moustache (Mr. H. has moustache) and mother will never know you." (Mother has seen no man known by R. other than Mr. H.) R. continued: "Get a divorce and keep your promise and marry me." Letter began "Dear Hark."

Miss Pond in talk with R., who denies Harker is man, asked her
860 if she were not afraid for herself; R. said that in their relation man took care that she should not become pregnant; Miss Pond thinks R. has not been ill since she came to Shelter.

Mother received letter from "C. E. Herbert, P. O. Box 485, Burlington," asking if there was anything which could be done for R. to help her pass away the time. Compared handwriting of letter with earlier letters of Harker to V. E. R., handwriting almost identical, no apparent attempt to hide this.

Mar. 3, '08. Wrote Miss Pond.

Mar. 5, '08. Wrote to mother asking for other letters and infor-
870 mation.

Telephoned Miss Pond, who has no other letters or papers beside valentine and two "Ladies' Home Journals" which have come in same handwriting, will send these to V. E. R.

Mar. 12, '08. H. R. T. to speak to Mr. Harker (per direction of Gen. Secty.).

Mar. 15, '08. After three unsuccessful calls on previous evenings, H. R. T. found Carroll Harker at home. In accordance with instructions from Gen. Secty., H. R. T. informed Mr. H. that nature of offence committed was adultery and what the penalty was. H. R. T.
880 warned him that he must desist from all communication with R., otherwise serious consequences would follow. Mr. H. promised to do as requested, saying that he would be "a fool to do differently." Made no attempt to deny the charge at all. Someone had told Mrs. Harker of situation that morning.

Mar. 16, '08. Wrote to Miss Pond that H. R. T. had seen Mr. Harker and that latter had agreed to stop interference. Asked her to let V. E. R. know of any further trouble.

Apr. 4, '08. Letter from Miss Pond; R. is really trying hard and "she certainly improves," hopes she will learn to be truthful.

June 22, '08. MISS COPPERTHWAITTE telephoned V. E. R., could
890 not keep R. much longer, wants to see V. E. R. R. quite incapable in housework, in sewing, in everything; lies. They can manage R. and her temper. R. has received invitation to go and spend week with Mrs. Ittel. V. E. R. advised *no*, R. not to go.

July 6, '08. MISS COPPERTHWAITTE telephoned, wants R. examined by Dr. Ballard of Benedict School for Feeble-minded this week. V. E. R. to come to see Miss Copperthwaite and R. July 9th.

July 9, '08. To Shelter, saw Miss Copperthwaite and Miss Pond. Say Ruth not normal, doesn't do queer things but is incapable of any

900 work, cannot remember, forgets things told to do almost at once. R. has learned to control temper. Miss Pond thinks Harker still hangs around; R. so far as Miss Copperthwaite and Miss Pond can discover (went into matter carefully) has not been ill since she has been there, has been examined by Dr. and said to be all right. Wants R. to be taken to Benedict School for observation.

July 13, '08. Telephoned Benedict, will send papers to be filled out. Dr. Ballard away until August. R.'s report card from Shelter (10 highest, 1 lowest): School work: arith., 4; gram., 4; geog., 9; hist., $8\frac{1}{2}$; spelling, $8\frac{1}{2}$; deportment in school, $7\frac{1}{2}$; domes. work, 4; deportment in
910 domes. work, $7\frac{1}{2}$; sewing, 5; deportment in sewing room, 9; care of own room, $7\frac{3}{4}$.

Sept. 10, '08. Postal from Miss Pond; wishes to do something before R.'s birthday, Sept. 19th (whole matter has been delayed by vacations of Dr. Ballard, Miss Pond and V. E. R.). V. E. R. telephoned to School for Feeble-minded, arranged to see Dr. Ballard. Telephoned Miss Pond.

Sept. 14, '08. Final arrangements made to take R. to Dr. Ballard Sept. 17th; Miss Pond and mother to go with V. E. R.; R. to remain for observation if Dr. Ballard consents. Wrote mother.

920 Sept. 17, '08. RUTH, MISS POND, MOTHER and V. E. R. went to Benedict. Dr. Ballard talked with V. E. R., saw Ruth, and then talked with mother, Miss Pond and V. E. R.; said he had never seen case like this one; said R. made good appearance, seemed normal, was quick, understood fractions, had an idea of percentage and interest, good presence, but when he talked with her about her immoral conduct she showed no remorse, was shy, seemed to feel self center of interesting story, no sense of what she had done; felt girl not morally responsible. Read to the three present a paper he was preparing on this class of girl; described them as indolent, of dirty personal habits, no concentration, need-
930 lessly and purposely untruthful, liking to dwell on obscene, egotistic, heroine to self, no remorse, no sympathy, very selfish; then Dr. Ballard asked mother, V. E. R. and Miss Pond if these things applied to Ruth—all agreed emphatically that they exactly described her. Dr. Ballard felt that R. does belong to the class of *morally* feeble-minded; said would probably have difficulty in getting doctor to sign commitment papers. Said he thought fact that R. almost 21, thinking herself normal, wishing to get away from control, should come out as docilely as she had done for examination, allows herself to be taken about as she did, was important and showed immaturity of R., her childishness. R. seemed also to
940 wait for advances from men, not to make them; Dr. Ballard said this important.

Returned to city, took Ruth to Dr. Henry Cross, told him history of R., spoke of inability to do any work, cannot support self, immoral tendency, no shame, no apparent consciousness of her wrong-doing, irre-

sponsibility; all agreed girl was sure to go on street (Dr. Ballard had said R. of kind from whom worst prostitutes are made). Spoke of R.'s apparent feeling that she was center of drama, other characteristics enumerated, in meeting with Dr. Ballard—her untidy habits (see reports of all women in whose home she worked, and in particular Dec. 18, '07, report of Mrs. Ittel), untidiness spoken of by Miss Pond; Miss Pond also says R. loses things, does not know how—question of her destroying them; lack of memory; R. has not been ill for nine months, has been examined by Dr. Mary Morris, who found nothing wrong, R. not pregnant.

Dr. Cross thought R. unmistakably fit subject for feeble-minded school, signed paper, mother signed, registrar signed, and judge. Telephoned Dr. Ballard Ruth to go Sept. 22d.

Sept. 22, '08. Took Ruth to Benedict; R. sullen, refused to speak on way out, had been told by Miss Pond where she was going and that it was to stay for some time. As V. E. R. left she became much enraged and said she never would stay a minute in place, etc. Wrote mother, telephoned Miss Pond. Letter from mother received later thanking Children's Agency for all done.

Oct. 5, '08. Report to Dr. Ballard sent; Dr. French had asked for summary of what Children's Agency knew of Ruth and experiences with her.

Oct. 21, '09. Dr. BALLARD said to V. E. R. (taking another girl to school) that Ruth had given them much trouble when she first came. They had "taken her seriously," gone into her pains and complaints, etc. Then R. was taken out of class of high grade defectives and put with a lower grade, where she really belongs, and she has not troubled them further, settled down into life comfortably and isn't heard from now.

SUMMARY

FORWARDED TO BENEDICT SCHOOL, OCT. 5, 1908.

RUTH STRONG was born Sept. 19, 1887. Her mother says that she was a precocious child to the age of ten years, when she had an attack of scarlet fever. After this time the mother felt that the child did not develop, and she dates Ruth's peculiarities as beginning then, her moodiness, temper, irresponsibility, and her untruthfulness. The father was a very heavy drinker. In 1896 he and the mother were divorced. In two years she was married again to a man named Lawrence.

June 1, 1906, Mrs. Lawrence came to the office of the Children's Agency, sent by Dr. L. E. James, of Burlington, her physician as well as her father's. Mrs. Lawrence said she could do nothing with Ruth. The girl had refused to finish grammar school and had been drifting about for some time, working in a store and in various shoe factories in Carlisle, where the Lawrence family were then living. At length she refused to work and shortly before the application had disappeared altogether. Mrs. Lawrence did not know where she was for several days, when she received word from her sister that Ruth was with her in Athens. She had gone to her father and represented that she was in need and he had given her money. At other times she had gone to the father for money, misrepresenting her situation, and once he had secured her a position in a factory and was paying

her board in town, only to find soon afterward that she was not working at all, but staying all day in her room reading cheap novels.

On the date of application, June 1, 1906, the mother mentioned the girl's constant disobedience, her laziness, lack of interest in studies, work, or even the normal young girl's pleasures (such as attention to personal appearance, interest in clothes, etc.), her disagreeableness, moods, and her irritability and childish temper (would stamp her feet, throw things, etc., at slightest opposition), untruthfulness and lack of natural affection. She said that the girl had had no attention from young men and showed no interest in them, but formed sentimental attachments to girls; masturbation was not suspected; menstruation was then normal; the first period came at thirteen years and the second not until sixteen years. In school she did fairly well, and the mother said she never had complaint from her teachers except for lack of concentration. She was physically well grown; she had a bad eruption on her face.

On the 9th of June Ruth was placed out in a family, as one of the family, to work for small wages. September 1st she was placed in another home on the same basis, the first family being entirely dissatisfied with her. On the 14th of September she was again transferred for the same reason. September 18th she was changed to still another home, where she stayed a little over two months, finally leaving because of the family's dissatisfaction with her and her work, and on account of the high words between her and the man of the house. November 30th she went to her fifth place, where she remained until January 8, 1907, this family being quite as unable to manage her as the others. From January 8th to January 18th she was in the sixth place, and in the seventh and last home from January 18th till the 19th of February, 1907.

From every one of the homes came the same story. No. 1 said the girl was slack, untruthful and suspected that she was destroying things and hiding them. The following is from a letter from the man of the house: "She is underhanded," prevaricates, and "her laziness is beyond belief. Any attempt to help her or to teach her in any way seems hopeless because in her the ordinary sense of shame, of honor, and of duty is absolutely lacking. Kindness to her is wasted because gratitude does not exist in her." "She has a violent temper which she makes no attempt to control, and if provoked might damage the house." No. 2 said the girl did well at first, but they became thoroughly dissatisfied and found her sulky and unwilling. No. 4 wrote: "She is so wedded to her slack ways that she is beyond me. I have found her unreliable." "What I say lasts anywhere from five minutes to half an hour;" then again she writes, "She has really tried hard off and on, but she is a hard case." Repeated efforts were made in all these places by the visitor from the Agency and by the woman of the house to get Ruth to try to do better. She always responded willingly and seldom resented even the most energetic talk, but within a day she would be the same as before. During this time she was writing continually to her mother and the visitor of her unhappiness; on talking these letters over she once said that she forgot she had written them half an hour afterwards. No. 4 wrote November 19, 1906, in asking to have the girl taken away: "I have done my best but at times I think she is almost hopelessly bad." It was in this home that Ruth took the baby out one afternoon and losing her temper over some little thing, shook the child violently up and down in the baby carriage and then pushed the carriage forward letting it run down hill. No harm whatever was done the baby or the carriage. When she became angry she would call the woman of the house names, and would go to her room at the top of the frame house and stamp and jump up and down. No. 5 wrote, "She needs constant looking after;" "perhaps she does as well as she knows." In this home she was not particularly saucy or disagreeable, but was described as being slack and absolutely incapable; articles in her room when she left were said to be "filthy;" her breaking things was complained of here. No. 6 wrote that the girl was "of no help but a great extra care." No home after the first spoke of her wilfully destroying or hiding things. Her voluminous letters already mentioned were sometimes penitent, as this: She has been thinking over her "actions, words and deeds and so on since last June the 9th" and is sorry for everything and for

all the trouble on account of "horrid me," and this: "I am aching for morning to come so *I can start all over new*;" often very sentimental, sometimes exceedingly rude and disagreeable, always moody and discussing herself: "I am so sleepy, tired, cross, nervous that I can hardly," etc.

After Feb. 19, 1907, Ruth was placed in a boarding home and was found a place to work in Burlington, sewing buttons on shirtwaists, being paid on the piece-work scheme. She was under an excellent forewoman, who gave her repeated trials, but felt at length that the girl was so far below the average of even the newly arrived foreigners, that her place was needed. Ruth was earning from 1060 \$40 to \$1.25 a week where other girls earned from \$3 to \$4 and even more. She then worked off and on in the packing departments of five different candy factories in Burlington and No. Burlington; the reasons given for her discharge being, one for taking candy, in one for the eruption on her face, another because work was dull, etc. This occupied the time from February, 1907, to October, 1907. For about ten days this same fall she was tried by Miss Ross in the School of Industries, where she was to learn straw hat making, but she proved so discouraging by her unwillingness to try, her complete dissatisfaction after the first day or two, and by her absences, that it was useless to keep her there. Miss Fox of the Goddard Settlement and also another of the residents made continuous efforts to find work for her, 1070 to occupy her time when she was out of work, to encourage her, and to reach her personally. She responded for a time, and then lapsed back to the old state. She worked for one week in November in a mailing company addressing envelopes (piece-work payments); she made \$.76 for the week's work. During this time she began to show signs of immoral conduct, was out late at night, confessed that she allowed men to "pick her up," said that when they spoke to her she answered, and that she didn't know any other way of meeting them. Her mother says she had often warned her of this, explaining the right and wrong. She finally was removed from the boarding home on account of the relation which was developing between her and the man of the house, and was placed July 5, 1907, in the Goddard 1080 Settlement in Burlington. On account of her conduct in general and in a particular instance when she responded to a man in a window opposite who was quite undressed by exposing herself, she was obliged to leave the Settlement December 12, 1907. She was placed temporarily for a week in a boarding home. Here the woman reported that she could do nothing with her, that the girl said she was about to be married and that she was away from the house most of the time, coming in at nine or ten in the evening. This woman reports that the girl emptied her stool from her chamber out of the window onto the bulkhead beneath.

December 18, 1907, she was admitted to the Shelter, 4th and Vine Streets. The examining physician, Dr. Carpenter of No. Burlington, reported that the girl had 1090 been immoral, and later the girl admitted this, but said it had been with only one man. Miss Pond reports that the girl has been slack, dirty about her person, forgetful, untruthful, loses things (questions whether she destroys them or not); in general finds her quite incapable of doing housework. It should be said that from February, 1907, on Ruth has made a determined and fairly continuous effort to overcome her violent temper; she began counting the days and then the weeks when she had not lost it at all. Miss Fox of the Goddard Settlement did not complain of her temper although occasionally she would have serious disagreements with the other girls in the Settlement and would become very angry and would swear at them. Miss Pond reported a decided improvement in this respect 1100 during the time she was at the Shelter. Her teacher there found her fairly good in some studies; her work seemed the work of the 6th or 8th grade.

During the time she was under Children's Agency care she complained of severe headaches, said she had one about every two months; she was, so far as is known, regular in menstruating until the fall of 1907, when menstruation stopped entirely, and she had no period up to the date of admission to Benedict. She had a constantly recurring eruption on her face which Dr. Haines, working with Dr. Henry Wood, said was not contagious and was an atypical form of psoriasis. Another name given the eruption by a physician was staphylococcic. November, 1907, she was taken to the Pratt Clinic, where it was said the girl had muscular

1110 trouble with her eyes, both tending to turn outward; there was no trouble with vision. Exercises for the muscular trouble were prescribed and followed for a short time. This same fall it was with great difficulty that she was persuaded to eat enough; often she would go without her meals altogether. She seemed subject to colds and sore throat.

The girl has seemed very open to suggestion; at times of the most morbid depression and self-depreciation she will rise after half an hour's talk to an enthusiasm for self-improvement and an avowed determination to succeed equalled in its unbalanced character by its short duration. The continued, insistent efforts by constant talks from many people on one thing, her temper, seem to have had 1120 effect. At times she appears to be acting out dramatic situations where she feels herself the heroine of an exciting novel. There is at times a marked lack in her of any sense of reality.

When plans were made for the girl to be changed from one home to another, from one work to another, and even when she was not told where she was going, she would apparently have no resources, no formed plans for herself, would generally make little trouble on the way, and would ask but few questions. When she reached her destination or sometimes before she started she would often make a "scene"—stamping, swearing and throwing things about the room.

1130 A man with whom the girl has had sexual relations, Carroll Harker of H—, a married man, has made attempts to send letters to her and she in turn has tried to smuggle notes to him. While she was in the Shelter the man appeared in the streets several times near the Shelter and finally was warned to discontinue his attentions by a man from the Children's Agency office.

CASE III

BLANCHE ELEANOR POTTER

Date, Oct. 22, '02.

Residence, 29 Walnut St., No. Burlington.

Application: First? Yes. *Made by* C. O. S. of No. Burlington.

1140 *Col. of ch. col.; fa. col.; mo. col. Relig. of ch. P.; fa. P.; mo. P.*
Birthplace, Jamestown, O.

Date of birth, Apr. 12, '88. *Age on ap.*, 14 yrs. 6 mos.

Vaccinated, Yes. *Physical Condition*, Good.

Has attended school where, No. Burlington.

Character, Stays out late; runs away from home. Goes to questionable houses and dances for money, etc.

Father's name, Henry.

Residence, Died in 1899 in Jamestown, O.

Mother's name, Blanche (Foster).

Birthplace and date, Ohio.

1150 *Residence*, Same as Blanche.

Occupation, what and where, Mends cane-seated chairs; takes in washing, etc. (Nearly crippled with rheumatism.)

Married, when and where, Ohio.

Other members of family, names, ages, character and occupation, Alexander, b. (Ohio, July '02) 1880. Aurelia, b. '81, at home, does housework. Andrew Jackson, b. Oct. '84; wks. and lives at home (gamblers).

Oct. 22, '02. MISS ABBOTT of No. Burlington C. O. S. telephones about colored girl, very dark, 13 years old last July. Quarreled with mother. Ran away from home. Just been caught by Miss Helen 1160 Bradford, 3 Chestnut St., No. Burlington, friendly visitor of family for No. Burlington C. O. S. Miss Abbott is sure girl will run away im-

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1160 Bradford, 3 Chestnut St., No. Burlington, friendly visitor of family for No. Burlington C. O. S. Miss Abbott is sure girl will run away im-

mediately if sent home. Does not want to ask police to shut her up. Asks Children's Agency to take her temporarily, until case can be looked into further, and Gen. Secty. says yes.

B. S. Q. went to office of C. O. S. of No. Burlington, at Gen. Secty.'s direction, and took Blanche to Mrs. Adaline Altam, 83 Norton St., No. Burlington, warning her to be careful not to let the girl escape.

1170 Blanche ran away from home one week ago yesterday (October 15th), apparently fearing a whipping for staying out late in the evening. It was supposed that she was in Burlington. Police were notified, but she was not found until today, when Miss Bradford went hunting for her and discovered her on Grantwood Pl., Burlington. She took her at once to office of No. Burlington C. O. S.

1180 Blanche has been getting beyond control of mother for some time. She stays out late nights on street corners in No. Burlington and in Burlington. She sings and dances for money on the street, and sometimes goes to places where people are gathered together (*e.g.*, No. Burlington Dancing School once), and asks to be allowed to sing or dance. Mother mends cane-seated chairs. For a long time Blanche has gone on errands for mother both in Burlington and No. Burlington, buying cane, taking back wash, etc. Being very forward and curious-looking, she has got acquainted with everybody she saw. She has got in the habit of getting errands to do both in stores and at private houses.

Last summer she worked for Florette, milliner, 118 Highland Ave., Burlington, doing errands daily. Brought home money to mother.

1190 C. O. S. of No. Burlington have known family since 1896. Came from Jamestown, where the C. O. S. had known them since 1888. Father died in 1899. About 1895 or 1896, mother came to No. Burlington with three children (Blanche, Andrew Jackson and Aurelia), leaving Alexander in Jamestown with father. C. O. S. have found them chronic cases, always in debt for rent, always borrowing, constantly being "referred" to C. O. S. by people from whom mother had borrowed, etc. Mrs. Potter has worked for Mrs. Thos. Munson, 100 Nassau St., Burlington, and is known also to A. R. Ovington, 352 Putnam St., Burlington, care L. A. Quinn Co. C. O. S. of Jamestown, Ohio, had found them constantly failing of self-support, chronic borrowers, etc. They have been helped by private people in Burlington and No. Burlington independent of C. O. S. and through C. O. S., also from the Slater Fund and Directors of Poor of No. Burlington. Public relief was 1200 refused in Sept., 1899. Only further aid to be given by taking mother to almshouse at Knightstown. Last public aid was in January, 1898.

In 1899 Mr. Latimer, of the Colored Mission, suspected that mother sold liquor. Mrs. Rooker [Gen. Secty. No. Burlington C. O. S.] believes there is no evidence of that, and does not believe it. Mother's hands and feet are nearly crippled with rheumatism, and so she could hardly help getting into debt. C. O. S. had hoped to build family up with aid of children into self-support. In January, 1900, Alexander came from South. After being idle a long time got work at Down Town

Club. He was rather ambitionless. In May, 1900, he went to Rexford, N. J. For awhile he sent mother her rent; later dropped it. Mother
1210 lied about the matter; said she received no money when she did. In July, 1902, Alexander married and so does nothing for mother. She says perhaps he will come and live with them soon, but that is very doubtful. Andrew was sent to the Stuyvesant School, October, 1899, and returned about September 15, 1901, to his parents. He gambles and is repeatedly out of work. The sister, Aurelia, is a dwarf. She has had lessons in sewing, but could hardly support herself (or nothing more) if left to herself.

In February, 1902, Miss Jennie Thomas, of No. Burlington, gave
1220 Blanche a coat. She found later that four coats were given to Blanche between Saturday and Monday. One night in April, 1902, B. stayed away all night; mother said she stayed with her employer. During the summer Blanche earned about \$2 per week and, her mother says, brought it home pretty regularly. Mrs. Rooker has never heard that B. was suspected of immorality with boys or men. Has heard of her direct thieving but once, and then she did not turn in all she collected for chairs (charged 65 cents each for three chairs when the proper charge was 60 and kept the rest); Mrs. Potter said that was the only time she knew of dishonesty. Blanche lies, however, and is bold. Mrs. Potter
1230 has no judgment in managing her.

B. S. Q. asked Blanche where she stayed. She said at 39 Upton St., Burlington, with Mrs. Yoder, several nights, and at 811 Arlington St., with Mrs. Baxter several nights. Had done errands on those streets for Florette and others.

B. S. Q. saw Mrs. Potter, who confirms above. She fears B. will go wrong soon. Says was once offered \$6 per week to let her go with a travelling troupe; would never consent to such a thing. Is quite willing to let Children's Agency take B. Does not want her in an institution with girls worse than she is.

B. S. Q. saw Miss Celia Devlin, 101 Exeter St., B.'s present teacher,
1240 and her last year's teacher, Miss Fries, 3 Gwynedd Pl., of the Halleck School. Present teacher, Miss Devlin, thinks B. of average ability, but untrained, fly-away, irrepressible, but also affectionate. Has never heard of any vicious habits. Last year's teacher, Miss Fries, thinks B. very rude and coarse. Heard that she once talked vulgar talk to other children. Has heard of no vicious habits, and found her at times affectionate, but very hard to make impression on, and on the whole considered her bad.

Oct. 23, '02. B. S. Q. inquired at police station No. 1, Ivy St.,
1250 No. Burlington. Officer in charge said B. was well known to them. Has never heard that she has got into vicious habits.

Blanche was placed at board with Mrs. Adaline Altam, 83 Norton St., No. Burlington. Terms, \$2 per week, and clothes. Took B. entire outfit from supplies and also bought dress, coat and hat. Found on visit-

ing her that she was one who ran errands in building on Otter Place and had been the buffoon for street, everyone in every building and office knowing her and having had her dance and play monkey. On other hand, B. has often been supplied with suitable clothes and food.

Oct. 24, '02. B. S. Q. saw a Mrs. Jenner, 811 Arlington St.,
1260 apparently a respectable woman, mother of a family, who said she had seen Blanche around a good deal, dancing on street and doing errands at houses. Had seen her go to houses on Arlington St. which are not considered respectable. Says her sons think B. stayed several nights with Mrs. Baxter in same house, about whom woman would not say anything but she wouldn't recommend.

Mrs. Baxter did not let B. S. Q. in, but talked through the closed door. Said she was not dressed (nearly 10 A. M.). Said Blanche had been there this week but denied keeping her all night. B. S. Q. called on "Miss Knight," 817 Arlington St., one of the women whom Mrs.
1270 Jenner called "not respectable." Miss K. very stylish in dress and manner, expensive furniture, etc. Has a colored maid. Said B. had done errands for her, but never stayed all night. Went to 39 Upton St., couldn't find out much about "Mrs. Yoder" who lived in upper flat. B. S. Q. believes they harbored B. "Dr. Lovell" (not a member of any recognized society according to medical directory) at same number said he had seen Blanche a good deal on street. Said some very respectable friends of his had her dance for them in the evening at their house to entertain callers, and paid her. Thinks she has danced in this way at places not respectable. B. S. Q. inquired at milliner's, Florette, 118
1280 Highland Ave. B. did errands well and was thought to be honest and a "good girl." B. has frequented Manchester St. a good deal.

Oct. 25, '02. GEN. SECTY. says: "Children's Agency to board girl in a family. Placing Out Fund to pay cost of board and clothes from Oct. 22, '02. L. H. R. to be visitor."

Oct. 26, '02. Visited Blanche. Mrs. Altam says she never in her life saw such a specimen of low-down colored blood. Is ashamed to go on street with her, for every man and boy in No. Burlington knows her. While visiting a friend of Mrs. Altam's B. took ten cents from bureau and afterwards pretended she picked it up on sidewalk. Went to school
1290 for B.'s discharge card.

Oct. 27, '02. GEN. SECTY. directed B. S. Q. to ask Mrs. Rooker if Slater Fund would pay anything for B.'s support; and also for B. S. Q. to get surrender of girl.

Oct. 28, '02. B. S. Q. got mother to sign surrender of B. until 18 years of age (Apr. 12, 1908).

Oct. 29, '02. MRS. ROOKER reports Slater Fund will pay \$20 towards B.'s support.

Gen. Secty. says: "Money from Slater Fund to be used to pay cost

of board and clothes of Blanche, and when fund is exhausted Placing
1300 Out Fund to resume the expense."

Oct. 31, '02. Letter from Jamestown, from Dr. Maxwell, Com. of Health, saying they could not find any trace of birth of Blanche Eleanor Potter, said to have been born in either April, 1889, or April, 1890.

Nov. 3, '02. Visited B. Found that she was doing much better. Mrs. Altam said she was getting a little control over Blanche, and was getting her so that she would stay at home. B. is very fond of drawing and really shows quite a little talent in that direction. Has broken glasses that she wore before coming into care of Children's Agency, and
1310 teacher says B. not able to see board. Arranged to take her to the Pratt Clinic.

Nov. 4, '02. Took B. to Pratt Clinic for glasses. Paid 75 cents for pair.

Nov. 14, '02. Letter from Mrs. Altam, saying would not keep B.

Nov. 16, '02. MRS. ALTAM sent word that B. had run away.

Nov. 18, '02. Telephone from Miss Abbott, No. Burlington, C. O. S., saying that she met Blanche on Upton St., Burlington, and had taken her to No. Burlington and would keep her at their office until sent for. D. A. U. in absence of L. H. R. went to No. Burlington and
1320 placed B. with Mrs. Aaron Babbitt, 432 Ridge St., No. Burlington.

Nov. 25, '02. L. H. R. visited B. at Mrs. Babbitt's. B. appears to like Mrs. B. very much. Mrs. Babbitt says B. is very trying, sulks when not allowed to go her own way and is very untruthful, but she is very hopeful that she can in time help her. Mrs. Babbitt says fears she is giving teacher a good deal of trouble. Sometime during L. H. R.'s absence B. came to office at request of D. A. U. to get new shoes, and when started for home took a little trip on her own hook to some of her old haunts in Story St. Later, after L. H. R. returned, woman called at office asking if society had in charge girl named Ellen Jackson;
1330 was told there was no such girl. Woman said B. came to her hotel on Trenton Park and danced for friends; also went to Wallingford. Woman said girl told them her mother was dead and she was in care of Children's Agency and had that day come to office for new boots; that her name was Ellen Jackson, and Children's Agency wanted to place her in country but because she was black could not find suitable place. This statement is just to show what a vivid imagination B. has. When she returned to No. Burlington about 7 o'clock told Mrs. Babbitt that people in office had kept her.

Dec. 4, '02. Letter from Mrs. Potter, mother of girl, who objects
1340 to B.'s being placed in No. Burlington.

Dec. 10, '02. B. came to see D. A. U. with very discouraging

report from teacher. D. A. U. wrote teacher and asked her to send daily report of B. Teacher says she takes advantage unless watched all the time, thinks it useless to try and help her, institution only place for her.

Dec. 13, '02. Letter from school teacher saying week had been very discouraging one, but agreed to try B. another week.

Dec. 15, '02. Letter from school teacher. Blanche very troublesome, but ready to promise better things.

1350 Dec. 18, '02. Visited B. and Mrs. Babbitt; also visited school and saw teacher and Principal Acton. Principal said had girl in another district and there she was very troublesome. D. A. U. feels that she should be cared for in some other way; said she was a bad example for other children, a great care to teacher, and on the whole not fitted for public school. Said an institution was only fit place for her. Mrs. Babbitt said at first B. was very troublesome, would pout and sulk and sometimes scream at top of lungs when crossed in any way or when corrected; but that by talking kindly to her and insisting on obedience she had improved very much. Had long talk with Blanche. Tried to
1360 tell her that she could win respect of teacher and children if she would only stop making a monkey of herself for benefit of school. Blanche cried very pitifully when talked seriously with, but tears are like April showers. Can cry or laugh with ease, but still seems to try to do what is asked of her.

Dec. 22, '02. Letter from teacher; B. doing trifle better. Is to speak and sing at Christmas exercises.

Dec. 24, '02. Sent B. Christmas present.

Jan. 6, '03. Letter from Mr. Acton, principal of school where
1370 Blanche attends, saying feels that they have no room for her in the school; B. not disposed to conform to rules of conduct and endeavors to play buffoon for amusement of school. Asks for immediate attention of Children's Agency to matter; says will have to resort to suspension, also says in that case it would be made plain that girl has no right in that school.

Jan. 7, '03. Visited Mr. Acton and Mr. Barton. Long story from both of petty things girl does in school. Teacher high-strung, nervous woman, and one who it seems is not able to make sufficient allowances for B. Mr. Acton speaks from previous knowledge of her and on his observation of colored children in the South, says B. is of a
1380 type that is utterly worthless, time wasted that is given in such case. Also thinks Blanche can be suspended not only for bad conduct but for reason that she has no right in his district. Told him would consult Gen. Secty.

Jan. 8, '03. GEN. SECTY. advises best to take Blanche out of school and visit frequently, watch her closely and study on some other plan for

her; but told L. H. R. to tell Mr. Acton that B. had right to go to his school, as family in which she boards is in his district. Teacher, after talking with L. H. R., wants to try B. a little longer, seems to feel rather hurt that she cannot manage her.

1390 Jan. 10, '03. Visited Blanche. Found she had two good reports for preceding days.

Jan. 14, '03. Visited Blanche and teacher; report varying fair and poor alternately. Teachers downstairs report that B. annoys them by making faces and dancing before doors when allowed to go to basement.

Jan. 19, '03. Visited B.; varying reports from school. B. at home does well; both Mr. and Mrs. Babbitt say that she tries at home and they have little fault to find except that if she gets a chance she loves to run and go on errands the longest way round.

1400 Jan. 21, '03. B. sent home from school. Her story that she was sent home for turning round and copying her lesson. She said teacher blamed her for things done by other children. Cried and said she was telling truth, so L. H. R. wrote note to teacher before B. telling story of her wrongs as told to L. H. R. Blanche vowed every word was true. Mrs. Babbitt took note to teacher.

Jan. 22, '03. Letter from teacher saying B.'s story was wholly wrong; tale made out of whole cloth. Visited B., gave her severe talking to.

1410 Jan. 28, '03. Visited B. Mrs. Babbitt reports B. as very good at home, cannot understand why she does not do well in school, fears teacher unjust. B. had reports from teacher for interval between visits of L. H. R.; reports vary from very poor to fair.

Feb. 9, '03. Visited B. and found teacher had just sent her home and told her not to return. Visited teacher, who said she was worn out with B.'s silly nonsense, felt that if girl stayed she (teacher) would have nervous prostration, already on verge of it, and did not feel it her duty to try longer with B. B. had broken glasses.

Feb. 11, '03. Took Blanche to Pratt Clinic to have glasses repaired; cost, 79 cents.

1420 Feb. 24, '03. Visited B., found her helping Mrs. Babbitt about the house. B. is very good to children and likes to help Mrs. B. Goes with Mrs. B. to church and Sunday school.

March 6, '03. Visited B. Good report of conduct at home from Mrs. Babbitt.

March 19, '03. Sister of B. called to inquire for her. B. needs new dresses.

Apr. 6, '03. Went shopping for B., bought her coat, hat, woolen dress and cotton dresses, also sent underwear from supplies.

1430 Apr. 8, '03. Visited B. Found her well. Looks better in face, shows a little the effect of good home training. Mrs. Babbitt says B. much less restless than early in the winter, and does not give so much trouble about going longest way round when sent on errand.

May 18, '03. Visited B. and took lunch. B. asks grace at meals. Arranged to meet her and get her clothes.

May 22, '03. Met B. and got suitable dress for church, also bought Ferris waist, etc. Took her to Chester for little outing while L. H. R. visited child. B. perfectly delighted with country, never been further than Dalton.

1440 June, '03. Letter from Mrs. Babbitt saying she has moved to 3 Easton Rd., No. Burlington.

Aug. 3, '03. Letter from Mrs. Babbitt saying she wants B. removed as she cannot control her. Says girl wants to be on street all the time and if not allowed to go gets sulky and cries for spite.

1450 Visited Blanche and Mrs. Babbitt and found that new home, while much nicer inside and more roomy, was not in such a good neighborhood. Front door opens right on street on which there are colored children of all ages who play right in the street, and therefore B. comes in closer contact with undesirable children than when on Ridge St. Mrs. Babbitt feels that it would be best for B. to go away from where she is so well known, and, as she said in her letter, is not willing to keep B. if she cannot control her. Mrs. B. suggests friends in Franconia who have seen B. and who would be willing to take her to board.

L. H. R. wrote Mrs. Cope (white), of C— [50 miles from Burlington], who had applied for young colored girl, and gave description of B. Asked Mrs. Cope if she would like to try her.

Aug. 6, '03. MRS. COPE writes will try Blanche. L. H. R. also visited Grant family in Franconia in case Cope place was not accepted.

Aug. 11, '03. Took B. to Pratt Clinic to have glasses repaired. Arranged with Mrs. Babbitt and Blanche to transfer Aug. 14, '03.

1460 Aug. 14, '03. Asked Gen. Secty. what to do in regard to B. Gen. Secty. not satisfied with L. H. R.'s report of her. Gen. Secty. said B. to try C— place. Took her to Mrs. Cope. Terms, free. B. to assist in care of two children. Mrs. Cope has furnished pretty room for her. Everything in house very attractive.

Sept. 9, '03. Letter from Mrs. Cope in which she says B. doing well; finds B. a very good girl. Mrs. C.'s baby has been ill and she says she should not have known what to do without B., who is so kind and gentle with the baby. Only fault is that she has slow days. Letter from B.

- 1470 Sept. 25, '03. Visited mother of Blanche in No. Burlington.
- Oct. 14, '03. Visited B. Appears very happy and children love her dearly. Has very trying days, when she will act as stubborn and contrary as a mule, but when she gets over the fit she does well.
- Dec. 24, '03. Sent B. Christmas gift.
- Feb. 14, '04. Sent B. valentine.
- May 27, '04. Letter from Mrs. Cope; B. "contented and happy and of late doing real well."
- June 3, '04. Letter from B. and on same notepaper as letter from Mrs. Cope. B. evidently had been having one of her off spells. Has screaming spells when she is on her off days and she loses all control and screams at top of her lungs, getting, if she can, near open window where neighbors can hear her, so as to excite sympathy.
- 1480 June 7, '04. Visited Blanche. Mrs. Cope says she can be the best that ever was, but she can turn the quickest and be so ugly that it is impossible to do anything with her. Mrs. C. says the one strong thing in the girl is her perfect devotion to the children. Not long ago the baby was ill and they had to employ a trained nurse. B. was so unhappy over having anyone else touch Junior that she would do nothing but sit outside the door of his room just waiting her chance to slip in, and the baby would laugh at her and want to go to her when he would not notice anyone else.
- 1490 Oct. 8, '04. Visited B. She always says she is happy and contented and wants to stay with Junior always. Is very untruthful, but is capable, lovely to children, and when she is good she is very helpful, but the black moods come pretty often and then she is very ugly, abuses Mrs. Cope (with her tongue) and is just as ungrateful as can be. Mrs. C. has made the girl a lot of pretty clothes, taking as much pains as with her own. B. has as nice clothes as most children of well-to-do parents. The Copes and friends have given B. books, pictures, paints, etc. Also a desk. B.'s room is very attractive and she is never without pocket money.
- 1500 Dec. 1, '04. Letter from Mrs. Cope saying Mr. C. was coming to Burlington soon and would like to bring B. to spend day, a treat she has long been promised.
- Dec. 2, '04. L. H. R. wrote Mrs. Cope would meet B.
- Dec. 8, '04. Met Mr. Cope and B. at station. B. looked as nice and neat as pin, prettily and nicely dressed. Mr. B. gave her \$1 to spend.
- Dec. 20, '04. Letter from Mrs. Cope and also one written Dec. 17th, both came together. Visit made B. worse, evidently upset her, and Mrs. C. reports girl as doing very poorly.
- 1510

Dec. 24, '04. Sent B. Christmas gift.

Dec. 27, '04. Wrote B. that if she did not try to do better should come to C— and take her away.

Feb. 2, '05. Letter from Mrs. Cope; B. doing badly.

Feb. 5, '05. Wrote B.

Feb. 14, '05. Sent B. valentine.

March 17, '05. Visited B. Gave her severe scolding and told her she could not stay any longer. She wept and wailed and promised to do better. Says she "knows she is horrid," but says she has "black fits" and cannot help it. Mrs. Cope says she has fearful screaming spells. Sometimes she runs out on lawn or into back yard and looks all around to see if neighbors are looking. L. H. R. told Mrs. C. next time B. had such a spell to push her into nearest room and lock her in and let her scream to her heart's content. Mrs. Cope takes it so to heart when B. does these things, does not seem to realize what colored blood means. Mrs. C. also never can seem to understand that Blanche's lies are a part of her make-up. Mrs. C. is so anxious to have B. do well and turn out well that these black spells wear her out. However, in spite of all B. does not want to leave and Mrs. Cope is loath to give her up because of her love for Junior.

Apr. 12, '05. B. ran away and came to Burlington on electric, arriving late. Went to Mrs. Babbitt, and when office opened Apr. 13th, was at door waiting for L. H. R. Wept and wailed and wanted to go straight back to C—. Had run away in a fit of temper. Telephoned Mr. Cope, who said B. could come back. She took some change from Mrs. Cope's drawer to pay fares. Went back as happy as a lark and walked in as if nothing had happened, while poor Mrs. C. was distracted worrying about her. Mrs. Cope said would not have taken B. back but that Junior had grieved so for her. B. is so peculiar it is hard to make anyone understand that she is not wholly responsible. It is a wonder with B.'s early history taken into consideration that she does as well as she does.

Apr. 25, '05. Letter from B. and Mrs. Cope. B. so delighted at having been so good since her escapade that she asks L. H. R. to send her a bicycle.

June 30, '05. Letter from Mrs. Cope.; B. doing fairly well. Mrs. C. will let B. come to Burlington to spend day in July if she does well.

July 11, '05. Letter from B. asking when she can come for visit.

July 12, '05. Letter from B. Wrote B.; not to visit Burlington till fall.

Sept. 17, '05. Visited B. Mrs. Cope reports that she is just about the same, good one day, bad the next. B. brought L. H. R. a lunch on

the daintiest tray, everything as nice as could be. Mrs. Cope says she is so capable and would be invaluable were it not for black moods. Family were at seashore during summer, and Mrs. C. made B. a bathing suit so she could bathe with children. One day B. had a sulky fit and would not go in water. Soon as children were undressed and in water B. walked in with all her nice clean clothes on. When she came out
1560 she walked into house (Mrs. Cope was guest of a neighbor in C—) dripping wet, went all over house, so water was everywhere. Day was warm, so Mrs. C. made B. wring out clothes and dry them on her. B. then went out on piazza and screamed one solid hour at top of her lungs; family let her alone and let her scream. At night when it was time for tea B. started to run off and Mr. Cope started after, she dodged and cut in and out for about two miles; finally Mr. C. and another man caught her and took her back, biting and clawing all the way home. Next day she was as good as a newborn baby.

Oct. 23, '05. MR. COPE brought B. to Burlington to spend day
1570 with L. H. R. Visited mother and Mrs. Rooker and all old friends. Returned to C— that night with Mr. Cope. B. took mother some fruit.

Dec. 24, '05. Sent B. Christmas gift.

Jan. 15, '06. B. ran away again. Had one of her ugly spells the day before and took to screaming. Mrs. Cope tried to push her into bathroom and shut her in. B. struck at Mrs. Cope and bent back the middle finger of Mrs. C.'s right hand and badly dislocated it. See letters to Gen. Secty. and L. H. R. Mr. Cope notified police at C— and Oxford, and L. H. R. notified No. Burlington police.

1580 Jan. 17, '06. Letter from B.

Jan. 18, '06. Telephone from Mr. Cope; girl located. Wants her back.

Jan. 19, '06. Took B. back to C—. B. says next time she runs away is going to try new direction. Family to move to Copton [10 miles from Burlington] as soon as a suitable home can be found.

Feb. 14, '06. Sent B. valentine.

Mar. 30, '06. Letter from B. and one from Mrs. Cope. B. not doing well but Mrs. C. feels she must hang on to her till they get back to Burlington. Wrote both Mrs. Cope and B.

1590 July 11, '06. Visited B. Mrs. Cope reports that B. had just recovered from one of her bad screaming spells; has them more often and is sulky more of the time. Mrs. Cope is alone with the girl now except over Sunday, when Mr. C. is at home. She is good as can be, almost never has spells when he is around. Last attack Mrs. C. sent for officer and he wanted to take B. Officer knows her well for he has been about that district ever since she has been with the family. Mrs. Cope

says that B. is not much afraid of officer, but she felt something must be done and she would feel easier to know that someone had seen B. in one of spells. After L. H. R. talked with girl, she promised to try to
1600 control herself. Knows what she is up to perfectly well. Asked B. if she wanted to leave family; cried and begged to stay.

Aug. 24, '06. Letter from Mrs. Cope and B. Mrs. Cope says B. went about house with nothing on but shirt and apron, had persisted in doing this after Mrs. C. had reprimanded her. Letter from B. written as penance. Wrote to Mrs. Cope. [V. E. R. appointed visitor on L. H. R.'s leaving.]

Sept. 18, '06. Telephone message from Mr. Cope that B. ran away Sept. 18, '06. Family had paid out \$15 on her clothes just before she had gone. Police notified: Sta. 1, No. Burlington and Sta. 8, City.
1610 Addresses where B. might be given to police: Mrs. Yoder, 39 Upton St., 811 Arlington St., 10 High St., No. Burlington.

Sept. 20, '06. MR. COPE reports that James Kitchener, known as Jim Kitchener, working in Lovett's hardware store, has a daughter with whom B. has corresponded. These are people who would make trouble. Telephoned store. Kitchener known but not home address.

Sept. 24, '06. Continued to keep in touch with police; no word. Telephoned L. H. R. who said go to Cecil Bldg., Otter Place. Other addresses: Miss Bradford, 3 Chestnut St., No. Burlington, was girl's friendly visitor in '02; in same year B. worked for Florette, 118 High-
1620 land Ave., Burlington.

Went to Cecil Building; B. had been there two days before. Number of people in office had seen her. One gave address, 82 Grantwood St., where girl might have stayed at night. (Also 29 Mason St.) Telephoned police, who said B. at City Home for Women and Girls, had been found two nights previous on car for No. Burlington. Went to Home, brought B. to office, telephoned to Mr. Cope; brought B. to 16th St. Station and met Mr. C., who took her home; said she had been "working" for her "friends" in Cecil Building right along, had told them that she was on a vacation. Did not get many facts of where-
1630 abouts.

Oct. 1, '06. Letter from B. "I thought you would like to know how Blanche Eleanor Potter was getting along after her last week vacation." "Of course I can do well if I have not got somebody scolding me all the time."

Oct. 12, '06. Letter from Mrs. Cope; was disappointed V. E. R. could not come out. Wishes to see about B.'s going to Burlington on occasional visit. Mrs. Cope will let girl go for an afternoon of next week if V. E. R. thinks best.

Nov. 6, '06. Visited home. Mrs. C. reports that B. has had several
1640 screaming spells; one a week ago Sunday. Spoke to Mrs. C. of ad

visability of giving Blanche weekly wages and having her buy her own clothes. Mrs. C. says she is willing but says clothes have to be made as nothing in stores will fit her; asked B., who said she wished Mrs. Cope to continue to buy clothes. B. had told Mrs. Cope that she was going to run away again; she admitted this, said that Mrs. C. had spoken crossly to her. B. says that she gets lonely at times and thinks nobody cares for her; she should be asked in town at intervals. This may be an outlet for her high spirits.

1650 Blanche does not go to church or Sunday school. Designs drawn and colored by her were much like kindergarten designs; these are done with a compass—another outlet? Mrs. C. says B. never has shown slightest desire to attract attention of men. B. says she cares more about looking after children than anything else. [Colored drawing of butterfly pasted in record.]

Nov. 8, '06. BLANCHE came to office with note from Miss Nancy Ogden, sister of Mrs. Cope. The night before she had run away again from Mrs. Cope's and had gone to home of Mrs. Cope's mother. Mr. Cope called at office and C. D. F. [assistant secty.] interviewed him; and B. also. B. claimed that Mr. C. had kicked her down stairs. Mr. C. 1660 admitted kicking her, and the girl later said she had run downstairs after being kicked. Gen. Secty. consulted with C. D. F.

V. E. R. placed Blanche with Mrs. William Parker, 24 Quince St., Elizabethport; terms free home and \$.75 per week also—i.e., Mrs. Parker would clothe and pay also.

Nov. 9, '06. B. telephoned V. E. R. Mrs. Parker says she is doing well.

Nov. 10, '06. Mr. Cope called several times, interviewed both Gen. Secty. and C. D. F.; Mr. and Mrs. Cope want B. to return. On date Mrs. Cope called, V. E. R. brought Blanche to office. Gen. Secty. 1670 talked with Mrs. Cope. The situation seems to be this: Both Mr. and Mrs. C. are nervous, high-strung people. Mrs. C. says that she is almost an invalid, and that this trouble is upsetting her frightfully, the home life is not even and peaceful, and Blanche is most annoying much of the time and occasionally has terrible spasms of temper. Mr. Cope himself has not great self-control and Mrs. C. is too weak to meet all the difficulties and make happiness possible. Hence trouble has arisen continually. The interplay of irritation and irritableness has resulted in a constant friction. The problem of advisability of replacing girl in home is made complicated by Mrs. Cope's representation of her own 1680 health, the devotion of her children to B. and by her own humiliation at her failure to make her home what it should be.

Gen. Secty. decides that Mrs. C. is sincere in her statement that the wish to have Blanche back is not due to petty self-concern. B. is to go back. Gen. Secty. talked to her, saying that though it might seem hard, yet as she could do so much for family and as Mrs. Cope was sick and the children crying for her, she should go back and try to make things

run smoothly. B. agreed; is to go to Sunday school; returned with Mrs. Cope.

Nov. 14, '06. Letter from B. All going well.

1590

Nov. 17, '06. MRS. COPE telephones Gen. Secty. as she promised to do. Says things have gone finely so far; B. has done extremely well. Went to Sunday school; is in Mr. Cope's mother's class with eight or nine girls of about 16 years of age.

Nov. 21, '06. Letter from Mrs. Cope. Hopes V. E. R. has taken no news for good news. "Blanche seems just as happy as can be."

Nov. 22, '06. Wrote to B.

Nov. 23, '06. Letter from B.; all family going away for Thanksgiving, B. also; B. says will try very hard always to please Mrs. Cope and V. E. R.

1700

Nov. 26, '06. Picture postal from B.

Nov. 30, '06. Received verses from B.; telephoned her.

Dec. 3, '06. Letter from B. Asks V. E. R. if may stay at home from Sunday school, as she wishes to help Mrs. Cope, who is not well. B. is very proud of Sunday school.

Dec. 6, '06. Wrote her to go to S. S. until V. E. R. could see her and talk it over.

Dec. 10, '06. Letter from B. saying she is sick and Mrs. Cope out. Another letter from B.

Dec. 11, '06. Wrote B. asking what was trouble. B. telephoned, 1710 V. E. R. out. Later telephoned and told B. that V. E. R. would like to speak to Mrs. Cope, who said did not know that B. had called up V. E. R. and was surprised, as she had been asked not to use phone to Burlington (cost 10 cents). It seems that Dec. 10th B. had not done as was told, and Mrs. Cope had reproved her, which she never likes. Mrs. Cope much worried for fear V. E. R. would think there had been some trouble; B. had evidently called up V. E. R. to tell something when Mrs. C. out, and when V. E. R. called, Mrs. C. in, and B. would say nothing. V. E. R. quite convinced that there had been no serious trouble. Mrs. Cope's voice very querulous and she referred quite unnecessarily to 1720 "being under the doctor's care."

Dec. 12, '06. Letter from Mrs. Cope, written probably before talk over telephone; everything was going smoothly, "in fact, very smoothly;" would like to have B. go in town sometime before Christmas. Telephoned Mrs. Cope Blanche might go with V. E. R. Dec. 20th; come to office at 2 P. M.

Dec. 20, '06. MRS. COPE telephoned to see if day were all right. B. came to office. V. E. R. and Blanche went to Robinson's, Stuart's,

Thomas's. B. met friends everywhere. Had terrible headache; thought it was from eyes. She brought "A Christmas Story" written by self to
1730 V. E. R.

Jan. 4, '07. Took B. to Pratt Clinic; glasses prescribed and oculist said she certainly needed them. B. says she has never told Mrs. Cope of headaches since one time when she, on being told, became very cross with B. On Dec. 20th when B. was with V. E. R., headache seemed a fact. Seemed to come on suddenly and then go.

Jan. 12, '07. Letter from B. (decorated letter).

Jan. 14, '07. Letter from B.; wants V. E. R. to help her with Sunday school lessons; says she is afraid to ask Mrs. Cope because Mrs. C. would think she was stupid.

1740 Jan. 21, '07. Visited B.; short visit because Mrs. Cope ill with headache.

Jan. 29, '07. Letter from B.; thanks V. E. R. for book (a Life of Christ). Says Mrs. Cope says that V. E. R. thinks altogether too much of B. "Mr. Cope gave me a lecture last night and I won't forget it in a hurry."

Feb. 18, '07. Letter from B. "Things have not been going on as nice as it mite, everything has been lovely today, but I will try very hard to have them go better."

Feb. 21, '07. Wrote to B. and to Mrs. Cope.

1750 Feb. 23, '07. Letter from B. Has tried to be of some good since with Children's Agency but has done something very bad. Does not want to see anyone again, will not go to S. S. any more. Mrs. Cope will tell V. E. R. B. says Mrs. C. says V. E. R. will take her word before B.'s, and though there are always two sides to a story, B. has not told her side. "I do not think I will see you again—goodbye. Blanche." Telephoned and found nothing serious. B. had exaggerated some small offense. Mr. Cope says B. wrote a letter to a Velma Williams, 3 Otter Place, Burlington. Story received from B.

1760 Feb. 25, '07. Letter from B. Hinted that V. E. R. thought she had been immoral; B. very emotional, sensational, mind evidently dwelling on matters of this kind.

Mar. 4, '07. B. sent drawings and note saying she was not going to write any more.

Mar. 7, '07. Letter from B. Has changed her mind about writing. Mrs. Cope had written to V. E. R., but on B.'s promising not to answer her back Mrs. C. said would not send that letter but would write another. Wrote to B.

Mar. 11, '07. Letter from B. This letter gives general idea of all her letters about this time; B. reasons things out fairly well, and has good

1770 ideas, but they are not real to her, she is acting out her life. V. E. R. (writing these records later) feels now that influence of Mrs. Cope, nervous, impulsive, irritable, was bad for B. in that she knew no one who was normal and real and could see through her acting, unreality, and insincerity. Telephoned to B. and Mrs. Cope.

Mar. 12, '07. Visited B. and Mrs. Cope. Had long talk with each alone and both together, tried to make each understand other better. Feeling at this time is that as B. had been in home so long every effort should be made to make things harmonize, feeling that girl would probably have many difficulties anywhere.

1780 Mar. 13, '07. Letter from B.; said that everything better now and that she and Mrs. Cope great friends; that after V. E. R. left Mrs. Cope talked to B. a long time with her arms around her, and that Mrs. C. asked B. if she didn't love her just a little; B. thought for a while "and then I told her I did and it seem to relieve her a lot." This probably true, doubtless all scenic effects used.

Letter from Mrs. Cope. All has gone smoothly. Mrs. Cope writes somewhat emotional letter, seems to crave self-analysis; if woman could be helped to understand self, her irritable, nervous manner, she would be happier and understand better how to deal with inferiors; she now
1790 expects B. to be more controlled than herself. V. E. R. has seen Mrs. C. fly into terrible temper. Mrs. C. suggests B.'s coming to Burlington for a little outing.

Mar. 27, '07. Took B. shopping and to see friends in Cecil Building, Otter Place, Thomas's, etc.

Mar. 28, '07. Letter from B.; enjoyed trip, wants to go to see sister's baby living with mother in No. Burlington (sister's child illegitimate). Wishes it were her baby; says she does not care what happens to her. Wants to write to a friend.

Apr. 2, '07. Wrote to B. asking about friend.

1800 Apr. 4, '07. B. writes V. E. R. about boy named Arthur Bright. From this time on B. refers to this boy and V. E. R. talked with her about him, but she always says she does not know his address, and V. E. R. feels (written Apr. 2, '08) that B. makes up most of stories on small basis of fact; she has wild imagination, unrestrained, and it is only natural for her to romance a little.

Apr. 8, '07. Letter from B.; likes V. E. R. because she kisses her; B. writes as if she craved personal affection; her life is lonely and set apart among white people who do not care greatly for her as an individual, but desire her for her work.

1810 Apr. 12, '07. Sent birthday present to B.

Apr. 16, '07. Letter from B., who has had birthday, is now eighteen and writes that she has made rules for herself; first, not to get so excited,

second, to think before speaking, and third, not to get into a rage when Mrs. Cope is cross to her. Has a bad cold.

Apr. 17, '07. Letter from Mrs. Cope. Things going well; B. made Mrs. C. a birthday cake; is making clothes for B.

Apr. 20, '07. Wrote Mrs. Cope.

Apr. 22, '07. Letter from B. Cold is much better; about church and cake, etc.

1820 Apr. 25, '07. Letter from B.; is not happy all the time.

Apr. 29, '07. B. telephoned to V. E. R.; was in Chandler's drug store, said she was very angry and was going to run away, had had fight with Mrs. C. V. E. R. persuaded B. to return to Mrs. Cope. Mrs. Cope telephoned girl had gone; V. E. R. told her B. returning. Mrs. Cope had wanted clothes brought down stairs, B. refused, hot words, and B. left. B. returned and things smoothed out for a time. Received letter from B. written yesterday, all well, etc. B. said received letter from "Arthur" last night, is going to write to him. V. E. R. wrote to girl about Arthur.

1830 May 2, '07. Letter from B.; wrote Arthur a letter but did not send it, cannot send his letter because she tore it up.

May 3, '07. Letter from Mrs. Cope; thought V. E. R. would be anxious to know how things were going—all well; wants B. to hurry with her work a little more; V. E. R. knows she is very slow.

May 6, '07. Letter from B. about her father and mother; this shows her imaginative ideas, and the incident of her leaving S. S. shows the lack of solidness, the desire for notoriety, for superior ideas, a melodramatic exit. She is not conscious of this fault, nor conscious of planning in order to make a certain effect, but has not sufficient mental
1840 control to see facts, to get at the real thing.

May 8, '07. Both Mrs. Cope and Blanche telephoned. V. E. R. cannot now remember particular incident, but it was presumably some difficulty, or B. went off to store and said would run away, finally consenting to return; Mrs. Cope then telephoning from home saying girl gone, B. would then return and both would make peace again. This happened a number of times, not all recorded.

May 14, '07. Letter from B.; is coming to Burlington Thursday. Wrote to B. she might come Friday, not Thursday.

May 16, '07. Letter from Mrs. Cope, who wants V. E. R. to
1850 talk with B. about mending her clothes and bathing. (V. E. R. did so.) Letter from B.; is very happy she can come.

May 17, '07. B. came to office, stayed with V. E. R. for visit; told V. E. R. that Arthur used to live with his aunt, Miss Dart, who lived

across street from Miss Knight, Arlington St., No. Burlington. B. was then allowed to go about to see friends whom V. E. R. had met on last trip. V. E. R. met B. later and put her on train for Copton.

June 14, '07. MRS. COPE telephoned (9.30 A. M.); B. had run away, had been gone fifteen or twenty minutes. Mrs. C. very querulous, says she knows she is wrought up, her children calling for B. V. E. R. 1860 telephoned to Copton station, girl had not been seen there; telephoned to Mrs. Cope's mother-in-law (S. S. teacher), girl not seen. 12.30 P. M. Mrs. Cope telephoned B. returned about 10.15 A. M.; said she had been to mail a letter.

Letter received from B.; said trouble was not all her fault.

July 2, '07. B. came in to office. Took her to see mother. Mother living in poor quarter in No. Burlington; asked B. for money. V. E. R. and B. went also to see "friend" of B.'s, milliner on Upton St., No. Burlington, a Miss Elton, shop called Lucille. B. told V. E. R. names of people she knows in Cecil Building, viz., Madame Forsythe, 1870 corsets, and Mrs. Gatty, Rm. 31-32. B. returned to Copton. Mrs. Cope telephoned she arrived on stated train.

July 3, '07. Letter from Mrs. Cope in answer to one from V. E. R. suggesting that B. receive wages and buy clothes out of savings rather than continue present plan of free home. Mr. and Mrs. Cope agree to idea (V. E. R. had suggested this before, Mrs. C. raised great objections). Mrs. Cope says B. might be more interested in mending clothes. Mrs. C. writes 18-page letter telling how she has tried to help B.; is willing to continue; tried to get B. to save money, which was given her occasionally (seldom a week when she did not have 10 to 25 cents), 1880 small success. New coat (just the making cost \$15); B. to have \$1 a week to begin on, gradually increase. Colored girl living back of Mrs. C. wants B. to go with her to Heron Lake. B. goes out walking alone until 9 P. M. (V. E. R. talked with B. about this and she promised not to do it.)

July 5, '07. Letter from colored girl living back of Cope's, Irene Jessup, 19 Kirby Pl.; wants B. to go to picnic of First Baptist Church next Wednesday; people who go are very nice. I. J. is member of Congregational Church. "I am sure she will be all right with me, I am very careful."

July 6, '07. V. E. R. telephoned to wife of Martin Norcross, who is officer in Congregational Church (white people). Irene Jessup well known to her and husband as very good colored girl, unusual, stands well in church, highly respected by all, over 30, among best grade colored people. 1890

July 7, '07. Wrote Irene Jessup that B. might go if Mrs. Cope willing. I. Jessup works for Mrs. Oliver Parker.

July 9, '07. Letter from Mr. Cope, who sends B.'s bank book started in C—nearly three years ago. Mr. C. says in letter, "B.'s chief trouble seems to be an entire lack of respect for her position, and while I seldom say anything to her I have several times tried to impress her with the idea that a housemaid who tried to be a perfect housemaid was as worthy of respect as a man or woman in any other position, but I suppose I am too severe to be appreciated."

Letter from B.; is going to "end it all" in two weeks.

Letter from Mrs. Cope; B. may go on picnic.

July 10, '07. Spoke to Gen. Secty. about transfer of B. from Mrs. Cope.

July 11, '07. B. went on picnic, Mrs. Cope telephoned twice.

July 13, '07. Letter from B.; enjoyed picnic; sent her picture.

1910 July 15, '07. Letter from B.; has decided to be happy (see tin-type).

July 18, '07. Letter from B.; promises to be good while V. E. R. away on vacation.

July 20, '07. Letter from I. Jessup; going to be another picnic, wants to take B.

July 23, '07. Letter from B. Said Arthur was with her when she last telephoned; is going to run away.

July 24, '07. Letter from B. "Star" to which B. refers is plan by which B. when good gets a star—so many stars mean a raise in wages.

1920 Visited B. and Mrs. Cope. Went to see Irene Jessup.

Aug. 3, '07. Wrote B. Letter from I. Jessup; relations between B. and Mrs. Cope unhappy; suggests names of new homes for her. V. E. R. wrote I. Jessup about these homes. V. E. R. felt that B. should be transferred and would have done so earlier except for fact that V. E. R.'s vacation at hand and V. E. R. not working full time on account of illness in family. Felt change would be so hazardous that V. E. R. should be on hand to see it through, and hoped B. and Mrs. Cope could get on another month. But situation not beneficial to B. Mr. and Mrs. Cope of little strength of character, little self-control, B. 1930 does not respect them; is difficult, trying and needs firm hand. B. realizes that V. E. R. sees defects in Mrs. C.'s attitude and that Mrs. C. has admitted them to V. E. R. Little chance of making matters straighten out when they haven't done so during so long a period of close and almost intimate supervision.

Aug. 5, '07. Letter from B.; had telephone message from Arthur last night. Says she cares for Arthur only as a friend. Says father's name was Richard Smith; B. signs herself Blanche Smith.

Aug. 6, '07. Letter from B. B. telephoned was very unhappy, Mrs. Cope talked "very loud" to her. Letter from I. Jessup; people of

1940 whom she spoke all away for summer. Doesn't want V. E. R. to take B. away until Sept. 1st.

Aug. 7, '07. Letter from I. Jessup about places for B. Letter from B.

Aug. 8, '07. Telephoned to I. Jessup. Mrs. Cope telephoned V. E. R. but B. S. Q. answered; girl not behaving well, thinks cannot keep her. V. E. R. telephoned to Mrs. Cope and B. twice during day, long talks; both promised to make things run all right until V. E. R.'s return.

1950 Aug. 16, '07. B. ran away, telephoned to V. E. R. was at Mrs. Theodore Dutton's home in D— [15 miles from Burlington]; had met Mrs. Dutton in Cecil Building. D. A. U. in V. E. R.'s absence investigated home of Mrs. D. and approved same.

Aug. 19, '07. Letter from B.

Aug. 21, '07. MR. COPE sends letter from B. to a Mrs. Ulrich about Arthur. V. E. R. still feels (Apr. 4, '08) that there is very little truth in this romance of B.'s.

Aug. 29, '07. MRS. DUTTON telephones that B. is ill. D. A. U. visited, found her not very sick, felt she was putting on more than she felt.

1960 Sept. 21, '07. Letter from B.; is having a fine time; has told mother all about Arthur.

Oct. 10, '07. Letter from Irene Jessup; had been to see B. within a few days, thinks she has a very nice place and the lady is just as nice to her as can be, "and her children is carried away with Blanche." Hopes V. E. R. will not change B.; says Mrs. Dutton's children the nicest she has ever seen. "If Mrs. Cope was as nice to Blanche is Mrs. Dutton she never would have run away." "Will you let her come out to see me soon?" B. telephoned to V. E. R. in evening at her home.

1970 Oct. 14, '07. Letter from B.; wants V. E. R. to visit. Says she plays with two "very nice" boys, Albert Yarnall and Willie Brown. Fell out of swing and hit her head, had a headache all day but is better now. Is taking books from D— library, has taken books by Louisa Alcott.

Oct. 21, '07. Letter from B. in answer to postal from V. E. R. Is very happy. "I feel as if this was a new heaven and a new earth and everything was as it should be." Earns \$2 per week and has \$.15 for spending money; has \$1.81 in bank, says Mrs. Cope has some money belonging to her and also a hat. Mrs. Cope said she might have things if she would come for them.

1980 Oct. 23, '07. Wrote to Mrs. Dutton asking to hear from her and also as to her opinion about B.'s visiting Irene Jessup.

Oct. 29, '07. MRS. DUTTON called at office; makes very favorable report of B., says she is capable and willing, is saving her money and spends it in sensible ways; the other day bought pair rubbers for self although she thought that Mrs. D. was to supply her clothing. Agreement is that B. shall have \$1.50 per week, clothes to be made by Mrs. Dutton and B.; to have higher wages later. B. takes two baths a week, is regular. Mrs. Dutton feels that she understands B. and says she needs affection; children are very fond of her.

1990 One night B. went off at 6.45 and did not return until 7.30, said she had been walking with two girls, did not know their names. When Mrs. D. said B. should not do this she was stubborn and refused to admit that she had done wrong, and felt that Mrs. Dutton had no right to say what she should do. Will not mend clothes or do any sewing.

Mrs. Dutton says that she has never seen any evidence of bad habits or bad talk or actions in any way; says that boys B. plays with are good boys and that they play within sight of house. B. has been ill only once since with Mrs. Dutton, and said she could not remember when last time was; has tendency to constipation, but has regular habits.

2000 Nov. 6, '07. B. came to office as arranged with Mrs. Dutton. Says she is very happy, has made many friends. Spoke to her about being out when Mrs. Dutton did not know where she was, and about doing more sewing for self. B. has not been to church since with Mrs. Dutton. Mrs. Dutton has not been and B. will not go without her as church is in another part of town and people do not know her; said that she is only colored girl in D— and children make fun of her, call her names, and that policeman was called one day because group of boys said such insulting things to her.

2010 B. has caned chairs for Mrs. Dutton since she has been there, has taught Mr. and Mrs. Dutton how to do this. B. asked V. E. R. if it was true what she had heard a man who takes his meals at Dutton's say, "that all motifs as regards to work were selfish." Said she did not think so, and discussed question with V. E. R.

B. said mother had written to her and wanted her to come back to live with her when she was 21; B. does not want to. Mrs. Cope has sent all clothes but a black dress.

2020 B. is allowed to see friends in Cecil Building, a dressmaker in 14 Court St. (Miss Dora Edge and Mrs. Fisher), and to do some errands and return to D— on 5.30 train (which reaches D— at 6), all as per arrangement with Mrs. Dutton on Oct. 29th.

Nov. 19, '07. Letter from B.; went to Willie's party; has made 9 scrapbooks for Children's Agency children. Willie is making some. B. has not been to S. S. or church yet; does not want to go, says tries hard to do what is right and "to please everybody." "I am called names and people make fun of me;" "it is allful to be colored and hafter (be) called names. I guss you are glade you are not colored, I am glade for you."

Wrote to B. about Booker Washington, the colored poet, Dunbar, etc.

2030 Nov. 25, '07. MRS. DUTTON called. Says B. is growing saucy and independent; the more that is done for her, the worse she grows; constantly crying because she claims no one cares for her. Mrs. Dutton takes her out, allows to play with other children. Mr. D. helps her with arithmetic. She reads much and Mrs. Dutton does not make her work. Mrs. D. feels that she is too tenderhearted. Mrs. D. to try to be more firm with B. from now on; B. is undoubtedly beginning to impose on Mrs. Dutton's excessive sympathy and kindness. B. is to go to S. S. within a Sunday or two, Mrs. D. has not sent her as yet.

2040 Dec. 9, '07. Letter from Mrs. Dutton; feels must give up B. "We cannot seem to agree on running out any and all times." "I cannot write all that happened three out of five nights."

Wrote Mrs. D. making arrangements for visit.

2050 Dec. 13, '07. Visited B. Mrs. Dutton reports that B. went out last Friday night after dark, was gone about three-quarters of an hour; said she had been "out walking." Both Mr. and Mrs. Dutton talked to B. about this seriously. The following Monday she went out again, and Tuesday night was found at the house of a neighbor where she was forbidden to go. B. had also walked up from center with woman whom she did not know, who talked to her against Mrs. Dutton, B. saying that she was lazy and sat about house doing nothing. B. has also allowed other people whom she did not know to speak to her on street. When Mrs. Dutton talks to her about these things, B. says she is doing all right and doesn't think these things are wrong.

Blanche admitted to V. E. R. before Mrs. Dutton that she had done wrong. Promised not to go out in evening without permission of Mr. and Mrs. Dutton, and that she would not allow people whom she did not know to talk to her on the street. Mrs. Dutton to try her a little longer. If girl keeps promises Mrs. Dutton is to take her into town shopping before Christmas.

2060 Dec. 17, '07. Wrote to B. and Mrs. Dutton letters of encouragement.

Dec. 19, '07. B. to come in alone Friday, as neither Mrs. Dutton nor her sister can bring her. B. to be at office at 12.45. This arranged by telephone by V. E. R. and mother of Mrs. Dutton.

Dec. 20, '07. BLANCHE and Mrs. Dutton to office. B. has kept promise, but last night on not being allowed to go over to neighbors she cried and Mrs. Dutton said yelled as loud as she could. B. at first declared this all right. Later was sorry, consented to punishment of being allowed to stay in for half afternoon instead of whole time.

2070 Dec. 26, '07. Letter from B. Had a happy Christmas, got twenty presents and expects more. Likes her present of three pieces of bass-wood for burning best, "because it is the work of art."

Dec. 29, '07. Wrote to B. acknowledging "Christmas Story" by B. E. Potter sent to V. E. R. as Christmas gift, two letters and Christmas card. Said would leave question of further punishment to conference between B. and Mrs. Dutton, B. to say what she thinks will be most helpful to her and decision to be sent by Mrs. D. to V. E. R. Wrote to Mrs. Dutton of plan.

2080 Jan. 3, '08. Received picture-frame from B. done with burnt-wood set.

Jan. 5, '08. Wrote letter to B. saying wished her to send in report of some sewing done every day for a week beginning Jan. 8th. Thanked her for picture-frame, said would like to have picture of her next Christmas if she had been good.

2090 Jan. 6, '08. Letter from B. enclosing letter she says is from Arthur. Letter is quite evidently in her own handwriting. This adds to V. E. R.'s feeling that Arthur is little more than a myth. Present policy is to pay no attention to it. (Envelope, which did not match paper on which she wrote to V. E. R., exactly matched paper on which letter from alleged Arthur was written.)

Jan. 8, '08. Letter from B. Went skating with Willie; wishes W. was Arthur, wants V. E. R. to return letter from Arthur. Has begun sewing, will sew every day for a month. Went to S. S. yesterday and had good lesson; wrote four letters last night, one to a friend in No. Burlington, two to friends in Burlington, and to V. E. R.

Wrote B. that V. E. R. would be glad to have B. sew after work up, but that *punishment* lasts only one week, and V. E. R. will expect report after 15th.

2100 Jan. 19, '08. B. telephoned, said she was at Willie's, that she had had trouble at Mrs. Dutton's and was going to run away. B. very much out of temper, said that Mr. D. had told her she could not leave house for three weeks because when she and George D. (6 years) were skating G. had fallen down and hurt nose.

Mrs. Dutton telephoned later; said B. at home; wanted to see V. E. R. as soon as possible.

2110 Jan. 20, '08. Letter from B. Is sorry she was cross over telephone. Is discouraged with herself, had always done things wrong; "it might have been different if my mother had love me more and money less." "I know I am very ignorant in a great many things but there is no one in which I can asked, I understand nothing it seems." "I will end my life sooner or later." Letter from Mrs. Dutton.

Jan. 20, '08 (evening). Mrs. Dutton telephoned, B. telephoned from Burlington—ran away. Letter.

Jan. 21, '08. City Home telephoned B. brought there 1.30 A. M. Called for her and brought her to office; B. did not seem to think she had done wrong. After long talk with V. E. R. said she ought not to have left George and gone out skating again, admitted she had been wrong in running away.

2120 Mrs. Dutton came in as per arrangement and B. at length begged her pardon. Mrs. Dutton said she would give her another trial if she had not run away. B. before V. E. R. told lies which were afterwards discovered and B. obliged to admit were lies. Was very saucy and rude to Mrs. Dutton, although she said that she liked Mrs. D. very much. Mrs. Dutton has tried hard to do her best for the girl, and the latter has imposed upon her; trouble is quite evidently result of B.'s disagreeableness and untruthfulness; will make statements which have two meanings, will intend those hearing her to take one, and will reserve other meaning to bring forward in case statement is brought against her; hardly understands that she does this, and Mrs. Dutton cannot comprehend such a state of mind. 2130 Talked with B. about it; her general attitude of not looking at things squarely, not seeing them as they are. Mrs. Dutton agreed to take B. back until V. E. R. could find another place for her.

Jan. 22, '08. Letter from Mrs. Dutton; B. not doing well, wants V. E. R. to write B. Was saucy. Mr. Dutton did not like her returning. Letter from B.

Jan. 24, '08. Telephoned to Mrs. Dutton that B. to come in today. Mrs. Dutton said as storm so severe would keep her a little longer. V. E. R. to take her Jan. 29th.

2140 Jan. 28, '08. Letter from Mrs. Dutton; B. has done very well since Jan. 24th; about arrangements for B.'s leaving.

Jan. 29, '08. Met B. at 16th St. Sta. and placed her with Mrs. Henry Epperson, 143 Irving St., E— [6 miles from Burlington], wages \$1.50 per week; to have 15 cents per week allowance as before. Told B. she must not go about among neighbors and talk about family. Made special point of this. Mrs. Epperson will allow B. to go to S. S. every other Sunday, and on alternate weeks will herself take her to church in evening.

Feb. 13, '08. Sent B. valentine.

2150 Feb. 20, '08. Letter from B. Tells about King boys in neighborhood who have been rude to her. Says that mother in last letter told her she was illegitimate child ("explains the secret of my birth"). B. very emotional over this. Writes verse:

"I often wonder if its true
That God sees me as people do.
If it's true as I know it to be,
I hope he will always be with me,
To guide me through my work and play,
So I may be helped in every way," etc.

2160 Baby fond of her. Knows boy next door named Lincoln. "What I have learn since I have been here is econemy and neatness."

Mrs. Epperson telephoned to V. E. R.; said B. not able to do much so must have someone to come in to do some of work. Says B. does not know how to do things right, squeezes out dishrag as if it were a snowball, leaves soap in water, forgets five minutes after being told and does same thing over again; but is willing and they like her about house. Will keep her if \$1 a week will be enough to pay her. V. E. R. agreed to \$1 a week from today until she could visit Mrs. Epperson. Will increase \$1 gradually if B. does better. Trouble with King boys all right
2170 now, she hopes.

Feb. 24, '08. Letter from B., picture, etc., containing selections from Robert Louis Stevenson, with variations! B. half pretends she writes these things. Says will see Arthur soon.

Feb. 26, '08. Wrote B. thanking her for picture, etc. Said liked particularly the selection from R. L. S.! Did not mention Arthur, suggested that B. get copy of R. L. S.'s children's poems from library and learn one or two by heart before V. E. R. comes out again.

Mar. '08. Letter from B.; thinks something the matter with her tonsils, feels sick.

2180 Mar. 13, '08. B. telephoned; is well but thinks throat needs attention.

Mar. 19, '08. Telephoned to Mrs. Epperson to have B. come in Mar. 20th if convenient.

Mar. 20, '08. B. came in, took her to Pratt Clinic, where doctor said throat all right, no enlarged tonsils, nothing wrong. Said cough perhaps habit or might be constipation.

Apr. 2, '08. Visited B. and Mrs. Epperson. B. doing pretty well, is slow, won't mend her clothes, but is trying hard.

Mrs. Epperson does not like people in Congregational Church.
2190 Will take B. to S. S. of Methodist Church, where she knows two ladies who will look after her. Mr. and Mrs. Epperson go in to Emanuel Church, too far for B. to go to S. S. after they return from church. Mrs. E. says B. with many children of neighborhood, ought not to be very lonely. Mrs. Epperson is kind, self-controlled, firm, should be able to manage B., seems on the whole satisfied and B. also anxious to remain. Took B.'s picture with the Epperson baby, who is fond of her.

She has lost glasses, has little white pimple on under side of lower and upper lids of right eye.

Apr. 19, '08. B. telephoned to V. E. R.'s home for friendly talk.

2200 Apr. 22, '08. B. telephoned to office about eyes, which trouble her; told her to come in Apr. 24th.

Apr. 24, '08. MR. EPPERSON telephoned; said B. had been very saucy lately and they thought they probably could not keep her; said she had announced that she was to go in today, in very independent way. Told Mr. Epperson would not allow her to come today, would visit soon. Talked with B. over phone, and she said she had done nothing so far as she knew, cried, and said she had tried as hard as she could.

2210 Apr. 27, '08. Telephoned to Mrs. Epperson; B. has been behaving much better since April 24th. Mrs. E.'s washwoman says that when Mrs. E. has company B. listens at door knob to what they say. B. to come in Apr. 29th to have eyes examined.

Apr. 28, '08. Letter from B. Says she does not like to go to church alone, and that Mrs. Epperson will not go with her. Says is very unhappy because Mr. and Mrs. Epperson and baby went out driving Sunday afternoon and she had nothing to do. Letter from Mr. E.; will not keep B.

2220 Apr. 29, '08. Took B. to Pratt Clinic, eyes to have drops. Talked with B. about making further effort. Letter from Mr. Epperson, whose earlier letter V. E. R. answered; character of B.'s work not satisfactory in his home. Will keep her for about two weeks more.

Apr. 30, '08. Telephone message from Mrs. Epperson that B. ran away this morning. Mrs. E. has been missing her stockings, in looking in B.'s room found a pair much worn, found others worn too; B. denied any knowledge of them, words between two and B. ran away. In evening V. E. R. received message B. all right, in Burlington, 18 Nassau St.

2230 May 1, '08. B. met V. E. R. at Burlington Junction Station as per arrangement before she ran away. V. E. R. sent her to Pratt Clinic with assistant from office. Had B. sit in office on return, at first very angry, acted like small child, later broke down and cried. V. E. R. had talk with her; she at first thought she had done right in running away, denied taking stockings. V. E. R. ignored this. Told B. she would however have to be doubly careful to avoid even the appearance of evil. Placed her with Mrs. Fife, 103 Mountain Ave., F— [7 miles from Burlington]. Terms, working home, \$1.50 per week.

May 14, '08. Sent B. postal from Washington, D. C.

May 22, '08. MRS. FIFE telephoned about B.'s clothes, said little except that B. wants V. E. R. to come out.

June, '08. Letter from B.; thanks V. E. R. for postals, doesn't like
2240 place, cannot please Mrs. Fife. Had not been to S. S. yet.

June, '08. B. telephoned to V. E. R. from neighbor's house; wanted
to talk with V. E. R.

June 16, '08. V. E. R. visited B. and Mrs. Fife; B. has been saucy,
Mrs. F. may not keep her. B. says she tries, cried, affectionate with
Mrs. Fife. Mrs. F. says she is good with children, and that she is
neat and clean about herself. Mrs. F. complains of B.'s playing more
than she wishes with eleven-year old son of a friend and neighbor of hers,
Mrs. Neall. Willing to have her play with him occasionally, but B. too
old to run and climb as she does. B. has not been to church or S. S.
2250 Mrs. Fife says B. has not wanted to, B. says it was because had no shoes.
V. E. R. said B. to go next Sunday.

June 19, '08. MRS. FIFE telephoned; could not keep B.; she would
not do as Mrs. Fife said, and said V. E. R. would not like this, that,
etc. Mrs. F. at length said would try again.

Letter from B. asking if could go Saturday afternoon to Heron
Lake with Mrs. Neall and son Oscar. V. E. R. wrote B. and Mrs.
Fife that Mrs. Fife should decide this. B. telephoned to V. E. R. in
evening. V. E. R. said had written, etc.

June 22, '08. Letter from B. Mrs. Fife said she could not go to
2260 Heron Lake; B. says she made no complaint and did work better than
ever. Mrs. Fife so much pleased that said she could play with Oscar,
so boy stayed home from Lake and he and B. made a net in which to
catch butterflies.

June 25, '08. Telephone message, V. E. R. away. B. left Mrs.
Fife.

June 26, '08. Telephoned Mr. Fife at Haskell's; B. has not re-
turned. Mrs. F. will not take her back; B. very saucy, cried, Mrs. Fife
said she could come in to V. E. R. if went on so, so she left, later returned
for clothes. B. had taken one night to her room some pills, poisonous,
2270 and told Mrs. Fife she was going to kill herself; Mrs. F. much upset.

June 27, '08. No sign of B. B. S. Q. says do not notify police,
she will turn up.

June 29, '08. V. E. R. went to Cecil Building, B. had been there
June 26th. Miss Patience Roland, Rm. 105, 9 Otter Place (tel. 803
Washington), sent B. to a friend of hers—Mrs. Samuel Gerry, 183
Thames St., G— [5 miles from Burlington]. Others in Cecil Building
saw her. If telephone message sent to Cecil Building when B. runs away,
someone there will keep her until V. E. R. or someone comes for her.

July 1, '08. Visited B. with Mrs. Samuel Gerry, who is giving
2280 her \$2 a week. Mrs. Gerry will make regular application to Children's

Agency for B., will keep her if satisfactory. Home seems of good character.

B. says Mrs. Fife told her to leave (Mr. Fife said B. told to go to V. E. R., B. says not). Spent night of June 25th with Mrs. Walter Vernon, 23 York Ave., Burlington; daughter of Walter Vernon is Mrs. Alice Ziegler, a friend of B.'s; Walter Vernon also in house.

Letter from B. received on returning from office, saying where she is, etc.

July 6, '08. Letter from B., wants to see V. E. R., is lonely some-
2290 times, tells about children.

July 21, '08. Sent postal to B.

B. telephoned, said wanted to go with friend (Mrs. Bertha Caxton, white, lives near Mrs. Gerry) to visit her family in Delamar. V. E. R. said would arrange this in fall. B. said was getting on well.

Aug. 9, '08. Postal from B.; tells about baby.

Look up in fall B.'s father, who B. says is a Richard Smith. Arthur Bright B. said lived on Arlington St., with aunt, Miss Dart.

Aug. 8, '08. Letter from Mrs. Gerry; B. has not been very well, Mrs. G. finally discovered trouble was very serious constipation, is now
2300 trying to establish regular habits in B.

Aug. 10, '08. B. writes is going to S. S., teacher Miss French, etc. Sends postal. Sent her postal from Canada.

Sept. 8, '08. Letter from B., is happy with Mrs. Gerry, has many friends. Telephoned in evening to V. E. R.

Oct. 9, '08. Letter from Mrs. Gerry, wants to see V. E. R. Visited B.; found she had been saucy and careless about work and going out among people whom Mrs. Gerry did not wish her to. After much crying, many hot words, B. promised to do better. B. forbidden to go to homes which Mrs. Gerry told V. E. R. were immoral. She said
2310 B. knew of this, in one a boarder's relation to woman of house in question, and in the second relation of housekeeper to man, and a young girl known to be housekeeper's child by man.

Oct. 10, '08. Telephone message from a Mrs. Green who said Blanche had told her yesterday that Mrs. Gerry and "her guardian" had said she could not come to see her any more as they did not consider her house a fit one for any young girl. Mrs. Green does not wish to go to Mrs. Gerry, but does not want V. E. R. to think anything wrong.

Oct. 12, '08. MRS. HEAD telephoned to V. E. R.; said B. had said that Mrs. Gerry had said her (Mrs. H.'s) home unfit for B. to visit in. Mrs. Gerry had expressly commended Mrs. Head's home as
2320 being nice place for B. to go to. Mrs. Head a dressmaker who had lately made over a dress for B.

Later Mrs. Gerry telephoned, said she was in hot bed and wished B. taken away tomorrow. V. E. R. to visit Oct. 14th.

Oct. 14, '08. Visited B. and Mrs. Gerry. B. has been spreading news of her being forbidden to go to homes and why as fast as possible, has done this irrespective of truth. B. had been rude to Mrs. Gerry, has talked against her, has altogether made all the trouble she could in neighborhood. First, had long talk with B. and Mrs. Gerry together, 2330 Mrs. Gerry telling what B. had done, B. denying everything; attitude to Mrs. Gerry insolent, Mrs. Gerry gentle and controlled but completely upset by affair. For a time it seemed impossible to move Blanche, she lied over and over again, denying everything in a most illogical obstinate manner. Was sent to room, where V. E. R. saw her alone. After a long time and much talking, B. admitted that she had told lies and had deliberately tried to make trouble; she was finally penitent and begged Mrs. Gerry's pardon, admitting everything. B. was then left in room for night until V. E. R. should come for her in morning. Mrs. Gerry brought her meals to room.

Oct. 15, '08. V. E. R. went for Blanche with no place in view to take her to, but with hope that Mrs. Gerry might give her another trial. The house was one where B. had the ideal chance to come into a personal and friendly relation with the family. The family had allowed her to sit at meals with them, had looked out for her social and church interests, had allowed her to cane chairs for outsiders, getting thus extra spending money, were planning to allow her to go to evening drawing school. It was a home where there were four children, where she could have grown up with them and become a necessary part of the family. B. was here treated in a certain sense as an equal. For these things and 2350 because nowhere except with Copes had she been allowed to stay and face out a trouble she had gotten into, V. E. R. hoped to persuade Gerrys to try her at least a week more. On arriving at home all hope of this vanished at once; Mrs. Gerry was wrought up to a still higher nervous pitch over a new story which had been brought in by another neighbor of how B. had threatened to do something to baby before she left. No firm basis for story and it was not gone into further; but Mrs. Gerry's state was such that it would not have been fair to her or B. to leave her there a day longer. Took B. to Burlington, B. paying her carfares. Sat in office rest of day, was quiet and obedient. Placed 2360 her temporarily for night with colored woman, Mrs. Isaac Jenkins, Lang St., No. Burlington, 25 cents for night. Told Mrs. Jenkins B. should be with her all the time; B. suppressed (visibly) her delight at being in colored home. Mrs. J. was told B. not doing well and asked to talk with her about doing better. Mrs. J. a great talker.

Oct. 16, '08. Called for B. Mrs. Jenkins had taken her to Burlington to church to hear colored boy "evangelist," 14 yrs. old. B. paid board, 25 cents. V. E. R. took B. to Miss Marcus, who is to make

her three dresses. B. has about \$27 to her credit with Children's Agency. Placed her temporarily for a week with Mrs. Nathaniel Haven, 300 Porter St., H— [5 miles from Burlington], terms, wage home, 2370 \$2 a week. This home entirely different from Gerry's and is grade of Cope home, no other home she has been in has been such. Mrs. Haven has had two difficult girls from Children's Agency; she is strong, has vitality, a sense of humor, is refined, cultivated, home kept up to different social standard. She has two children. V. E. R. feels that this is grade of home Blanche must be in, she must be with woman who has above characteristics, who will, in the conventional phrase, "show B. her place," of course kindly and even affectionately, but otherwise B. will take advantage of whomever she is with. She should be, V. E. R. now 2380 feels, trained to be a nurse girl, should wait on table, answer doorbell, could perhaps even be placed in family where two servants kept. B. should wear aprons, be made to feel her "place," and if with right woman, not nervous or highstrung as Mrs. Cope was, but vital, natural, kindly woman of taste and culture, and in a family where there were young children, would develop into a good and pleasant and even invaluable "servant." She would be much happier with the more educated class of white people.

Mrs. Haven has a girl practically engaged and there is small chance of her keeping Blanche. Left her in very ready willing frame of 2390 mind, apparently starting out well on another "try."

Oct. 18, '08. MRS. HAVEN telephoned; B. doing *very* well. Mrs. H. has found a place in same town where she can go, thinks it just the kind of home V. E. R. wants for B.

Oct. 22, '08. B. went to work for Mrs. Prentice Irwin, 27 Porter St., H—. Mrs. Haven had to leave unexpectedly, and V. E. R. away and could not be reached. V. E. R. investigating home of Mrs. Irwin.

Oct. 23, '08. Visited B. with Mrs. Irwin; wages \$2 per week; allowance, 15 cents per week. In two weeks if B. does well question of her having afternoon a week "out" to be brought up. B. will eat 2400 in kitchen, will sit in kitchen evenings. Mrs. Irwin's husband a lawyer, family one boy nine years old and baby boy six months. B. will not be lonely evenings, Mrs. Irwin will be constantly in and out, and her older boy will probably be with her if she does pyrography.

Had long thorough talk with Mrs. Irwin about Blanche and feel that Mrs. Irwin will keep her dignity with B., will be kindly, understands that she is not to be taken too seriously in what she says and does, that in many ways she is like a child. Mrs. Irwin does not seem to have very keen sense of fun, and seems a little too sensitive and anxious. B. is not to do heavy washing and ironing, will do light work, some 2410 cooking. Mrs. Irwin will work with her and find in what things she is more capable.

Letter and postal from B.

Irwin home not yet approved, highly recommended by Mrs. Haven, it is of excellent appearance, and own references including minister are unhesitating in praise. B. S. Q. said B. might stay.

Nov. 5, '08. B.'s two weeks up. Mrs. Irwin writes: "We have enjoyed her and she has really been a very good girl trying to help me in every way she could and to do what was right." Hopes V. E. R. will allow her to have afternoon a week to herself.

2420 Nov. 7, '08. Telephoned to B., told her much pleased, and that V. E. R. would arrange with Mrs. Irwin for afternoon out next week. (Mrs. I. out.)

Nov. 10, '08. B. came to office unexpectedly in afternoon about two. Telephoned Mrs. Irwin, who said she had allowed her to go and she was to be back by 4.30. V. E. R. arranged that in future for a time at least Mrs. Irwin should notify V. E. R. by letter or by telephone (reverse charge) that B. was to have afternoon off; it was thought best by Mrs. Irwin and V. E. R. that afternoon should be irregular and come about once every two weeks. V. E. R. explained this to B. B. 2430 tried on dresses being made for her by Miss Marcus and then left for her friends in York St., where she thought she had left her glasses. Mrs. Irwin says she is continuing to do well; will send word to V. E. R. each time as to when she returns.

Nov. 12, '08. Letter from Mrs. Irwin; B. arrived home at 4.40; did not find her glasses. "She enjoyed her little outing and came back all ready to take up her cares where she left them and I think it did her good," wrote Mrs. Irwin.

Nov. 20, '08. Sent B. her third new dress. Letter from Mrs. Irwin; will let "Eleanor" go in Nov. 20th if all right; B. should see 2440 about glasses. "She is still doing well and seems quite contented." Has not said anything to B. about coming in yet. Telephoned to Mrs. Irwin, whose boy Rollin is sick and she cannot let B. come in. Mrs. Irwin says B. is willing to give up things when it is inconvenient for Mrs. Irwin, and that she knows B. will make no fuss over having no outing this week, partly because she does not know of plans and partly because as boy is sick she wants to help Mrs. Irwin. B. is willing to co-operate.

Nov. 23, '08, and week following. Three letters and postal from B. Mrs. Irwin's boy sick with scarlet fever. Telephoned Mrs. Irwin 2450 and said thought B. should not come in to Pratt Clinic while boy is sick. B. does not see boy, who is quarantined.

Nov. 27, '08. Ordered glasses for B., which are to be made; medium-size frames; will be sent Nov. 30th.

Dec. 8, '08. Telephoned Mrs. Irwin; getting on all right. Mrs. Irwin very careful, B. with her baby and both kept on lower floor all time.

Dec. 23, '08. Telephone message from Chester 413, V. E. R. to call up this number. Called up number, B. said was with Mrs. Irwin's mother, Mrs. Rollin, 83 Stanford Rd., Chester, with the baby now;
2460 Rollin much better.

Sent B. Christmas present.

Jan. 5, '09. Telephoned to Mrs. Irwin; fumigated two weeks ago, baby and B. all right; wants to let her come in and have corns taken out. B. says some friends of hers on Otter Place might do it for her. Mrs. Irwin to let her go in tomorrow, leave at 12.30, return at 5, to write V. E. R. of time of her return. B. to come to see V. E. R. if has time and also bring a dress to Miss Marcus.

Jan. 6, '09. B. came to office by arrangement between Mrs. Irwin and V. E. R.; tried on dress at Miss Marcus's, and went to
2470 Vernon's, where Mr. Williams adjusted her glasses; allowed to go to Otter Pl., where she has friends, tells V. E. R. where she has been.

Jan. 7, '09. Letter from Mrs. Irwin; B. arrived home at 4.30, was due at 5. Mrs. Irwin now at 83 Stanford Rd., Chester, with her mother; returns to H— next week.

Letter to Mrs. Irwin; B. could come in again as she requested in a week or two; same arrangements between V. E. R. and Mrs. Irwin to be made.

Jan. '09. B. came to office on afternoon off.

Jan. 19, '09. Letter from Mrs. Irwin, enclosing balance of B.'s
2480 wages. B. is trying very hard to do what is right and helpful. Now that Rollin (Mrs. Irwin's boy) is well again, Mrs. I. will try sending B. to Methodist Sunday school every other Sunday. Wants to know if B. may have a young colored girl who is a neighbor come to house, Mrs. I. knows nothing about her.

Jan. 23, '09. Letter from B. Is back in H— now, wants to know if she can go with Anna Birdsall, colored girl, who lives near with a Mrs. Callister, tel. H— 716, Waverly St. Has not gone to S.S. or church.

Jan. 28, '09. MRS. IRWIN telephoned, B. had afternoon off, came
2490 to town.

Jan. 29, '09. Letter from Mrs. Irwin; B. returned at 5.15; did not have corns attended to.

Jan. 30, '09. Wrote to Mrs. Irwin she might allow colored girl to come to house once and see how things went, to go slow.

Feb. 8, '09. Letter from B.; feels sick. Telephoned, B. now all right, was sick yesterday, nothing serious.

Feb. 11, '09. Arranged to have B. in town; took her to have
corns extracted. B. then told V. E. R. where she was going, to a friend
whom V. E. R. had been to see, a white woman working up town. B.
2500 is certainly very companionable and has the charm of the negro strong in
her.

Feb. 16, '09. Letter from Mrs. Irwin; B. returned at set time,
5 P. M. "She is trying harder than ever to be helpful." She and
"Eleanor" had just returned from service at Danby Church.

Feb. 23, '09. Was planning to go out to see B. when Mrs. Irwin
telephoned to come out, trouble. Visited B.; she had threatened to come
in and see V. E. R., said she was abused. Mrs. Irwin upset somewhat
unnecessarily. Trouble was this: B. had gone out to church Sunday
evening, had not returned till 9.45 instead of 9.15; Mrs. Irwin accused
2510 her of not returning directly, B. said church had kept her late, Mrs.
Irwin did not believe her, found out later B. was telling truth. But
B. had had terrible crying spell and had talked back to Mrs. Irwin,
very rude and difficult. Talked with both together, Mrs. Irwin ad-
mitted had made mistake, V. E. R. told B. Mrs. Irwin was careful,
not way to prove truth by screaming spell. B. acted like child of
three, whining and burying head in pillows, crying, peevish, half laugh-
ing; was simply pleased at being center of attention. Sent B. to room.
Talked with Mrs. Irwin alone; she is nervous, feels that she cannot stand
B.'s talking back to her, seems to take it as personal insult; tried to
2520 make Mrs. Irwin understand B.'s lack of mental balance (not in those
terms!), her inability at certain times to grasp what situation really is,
how she is carried away by her imagination. B. has monthly period
only about once every six weeks, four weeks since last, is up March 3d.
Went to see B. in room; talked with her about realizing situation, B.
at first said had done nothing wrong, and at same time said couldn't
expect her to be all right all the time; she had tried to do better. B.
finally recognized she should not have made a scene, she then changed
into most light-hearted, willing girl, went down-stairs, told Mrs. Irwin
she was sorry, wouldn't do so again. Mrs. I. spoke of desirability of
2530 having B. learn how to sew. V. E. R. feels evening classes at schools
better than a class at a settlement; B. to come in Feb. 26th to go to
doctor.

Feb. 26, '09. MISS EVANS [visitor in training] took B. to Dr.
Frank [woman physician], who said that B. all right, periods every six
weeks not unusual; B. is ill about seven days when ill, this would
balance things. Gave her iron pills as a tonic.

Mar. 3, '09. Postal from Mrs. Irwin; B. returned at 5 P. M. 26th,
after going to doctor and visiting some friends. B. has said she was
going in to work for people in Cecil Building when she gets to be 21;
2540 earns money when she goes in town, this not good idea, should be stopped,
money comes too easily that way.

Mar. 9, '09. Telephoned Mrs. Irwin. B. has been doing very well, not at all saucy, but Mrs. I. and B. "incompatible," "not fault of either;" Mrs. Irwin's baby has been sick, B. says will not leave Mrs. Irwin for afternoon off till later. Mrs. I. going in to shop for her tomorrow; B. to come in to Burlington to meet V. E. R. Mar. 16th.

Mar. 14, '09. (Sunday.) MRS. IRWIN telephoned at 9.30 P. M. B. had run away; B. telephoned later, was at Mrs. Ulrich's; to be in office tomorrow.

2550 Mar. 15, '09. Took B. to Mrs. Selkirk's, 14 Rich St., Burlington, over night, put up sign in room, "Keep your bad feelings inside;" had long talk with B., who seemed very penitent—as usual. Letter from Mrs. Irwin; does not want to keep B., she has moody and hysterical spells brought on by correction. Trouble Sunday was that B. wanted to go out for walk, Mrs. I. said no. B. went to room and to bed. At six Mr. I. went up to ask her to come down to help Mrs. Irwin get supper, B. refused and began to cry and scream. Then packed suitcase and left through cellar door.

2560 Telephoned Mrs. Irwin, with great difficulty persuaded Mr. Irwin to allow B. to return for few days while V. E. R. found another place.

Mar. 16, '09. Went for B. at Mrs. Selkirk's. B. has been all right but has cried most of time; Mrs. S. against V. E. R.'s wishes spoke to her and immediately she went almost into hysterics. Had another talk with her; took her back to Mrs. Irwin, not to know that she is to leave soon. Mrs. Irwin much upset, talked matter out, B. became very rude and pert when Mrs. I. brought up things which she had done wrong. Mrs. Irwin pretty fair and just. B.'s first impulse when corrected is to deny or give excuses. When argued with finally admits she is in wrong; not stupid but stubborn. Talked with B. about this.
2570 Mrs. Irwin feels that B. is a very poor influence for her nine-year old son. V. E. R. feels she must be. Mr. I. expressed doubt about baby's safety with B.; V. E. R. feels little children safe with her. B.'s monthly period began Mar. 12th, ended Mar. 14th.

Mar. 24, '09. Telephoned Mrs. Irwin in morning was ready to take B. that day. Mrs. I. said B. had done very well, in many ways was sorry to have her go, wanted her to return and visit her sometime. V. E. R. said glad to have her do so.

B. came to office, took her to Mrs. Gregory Jolliffe, Harriton St., J— [12 miles from Burlington]. Mrs. Jolliffe has two little boys, three and one years; husband is principal of high school. B. is to help generally about housework and in care of children, \$2 a week, 15 cents a week for self; to go to Congregational S. S. class every Sunday and to church as often as possible. Talked with B. about self-control, about making a success of self in this place; B. thinks she has improved, as she has not spells so often; V. E. R. feels she has improved. Left her
2580

happy, making friends with children, although she had cried on train going down because of having to leave Mrs. Irwin.

2590 Mar. 29, '09. Letter from Mrs. Irwin, who has heard from B., who is happy; miss her in many ways, glad to have her visit some day. Picture postal from B., had a fine time with baby.

Apr. 13, '09. B.'s 20th birthday, sent her book (Arabian Nights, Everyman's edition) and wrote letter.

Apr. 21, '09. Letter from B.; feels she isn't going to succeed in this place, is unhappy, will try to do her best.

Apr. 22, '09. Letter from Mrs. Jolliffe; "kindly come at your earliest convenience and get B. as she is not the girl we want."

Apr. 23, '09. Wrote Mrs. Jolliffe would come to see her and B. as soon as possible, hoped she would have patience with her.

2600 Apr. 28, '09. Visited B. B. had been saucy to Mrs. Jolliffe, who says she is nervous and can't stand it. B. apologized next day and Mrs. Jolliffe had talk with her. She has been much better. Mrs. Jolliffe feels B. does not like place because work is not looking after children. B. says she is getting more used to the kitchen work now and can do it better, but wishes she could look after children. Her room has only a cot bed and a bookcase in it. Mrs. Jolliffe will fix it up when she knows if B. is to stay and when she can get the things needed. Room is on second floor, large and airy. B.'s clothes not very tidily fixed; is to make soiled clothes bag for self. Mrs. Jolliffe will give sewing lessons, a definite hour a week if possible. Mrs. J. will try to find a young girl who will come in three days a week, Mon., Tues. and Fri. from 4 to 5, and give B. lessons in writing, spelling, arithmetic and reading. Will write V. E. R. soon about this.

Apr. 30, '09. Wrote B. letter about clothes.

May 3, '09. Letter from B.; V. E. R. will be proud of her some day; no girl in town will give her lessons because she is colored.

May 4, '09. Letter from Mrs. Jolliffe, B. does not hold to good resolutions, wishes V. E. R. would come and take her away; not satisfactory in work Mrs. Jolliffe wishes done. Tried to get into a fight last evening with some boys and girls.

2620 May 7, '09. Wrote Mrs. Jolliffe about situation. Later telephoned; Mrs. Jolliffe said B. must go, would wait two weeks.

May 12, '09. Letter from B.; has whooping cough. Mrs. Jolliffe has been very cross; B. says is trying very hard not to get cross herself; nothing has been said or done about lessons. (Telephoned as above to Mrs. Jolliffe; they thought B. had whooping cough but she has not.)

May 14, '09. MRS. JOLLIFFE came to office with Blanche; will not keep her. V. E. R. away for day. B. taken by K. L. M. to Mrs. Hauptmann, 11 No. 4th St., Burlington, boarding home, for over Sunday.

2530 May 15, '09. Talked with B. over telephone.

May 17, '09. Took B. to Norwalk as per arrangement. After staying there one hour, woman decided would not try B., although she had seen her but a minute. Woman decided to have a woman who could do all work. B. did not cough all day. Took her back to Mrs. Hauptmann's; seemed sorry to be causing so much trouble; cried when V. E. R. left her at Mrs. Hauptmann's. But she has so much dramatic sense that it is not altogether a single-hearted grief!

2640 May 18, '09. Sent B. to Mrs. Herbert King, 103 Pine St., K— [6 miles from Burlington], wage home, \$2 a week, with reconsideration of wages in two weeks.

May 23, '09. Sent Mrs. Jolliffe bill; would be glad to hear from her as to what special trouble was if she cared to write. (These people have little imagination, their story will not help much.) V. E. R. has not much confidence that Mrs. King will be able to get on with B. Rather a solid, slow, even woman, not much ingenuity.

May 24, '09. Visited B.; Mrs. King out. Had very satisfactory talk with B.; likes place.

May 27, '09. Letter from Mrs. King; B. doing well, no temper yet, will pay her \$2.50 a week after July 1st if still satisfactory.

2650 June 17, '09. Sent B. postal of Niagara Falls.

June 18, '09. Telephoned to B. and Mrs. King; B. has not lost temper yet. Is doing unusually well, Mrs. King said; is neat, kind, willing. Mrs. King asked if she might go for car rides; V. E. R. said could take Robert and on *very rare* occasions go alone. Time for return to be fixed.

June 28, '09. Arranged for B. to go to visit Mrs. Irwin for afternoon; she went, very happy to go.

July 2, '09. Telephoned B. and Mrs. King; Mrs. K. will pay B. \$2.50 a week from July 1st; B. continuing to do well.

2660 July 8, '09. Letter from B. Hopes Mrs. King will soon give her \$3 a week, as has little more work each week. Does *everything* except washing—does some of that, does almost all of ironing, does the sweeping and cleans rugs. "I have been pleasant about my work allways, I have not been cross once. You can call me little sunshine now." Was all alone Sunday from 11.30 until 4.

July 15, '09. Letter from B. Mrs. King and Robert going away

July 15th to 16th, wants V. E. R. to come to see her. Mrs. King is going away on a vacation Aug. 1st.

2670 July 16, '09. Wrote B. friendly letter, told her how busy time was, hoped to see her soon.

July 20, '09. MRS. KING telephoned. B. wants to come in to see V. E. R.; let her come in; sat around in office and helped V. E. R. Has been doing very well. Arranged for F. Seaman (see record) to go out and make B. some dresses.

July 29, '09. Wrote to Miss Helen Thompson, High Point Home for Children, asking if B. might come up as volunteer helper for two weeks.

Aug. 2, '09. Letter from Miss Thompson, all places full, never take colored girls.

2680 Aug. 9, '09. B. went to be with mother of Mrs. King while latter away on week's vacation, Mrs. A. B. White, 234 Arch St., K—.

Aug. 12, '09. B. came to office to spend hour with V. E. R. per invitation of V. E. R. Has slept two nights in Kings' empty house because dog howled so when left alone. V. E. R. telephoned Mrs. White, who said didn't approve of it, but B. wanted to. B. is to be in house of Mrs. White until Mrs. King returns Aug. 18th. Told B. was going on vacation, that if she were good while V. E. R. gone she should have few days vacation on a farm in fall. Question of whether B. doing too much work to be taken up on V. E. R.'s return, did not
2690 tell B. of this.

Aug. 13, '09. Letter from B.; will do her best while V. E. R. is away. Hopes there will be children on the farm. Wants to write to D. A. U. while V. E. R. away.

Deposited \$40 in Savings Bank for B.

Aug. 23, '09. B. called at office. Showed burns on face, neck and chest, said received Sat. the 21st by spilling hot water over herself, had not seen a doctor. D. A. U. talked with B. and learned that Mrs. King telephoned for two doctors, but both away; she then sent for a nurse who attended the girl, using olive oil. C. D. took B. to
2700 Burlington Hospital, burns dressed. D. A. U. telephoned Mrs. King, who told same story about burns as B. Mrs. King told B. not to go out yesterday. B. complained of work and said had to iron last Sunday. B. left Mrs. King Sunday, Aug. 22d, afternoon, did not come back that night. Stayed with Mrs. Jenkins (see card).

12.30 P. M. D. A. U. telephoned Mrs. King, who said B. came home all right. B. tells C. D. she is dissatisfied with home, likes Mrs. King but does not like housework, does not intend to stay here after V. E. R. comes back, wants to take care of children. Doctors said

superficial burn, wants boric powder and bandage; B. to return Aug. 2710 26th.

Aug. 24, '09. Letter from Mrs. King to D. A. U., explains why B. was ironing on Sunday. Two weeks before Mrs. King had asked her to wash out a few things and iron them before her return. B. did not do it. Mr. King ran short of handkerchiefs and Mrs. K. had asked B. to iron out a few Sunday. B. has been in the habit of going out as soon as supper was over and visiting among the neighbors. This is getting to be annoying. B. said she stayed Sun. night with woman V. E. R. knew about. She seems to have had very good sense about most things, has been very satisfactory until recently. Chafes under restrictions, 2720 would be sorry to have her go because she is good to Robert, who is fond of her.

Aug. 26, '09. C. D. took B. to hospital. Burns doing well; B. to apply boric acid twice daily for next week. Probably will not need to go to hospital again; if not doing well come in 7 days.

Aug. 31, '09. MRS. KING telephoned; B. restless, not doing well.

Sept 9, '09. Letter from B. to V. E. R.; thanks V. E. R. for postal sent her. Has not been doing very well since V. E. R. has been away, has tried but everything goes wrong. Does not like her work, does not like the place, work is too hard, has not lost her temper since she 2730 has been at Mrs. King's but has cried a great deal. Mr. King gave her a scolding today and B. cried so hard she could not stop. Is very unhappy because has not any of her own people with her. Has stayed at Mrs. King's just as long as she can, and is going to run away the first thing in the morning, knows V.E. R. will think her a very bad girl but she cannot help it. If she does not see V. E. R. again thanks her again for all she has done. "Good-by Miss Ropes. Do not worry about me. God will take care of me. He loves the poor and lonely and I love him. Good-by. With much love, Blanche."

Mrs. King telephoned D. A. U. B. left at 6.30 this morning, has 2740 not been doing well the past few days. She went afternoon before to the store and was gone a long time. Mr. King went after her and told her to hurry home. Says she can't possibly keep her.

Later Mrs. Selkirk, Rich St., called, B. with her. D. A. U. sent note to B. saying Gen. Secty. said she was to go back. B. has been out of house a great deal, Mrs. King did not know where she was.

Sept. 11, '09. MR. KING telephoned; B. had not returned.

Sept. 13, '09. MRS. SELKIRK telephoned to V. E. R. that B. was there. V. E. R. went to see her; said she had been at Mrs. Jenkins' Children's Agency boarding home, since the 9th. B. admitted she had 2750 done very wrong. Found that she had not had monthly period for six weeks. Took her to Dr. Frank, who gave her medicine. Dr. Frank said her crying and general unhappiness, which seems to come just before

period, might be due to this cause. Told B. that she would be unhappy anywhere, that V. E. R. could not have her with children altogether until she controlled herself better, and only right thing to do was to go back to Mrs. King. B. said she would do this, would do her very best for two weeks. Took her to Mrs. Hauptmann's for the night. Allowed her to go to Mrs. Jenkins', No. Burlington, to get her things.

2760 Sept. 14, '09. V. E. R. went to Mrs. Jenkins', who said B. had been there from Sept. 9th to morning of Sept. 13th. She has been talking with Jane Seaman (see records), very undesirable girl. For a time influenced Blanche against Children's Agency. Got her at Mrs. Hauptmann's, talked with her again about necessity of controlling herself and about her having more privileges if she did not abuse them. B. very penitent, crying, started for Mrs. King's.

Telephoned Mrs. King B. on her way. Mrs. K. had agreed to take B. for two weeks' further trial.

2770 Sept. 19, '09. B. telephoned V. E. R. Sunday afternoon, crying, said Mrs. King had gone out, left her all alone, told her to stay in; B. had asked to go in to Burlington to go to church with Mrs. Selkirk, Mrs. King said wait until she could ask V. E. R. V. E. R. said B. might go in town, to leave a note for Mrs. King, telling her she had gone and V. E. R. would telephone her about it in morning.

Sept. 20, '09. Telephoned to house, Mrs. King out; talked with B.

Sept. 22, '09. Letter from B.; is sorry she displeased V. E. R., won't do it again; is doing best for Mrs. King. Can't even go to S. S. in this home, gets very lonesome.

Sept. 27, '09. Letter from B. All is going well.

2780 Sept. 28, '09. Letter from B. Wants to leave, wants to take care of children.

Visited B. Mrs. King will not keep her, she is saucy and has not done right. Will wait until V. E. R. gets new place for her.

Sept. 29, '09. MRS. KING telephoned B. had been acting badly, she would send her right in. Persuaded Mrs. King to keep her until morning.

Sept. 30, '09. B. in office. Sent her to Mrs. Caspar Little, L— [11 miles from Burlington]. Allowed B. to arrange own terms of work and wages; B. is to get \$3 a week.

2790 Oct. 4, '09. MISS LITTLE brings message from B. to V. E. R. that she is all right.

Oct. 7, '09. Visited B. Home very pretty, in country, very simple; B. evidently doing all right now. Said she might have afternoon every other week off.

Oct. 8, '09. B. in office to see V. E. R., who was out.

Oct. 22, '09. Letter from B. Wants to know if she has to look out for herself now; does she have to buy her own clothes? (V. E. R. told Mrs. Little that B. should now look after all her own money.) Is coming in this Fri. 22d, and is going to Mrs. Selkirk to ask her to help her with her clothes. Wishes V. E. R. would help her some more.
2800 B. wants to pay Mrs. Jenkins for her board there (\$2), can she take it out of money saved up?

Oct. 25, '09. Wrote B. that V. E. R. was still looking after her; did she still need help on clothes? Said thought she could look after her own money now, and when had some saved up could go with V. E. R. to bank and deposit it, etc.

Oct. 28, '09. Letter from B.; is very glad V. E. R. still to look after her. Has earned \$2.50 extra by selling barberries, and so will pay Mrs. Jenkins out of that. Is going to a concert tonight with Miss Caroline Little.

2810 Nov. 1, '09. B. at office steps waiting for V. E. R. when came in. Mrs. Little had allowed her to come in to spend night, as she went away for Sun. afternoon, and B. did not want to stay there alone. Told B. that V. E. R. expected to know when she is away for night; B. soon to be 21, will probably do such things later, cannot be too strict. B. quite surely spent night as she said with Mrs. Hauptmann; to pay her 50 cents.

Nov. 22, '09. Letter from B.; is coming in town next Wed. morning with two girls from S. School; goes to church and S. School every Sunday. B. has half a bottle pills left (pills from Dr. Frank).
2820 Is getting on well with her money.

Nov. 26, '09. B. came to office, V. E. R. out.

Dec. 5, '09. (Sun.) B. came to V. E. R.'s house to bring huge box she had burned and stained for V. E. R. for Christmas present. V. E. R. away.

Dec. 10, '09. B. came to office. Seems to be getting on fairly well with Mrs. Little, needs new coat.

Dec. 13, '09. Letter from B.; has \$10.62 saved. Earns extra money often, sometimes by cane-seating chairs or in other ways. Sends account book. Wrote her about acct. of wages, which was wrong,
2830 addition wrong, number of weeks' wages estimated wrong, etc.

Dec. 17, '09. Letter from B. Mrs. Little helped her with accounts. Has \$8.52, not \$10.62; wants to buy new coat Dec. 24th. Wrote B. and Mrs. Little about account, which is still wrong. Asked B. to wait a week for coat, explaining why V. E. R. does not approve of shopping done before Christmas.

Dec. 20, '09. Letter from B. Sends account, which is right, balance of \$7.67. Will give up getting coat until Dec. 31st. Sings in church alone night before Christmas. Is coming to Burlington day before Christmas and will come to office. Wrote B. friendly letter.

2840 Dec. 24, '09. Sent B. Christmas present.

Dec. 29, '09. MISS LITTLE brings message Mrs. Little wants to see V. E. R.; B. not doing well and may have to go. Wrote B. was coming to visit her Jan. 5th, and on that account could not take her shopping Dec. 31st, as had to do something else then.

Dec. 30, '09. Met girl on train coming to Burlington, blue satin dress.

Jan. 5, '10. Picture postal from B. Visited B., who said she was unhappy and didn't want to stay. Mrs. Little dissatisfied with B.'s work, will keep her temporarily. B. to come in shopping with V. E. R.

2850 Jan. 10th. Is much upset about V. E. R.'s disapproval of blue satin dress; B. bought this in town and had it made in L—, total cost about \$7. Mrs. Little said she thought it wasn't a wise purchase but didn't know what to do about it!

Jan. 7, '10. B. telephoned; has no dress to put on. Told her would have to wear blue satin one or torn white one; said would never wear satin one. Talked with B. about shopping Monday and left her in apparently good mood.

2860 Mrs. Little telephoned, told her thought it might be best to change B. Mrs. Little agreed, thought also she might run away, did not mind if changed B. at short notice.

Jan. 8, '10. B. sent away from Mrs. Little's, spent night with Seamans (see record), 14 Hunter Ave., No. Burlington.

Jan. 9, '10. (Sun.) MRS. SELKIRK telephoned. B. there with no dress on and saying she had no clothes. Mrs. Selkirk much upset, saying it did not look well for Children's Agency. Told Mrs. S. Blanche had clothes, and to keep her there until next day if possible.

2870 Jan. 10, '10. Letter from Mrs. Little. Discharged B. Sat.; B. went to see one of neighbors and borrowed something without Mrs. Little's permission and knowing Mrs. Little didn't allow such things. Mrs. Little reprimanded her and sent her back, B. became saucy and impudent, "so I told her she could go immediately."

V. E. R. looking for home for B.; she came to office number of times, seemed to be trying to make all trouble possible, came in sweater, bloomers and coat. She refused to come to office to go shopping with V. E. R., came once, waited few minutes, left, etc., etc. Telephoned Mrs. Selkirk, who is to keep her over night if possible.

Jan. 11, '10. V. E. R. not in office, telephoned, B. had been in, has bought self new coat and dress.

Jan. 12, '10. B. to office, found home. Placed her with Mrs.
2880 Harvey H. May, M— [28 miles from Burlington]. Terms, \$2 per
week; B. to do washing and ironing (not heavy ironing), family of four.
Will help with cooking, etc. Church or S. School every Sunday and
church Sunday evening. B. has very pleasant room on same floor with
family. Warned Mrs. May about B.'s tendency to make acquaintances
easily and to talk freely. Suggested Mrs. M. interest her in lessons,
in learning poetry, to let her recite it to her, etc. Told of her ability
to cane chairs; said Mrs. M. should try to occupy B.'s evenings. She
will probably have to sit in kitchen evenings, as Mr. and Mrs. M.
2890 sit in dining room (off kitchen). When Mr. May is away she can
sit with Mrs. M. B. not to go to town without V. E. R.'s permission.

Told B. would pay for clothes out of money earned at Mrs. King's,
but bill at Mrs. Jenkins' and Mrs. Selkirk's should be paid out of money
she is now to earn at Mrs. May's. Want to make her realize expense.
Is not to keep own money after this; will have 15 cents a week allowance.

Feb. 7, '10. Letter from B.; has done washing now for three weeks
and finds it very hard, back aches. Mrs. May thinks she does it nicely
but she is slow. Legs hurt her every step she takes. Went to Dr.
McAnulty, legs swollen. Doctor gave her medicine and salve and
said she was not to be on her feet much. Wishes V. E. R. would find her
2900 a place to take care of children. Wants to come to Burlington. Thinks
V. E. R. doesn't like her any more. Hasn't been out one afternoon.
Feels as though she would like to go to Heaven, where everybody is
loved. Asked V. E. R. to pray for her. Wrote B. coming to see her
Feb. 9th.

Feb. 9, '10. Visited B. with Mrs. May. Mrs. M. reports B. doing
very well, has not had training, does washing well, best thing about
her is her good temper and willingness. Mrs. May cannot possibly
pay any more and she cannot send washing out. B.'s legs all right again,
to let V. E. R. know if they get bad again. B. has hard time doing
2910 washing, Mrs. May thinks it is mental attitude. B. goes to S. School.
Urged her to study, to learn poems by heart, etc. B. menstruating at
this time. Took her to dentist, who is to attend to teeth at once.

Feb. 14, '10. Sent B. valentine, one from her. B. to come to office
Feb. 10th, is to have whole day off once a month.

Feb. 16, '10. B. to office, told V. E. R. where she had been, with
friends in Cecil Building, etc. Recited "A Night with a Wolf" to
V. E. R., which she had learned since V. E. R.'s visit. Left for M—
on 5.15 train.

Mar. 1, '10. Letter from B. Received sailor suit sent by V. E. R.,
2920 much pleased. "I am doing very nicely here with everything except the
washing." Finds that very hard. Will be glad when birthday comes,
is "going away" then.

Mar. 9, '10. Letter from B.; is not doing very well, "everythink seems to go wrong." Mrs. May as cross as she can be every Monday. "Of course it is my fault but I don't think Mrs. May should get so cross with me." "Please write to me, Miss Ropes, will you. I will to do my very best." Wrote her friendly letter.

2930 Letter from Mrs. May; B. *seems* to be making preparations to leave. Had occasion to be rather severe with her yesterday and "she resented my being 'so cross.'" Wants V. E. R. to visit. Wrote Mrs. May.

Mar. 14, '10. Letter from B.; was glad to hear from V. E. R. Everything went wrong again, feels like running away. Went to an entertainment at church Wed. eve. and had nice time. Is glad V. E. R. coming to see her, says it is a pleasure to try to please V. E. R., will try very best to do what is "wright."

2940 Visited B. (Monday morning). Told Mrs. May of plan to which Gen. Secty. agrees; B. almost 21, seems determined not to do washing, wants to be a nurse girl, V. E. R. to take her to nice employment bureau and help her get nurse's work. Mrs. May thinks this good plan. B. nice with children, refined, really looks after them. B. dislikes washing very much but Mrs. M. says this is her best work, says when she is older she could easily support self by doing washing and ironing. B. fairly good cook, not very thoroughly trained in housework.

Told B. of plan, seemed pleased. Arranged to have her come up Mar. 23d and return to M— that night.

Mar. 21, '10. Letter from Mrs. May; is obliged to go to Fort Lee for two or three days, B. willing to postpone going to Burlington until a week from Wed.

2950 Mar. 25, '10. B. telephoned to V. E. R.'s home saying Mrs. May not back and Mr. M. planning to go away with his daughter over Sunday, leaving her all alone in house.

Mar. 26, '10. Telephoned Mr. May, who said he would get some reliable person to stay in house with B. or send her to neighbor.

Mar. 30, '10. B. came to office late in afternoon. Sent her to Mrs. Naughton (col'd), 3 Preston St., city, for night.

2960 Mar. 31, '10. Met B. at employment office of Mrs. Rolfe, 14 Severn St. Mrs. R. said B. looked too young, must wear longer skirts, suggested different and older-looking hat. Mrs. Rolfe a kindly, interested and intelligent woman, who immediately caught idea of B.'s starting in for self, encouraged her. Thought had place with a Mrs. Thurston, West Hartford, who keeps colored cook, has three children, wants a colored nurse, girl to wait on table also. Mrs. Thurston agreed to come in to see B. and V. E. R. Apr. 1st. Bought B. new hat, black dress with long skirt, white collars and cuffs.

B. brought V. E. R. letter from Mrs. Naughton saying enjoyed B., glad to have her any time.

2970 Apr. 1, '10. MRS. ROLFE telephones Mrs. Thurston couldn't come to city, B. has gone out to see her. B. looked very nice in new dress, seemed to be proud of it, thinks Mrs. Thurston will take her. Mrs. Thurston's family thoroughly nice and respectable, Mrs. T. quite young.

2980 Apr. 8, '10. During past week have seen B. and heard from her and Mrs. Rolfe. Mrs. Thurston did not take her on account of her size, and other women have felt she was too small; B. wanted to keep on for a while longer. Finally on date V. E. R., after telephoning Mrs. Rolfe and Mrs. Naughton, arranged to have Blanche go to Mrs. A. R. Nutting, 142 Chestnut St., Copton [10 miles from Burlington, Mrs. Cope's second home]. Wage home, \$1.50 a week (no washing), with the understanding that she is to leave whenever gets place as nurse girl or can leave to go in to see woman about a place. B. did not want to take place at such low wages but was finally persuaded to do so. Has been out a great deal, has been to M—, to K—, to Cecil Bldg., and has come in as late as 9 P.M. and after. Mrs. Naughton is delighted with her and glad to have her, but feels she ought to be working. B. herself seemed to feel that she ought to be working. Told Mrs. Nutting B. might look after own money. Asked B. to keep account of what she spent it for.

Apr. 9, '10. B. went to Mrs. Nutting.

2990 Apr. 11, '10. B. telephoned V. E. R. O.K. Wants V. E. R. to go with her to see mother. V. E. R. to go Apr. 18th.

3000 Apr. 18, '10. B. came to office, went with her to see mother, who is now living at 126 West Ave., No. Burlington, with Andrew, Aurelia and Aurelia's illegitimate child, Mary, now about six years old. Aurelia does washing and dressmaking, mother does chair-caning. Andrew has regular position in town. Family in much better circumstances than formerly. Aurelia worked hard washing all time V. E. R. and Blanche there, seemed like competent, good young woman. Family very intelligent, very funny; mother still quite crippled with rheumatism, but does not now use crutches. Told B. afterwards thought she should help mother, might start by giving her a nice Christmas present of fairly good sum of money; B. agreed idea was good. Mother said B. was 22, looked up family Bible and sure enough, birth date there is Apr. 12, 1888. B. thought this a great joke on her, had good laugh over it with V. E. R. B. says will please V. E. R. by staying where she is until gets good place as nurse girl, even if it is until May or June. B. much dissatisfied with \$1.50 a week, Mrs. Nutting gives money directly to her. V. E. R. suggested she would still need help in money matters, choosing places, etc. B. is to come out to see V. E. R. at her home, to telephone to her just as if V. E. R. were still in Children's Agency. (V. E. R. to leave 3010 May 1st.)

B. was in town Apr. 16th and 17th; Apr. 17th went to see Mrs.

Naughton and returned before 6 P.M.; Apr. 16th went to Cecil Bldg. G. E. L. saw her in People's Park with roller-skates Apr. 16th. B. says her work was done and Mrs. Nutting willing to have her come to town. Has been to see Mrs. Cope, who asked her if she would come back; does not want to.

Apr. 20, '10. Letter from B.; has been doing arithmetic all evening. Wishes V. E. R. to come out to see her tomorrow afternoon. "Isn't it good just to be alive on a day like this?"

3020 B. has been watching papers and sent V. E. R. three advertisements of places wanting nurse girls. V. E. R. followed up one, Mrs. Lawrence of Darlington, and B. went out to see Mrs. L., who would not take her because she was so short.

Apr. 26, '10. GEN. SECTY. says: "As V. E. R. leaving Children's Agency, C. D. to visit girl as graduate."

Apr. 27, '10. Took B. to see Mrs. William Oppen, who leaves for O— [25 miles from Burlington] in few days. Mrs. Oppen is sister of personal friend of V. E. R.; family consists of husband, wife and baby. Mrs. Oppen will take B. for summer, terms wage home, \$3 a week.

3030 May 2, '10. B. in office, went to Mrs. Wm. Oppen, O—.

Letter from Mrs. May, found B.'s "tongue had been running loose with her while Mrs. M. was away." As far as Mrs. May knows, B. has made trouble for every girl whom she was friendly with in M—.

May 9, '10. MRS. COPE of Copton earlier telephoned V. E. R. saying B. had made trouble in Copton talking too much. B. told V. E. R. that Mrs. Cope asked her how she would like to come back to live with her. Mrs. Cope said she never said this. B. probably lying. Felt badly when V. E. R. said she had known of her lying before, and B. hung her head when V. E. R. said she knew that all she had written and told
3040 V. E. R. about Arthur was lies. V. E. R. will keep in touch with B. in personal way more or less.

Oct. 25, '10. Record closed.

Oct., '10. V. E. R. on return from Europe found that B. had left Mrs. Oppen and was with Mrs. Pratt of P— [30 miles from Burlington], at \$4.50 a week, a place she had found for herself.

Dec., '10. About this date B. left Mrs. Pratt and went to Mrs. Quick, in No. Burlington, an elderly woman with a widower son and granddaughter. B. came to see V. E. R. at her home and said she thought she was going to have a baby. Said white man had climbed
3050 up roof of Pratt country house in P— where she was staying alone with children and had entered her room by the window. Took her to Dr. Frank, who said she was not pregnant but that she was infected with gonorrhea. B. told to take utmost precautions, and to see Dr. Frank soon again. Took B. to Dr. Waters shortly after this, who said she did not have disease.

Jan. 12, '11. DR. FRANK writes B. seems to be O.K. now.

Feb., '11. About this date B. left No. Burlington place; a Mr. Silcox complained to V. E. R.'s father, a lawyer, and to Children's Agency about letters and post-cards B. had written suggesting that he, 3060 a married man, was paying serious attention to Mrs. Quick's married daughter. B. absolutely denied writing letters to everyone who talked with her. Mr. Silcox got handwriting expert, who said there was no doubt B. had written letters. Mr. Silcox threatened law suit. B. had written letters to Mrs. Quick. V. E. R. saw Mr. Silcox, who said he would not bring suit.

Feb. 8, '11. Saw letters, knew them as B.'s without any possibility of doubt. Mr. Silcox a flashily dressed, somewhat cheap man of about 38, not a man to trust. Saw B., who denied writing letters for about two hours.

3070 Dr. Leonard Archibald, alienist, saw B. and asked her what made her write the letters; she said a woman on the street had told her to do it. B. later broke down and cried when she recognized she had confessed. Dr. Archibald wanted investigation as to truth of B.'s story, V. E. R. said this could not be done by society. Dr. Archibald said he could not decide on B.'s mental condition until further trial had been given her.

Spring, 1911. B. three weeks in Woman's Hosp. with rheumatism in legs.

3080 May, '11. Placed B. at \$2 a week with Mrs. Arthur Roberts (approved home of Agency), R— [28 miles from Burlington], 2 children, general helper.

Aug. 1, '11. Letter of complaint from Mrs. Roberts.

Aug., '11. At this time B. much upset by a Mrs. Smith, in Brantwood, whose home is in the South, and who had told B. she wanted to have her come to live with her when she returned there. B. had met Mrs. Smith at Hosp. Many letters passed between Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Roberts, B., and V. E. R.; V. E. R. opposed to B.'s going.

3090 Sept. 11, '11. B. telephoned from Burlington and said she was in town and had nowhere to spend night. Arranged for her to go to West St. Girls' Home. 11 P.M. police officer telephoned saying B. had come in and said had no place to spend night. Taken to City Home for Women.

Sept. 12, '11. Went for B. at City Home. B. said she went to West St. Home and they said there was no room for her. Placed her temporarily with Mrs. Copley, Newtown, at 50 cents a week.

Went to R— to see Mrs. Roberts. Mrs. R. said she simply could not keep B. a day longer and had sent her away. B. said she walked from Easton to Burlington, 30 miles, leaving at 10.30, arriving at 3.30!

3100 B. had no idea of spending her money, had \$3 when she left and spent it all for a trunk. Paid \$2 to have travelling photographer take her picture, money on woodburning, on trip to Copton and trip to Easton. Bought stuff for an apron, tried to make it, threw it away in the wastebasket. Took other people's children out and spent money on them. B. when crossed will talk and shout to Mrs. Roberts at the top of her lungs, saying nobody loves her and that she has "no place to lay her head." Works on people's feelings, "talks fine," is very moody one minute, pleasant the next. Ambitious to study; likes to take medicine.

3110 Sept. 14, '11. Took B. for examination to Dr. Ballard, Benedict School for Feeble-minded Children. (See summary of records and account of B. taken to Dr. Ballard.) Dr. Ballard says B. cannot look after herself in community, as is clearly proved by Children's Agency experience, and is, therefore, feeble-minded. He will take her if another alienist signs papers. Took her to Dr. Thomas Raiford. Dr. Raiford considers case for two hours, much interested, pronounces her feeble-minded, and signs papers.

Sept. 28, '11. Took B. to Dr. Ballard. Is very anxious to go, is told that here all the people are really children and she is to look after them. B. says V. E. R. has found her a "mission in life." Left her very happy and excited.

3120 June 7, '12. V. E. R. has visited B. since her placing in School and found her interested and apparently contented. The doctor in charge reported her as difficult and discontented at times. She delights in singing and dancing at the entertainments, and has been happy in caring for the children. She was seen later sick in bed by another of the Agency's visitors and caring for some little child beside her. She lifted her black head up from the pillow and said to the visitor, "Tell Miss Ropes that I have found my mission in life."

3130 Letters received since then begin to show a growing wish to be taken away from "this feeble-minded school . . . where I am mixed with all kinds of dishonorable girls here." This is partly due to the fact that B.'s mother has been writing her to come home. The old mother has written V. E. R.: "I did not learn of it [placing in institution] untill February, oh what a blow. there never was any insanity in my family. my father were 70 some years old and went through the civil war and never had a day sickness so there is no inheretance, and I have never been attened or examined by a doctor in my life except for insurance . . . We have all the same feeling hearing and tasteing surely the grief is the same in sight Almighty God."*

* V. E. R. writes of this letter, "A vital cry 'de profundis' for the new Institution where the stigma of feeble-mindedness as it is popularly known to the community will be absent, and where the association with or sight of the lower grade defectives will not harrow and disturb such a child of approximately normal behavior and moral inclination as Blanche Eleanor Potter."

SUMMARY

3140

FORWARDED TO BENEDICT SCHOOL, SEPT. 13, 1911.

BLANCHE ELEANOR POTTER (colored) has been in the care of the Burlington Children's Agency since October, 1902. She is now twenty-two years old, and is still a problem. To the layman's mind she is not feeble-minded nor does she appear defective to such a degree that she has seemed a candidate for the "border-line" class and an institution. On the other hand, the Agency has failed to accomplish either one of two ends. First, though it has discovered wherein lies her chief usefulness, caring for children, and though Blanche has become an excellent nurse-girl, a fair cook, a good laundress, and a general helper of average ability so that her wages at one time reached \$4.50 a week, yet the society is unable to consider her independent, or to relax the most vigilant supervision. For three years an attempt gradually to shift the responsibility of Blanche to herself has been made and at every point there have been indications of retrogression and breakdown, in personal appearance, in care of money, in place of work, in choice of friends, in her general behavior in the community, shown by a repeated abandonment to a life of and for the moment.

Second, it has failed to establish any connection between any home or group which gives even the slightest promise of permanence. Every type of person and home and community available and in any way suitable has been tried and failed. Either the home refuses to keep her, not because of incapacity but everywhere for the same reason, her words, her sauciness, her fits of temper, her sullenness; or Blanche grows restless and discontented and leaves in search of the vast untried new experience; or more serious than either, the community becomes so roused by her mischief-making, her gossip and her lies and innuendoes that it is necessary to remove her at once.

Blanche is a colored dwarf about the height of a twelve-year old girl, but very broad and stocky. She is a "character," known by tradespeople and policemen throughout Burlington and North Burlington. No one who knows her casually speaks of her without a laugh. Wherever she goes she is the center of the stage, playing her part of buffoon or of tragic outcast. In fact, she is always acting out some imaginary attribute of character and part in life, unless it is when she has abandoned herself to a fit of evil temper and is shouting and screaming her despair at life in general to a household or a neighborhood at the top of her lungs. Nothing pleases her more than attention, whether it is commending or rebuking; she enjoys nothing more than conspicuousness on the street or in the car or store. She loves to recite poetry, to sing or do a clog dance to an admiring circle of children, or to any group she can get about her. Before she came to the society she earned money in this way on the streets and often in questionable houses. Occasionally she writes verses or a Christmas composition; more often she will write a long letter moralizing on life in general and her woes and joys and resolves in particular. She is very affectionate; her devotion to children and their wondering love and proprietorship of her is the dominating fact in her life. She is not immoral, she is not impure in mind or habits. If the "assault," the terrible experience through which she undoubtedly went a year ago, was in any degree led up to by her, it was from no evil-mindedness of hers, but out of her emotional nature, or even so reasoned a motive as her desire for a baby. She is very anxious to marry, and has claimed to be in love with Arthur, an elevator boy. One great diversion has been this love affair, wherein she writes herself love letters from Arthur, buys herself a huge bunch of violets and confides to her "guardien" that Arthur has given them to her, hints that she is going out now to meet Arthur, or that she is about to run away with him. There is a deeply pathetic element in it all which reaches far back of the buffoonery and play. Her physical unattractiveness, her square thick-set child's body, her own lack of physical sex consciousness, make life simpler for her, but none the less something of a tragedy.

Besides doing housework, Blanche can cane chairs well, is very fond of wood-burning, staining, sews a little and grudgingly, and draws and colors designs like the kindergarten work. She reads now and then, and is very apt to

get hold of good books such as Miss Alcott's. Spasmodically she studies geography or arithmetic or spelling. At present she is planning to take a correspondence course and later be a bookkeeper for a colored dentist.

3200 Although the Children's Agency might overlook the letter of the law and continue to supervise a twenty-two year old child, it is doubtful if even this would hold Blanche long. In the first place, she has become attached to her present "guarddeen," who will probably not be in Burlington this year, and a substitute would have much more difficulty with her. Second, Blanche has always felt that at twenty-one she was to be free from the society, and the present hold on her is largely a personal one. Third, the constant change of home and community not only lessens the number of Children's Agency homes each time, but increases Blanche's restlessness and only accelerates her desire for constant change. Fourth, is seems pretty well proven that no private home or normal community offers the
3210 variation and interest, the excitement of contact with a sufficient number of different personalities, the opportunity for self-display, the utilization of all her varying impulses, together with the hourly supervision, discipline and authority, which are needed to arouse and maintain her interest. Outside a group studied and organized by experts in the care of just such deficient personalities it is difficult to believe that any permanent relation with society, other than an evil one, can be established. The girl herself craves such a permanent relation. Once when told that certain slanderous talk and letters might lead to her commitment to a reformatory, she said she would like to go to a reformatory, because that would be a place where she could stay; dimly recognizing that she was helplessly in the toils
3220 of her own deficiencies and that here these would be expected and accepted.

SYNOPSIS OF RECORDS

FOURTEEN TRIALS IN WAGE HOMES.

	Stayed.	Age.	No. times ran away.	Reasons for change; complaints about B.
1st	4 yrs.	14-18	4	Home finally unsatisfactory, B. unmanageable.
2d	6 mos.	18	1	B. saucy, runs on street, yells.
3d	3 mos.	18	1	B. saucy, stole stockings.
4th	2 mos.	19	1	B. saucy, frightened home by threatening to kill herself.
5th	3 mos.	19	0	Lies, slanders told by B. in neighborhood.
3230 6th	5 mos.	19	1	Moody, yells and screams.
7th	2 mos.	19	0	B. unhappy, saucy, tried to fight.
8th	4 mos.	20	1	B. saucy, too much visiting of neighbors.
9th	4 mos.	20	0	B. saucy.
10th	4 mos.	20	0	Work not entirely satisfactory.
11th	4 mos.	21	0	
12th	3 mos.	21	0	Moody, independent, saucy.
13th	5 mos.	21	0	Malicious letters, family and friends aroused.
14th	5 mos.	22	0	B. exhausting, yells, talks back, sullen.

SPECTACLES AND SOCIAL WORK.—"I pray you," wrote Richard Henry Lee from the colonies to Arthur Lee in London, "to procure me a pair of the best Temple spectacles that can be had. In fitting these perhaps it may be proper to remember that my age is forty-six, that my eyes are light-colored, and have been quick and strong * * * My head is thin between the temples." Interesting data these, but almost as wide of the mark for a good fit in spectacles as much of our present social recording is for a good fit in the betterment of the individual whose condition is being studied.

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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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NUMBER 9

THE RELATION OF OUTPUT TO INTAKE *

Is it a possible thing for charity organization societies so to regulate and control their intake as to improve the quality of their output? I raise this question not because it can be finally answered either this year or next, but because, out of the very success of our earlier program, it begins to loom up, more especially in our larger cities, as an important one for us to think about. And the problem of the larger place to-day is the problem of the smaller place grown large to-morrow.

For the private social agency, few suggestions contain so many possibilities of danger as the one which proposes a limiting of function. The besetting sin of the private social agency of the older type was smugness; its favorite formula was, "We take no more work than we can do well; our first duty is to our own charges." Community needs were blandly passed by, with the result that its own work came, in time, to be less well done; less and less did its charges prosper. Through timidity or lack of imagination, perhaps, it had wrapped its one talent in a napkin.

But what about the equally indefensible position of the agencies which—also through defect of imagination—can see few possibilities in their own social programs and are forever adopting portions of the programs of others? They are cluttered with schemes and innocent of standards. If they employ a nurse to visit the poor, it is not because this is the greatest need now unmet and no one else can meet it, but that the

* An address given by the Director of the Charity Organization Department before the National Association for Organizing Charity, June 12, 1912.

money for a nurse comes easily, or else, that it is easier to raise money by a nurse. Buildings to which they can "point with pride" are another of their besetting sins. Mr. McLean reports upon a charity organization society which, instead of pushing its work with energy into the homes of its poor people, was held fast by one beautiful scheme after another for utilizing a beautiful building. Conceivably, of course, a building might aid materially in the development of our own program, but this or any other new department or feature should *grow out* instead of being *tacked on*.

Organic development is what we need. Social ideas are everywhere, but chiefly in the air. How can we get them out of the air and under the boiler? Mr. McLean's field reports are so thoroughly quotable that I cannot resist quoting another just here, a recent one in which he says of a new secretary in a new C. O. S., "After laboring with a lot of unled groups of willing and intelligent persons, *whirling around in futile motion*, it was a delight to meet here a sensible woman who had had her training in that best school of experience, a good associated charities office." And he goes on to describe how one vital need of the community after another had been dragged to light and tellingly illustrated in this new secretary's first month of case work. "*Whirling around in futile motion*"—what a descriptive phrase! When you see people doing it, and you often will, don't forget that you have the best cure in the world for that dancing disease in your case work. For better or worse, case work is an integral part of our charity organization program; if, for any reason, we cripple it, inevitably it will cripple us.

The greatest distinction between the work of our societies in cities under, and in those over, a hundred thousand inhabitants would seem to be that, in the former, all the constructive and preventive campaigns growing naturally out of case work may well center in the one society under one competent, trained secretary; and that in the larger city a gradual throwing off of these functions and a division of these tasks among several agencies is not only desirable but almost inevitable. New York seems to be the one brilliant exception to this rule, which may only mean that in this, as in so many other things, New York is altogether exceptional. This throwing off of functions would not mean, of course, a ceasing to take active part in many of the movements for community betterment; it would only mean a throwing off on the side of executive control.

In most of our larger cities we would do well, I believe, to regulate our intake not only in the matter of separate departments and special activities—after often initiating them and as often relinquishing—but the same policy might be applied to whole blocks of case work itself. We must tread carefully here or our societies will be dropping back into the very smugness to which I have referred. But I had an unpleasant surprise this year, in the course of studying a number of case records and criticisms, for I discovered that some of the best of the records and of the comments were coming from social agencies other than charity organization societies, though it was in these that good case work had had its

origin. This would be less alarming if the agencies that are forging ahead were dealing with families and with family rehabilitation, but, for the most part, they are not—they are helping individuals, and their really fine work needs to be co-ordinated and knit together by a skill equally fine in the upbuilding of the family. Surely, I do not need to tell you that much of this new special case work will be wasted unless our family work is well done; and when it is not, good case workers in the more specialized fields are going to be judge and jury whilst we are prisoners at the bar.

Setting aside, for the moment, the other useful tasks in which we are engaged, can we possibly do all of the family rehabilitation work that clamors to be done in a large city? If we are honest with ourselves, we must know that we do not and cannot. This is not a thing to mourn over; it will be a day of great awakening for us when we see far enough into the possibilities of our own particular task to realize that we can never do it all, and that we are cheapening and spoiling it by pretending that we can. If we care enough for this art of ours to do some of it well, and then each year *more* of it *better*—if this is our clear aim, then, in time, all other things shall be added unto us. Schemes big and schemes little will have their day and cease to be, but our progressive standard of work, growing in strength and adaptability from year to year by the mere act of really co-operative doing, shall become the community's standard; and then what happens to ourselves, to our separate societies and to our movement will in no wise matter.

The possibilities of case work as a means of community education are only beginning to dawn upon us. They press in upon us with new emphasis the question, Is it a possible thing for charity organization societies so to regulate and control their intake as to improve the quality of their output? Yes, possible but not easy. No movement can ignore its beginnings or separate itself from its own past. Certain obligations we have assumed from which there is no release, and from certain others the release must come slowly. We cannot cut our intake in half by arbitrary choices, but we can, by taking thought and looking ahead, regulate it by indirect means. The means that I am about to suggest may seem to you wholly impracticable; in that case, other means must be found. My tentative suggestions, which I trust you will criticize freely, fall under the familiar headings of Relief, Investigation, Publicity, and Co-operation.

1. *Relief.* The more completely you have taught your charitable community to regard the C. O. S. as a pocket into which to dip for its material relief, the more violent will be the fluctuations in your intake. I do not attempt to illustrate this—it is self-evident.

In so far as the newer campaigns of cure and prevention (those that we originated and all the others) have given us a higher standard of family treatment and relief, they have done unmixed good, but when each one in turn—and there is a new one every few months—cheerfully provides the plans and the applicants and expects any one agency to provide the material relief, there is sure to be a breakdown somewhere and that

soon. The idea of centralizing the handling of relief in one agency belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century, and it did not work very well even then. The plans that will be substituted for it gradually, in all probability, are the training of social workers to a high professional standard, and the centralizing of information, or of clues to information, in order that there may be the completest friendly exchange of experiences among social agencies. Meanwhile, applications for relief are being thrust upon us daily by a multiplicity of agencies. These bring inevitably a divorce between relief and treatment, for we cannot treat all the cases so centralized, we can only go through the motions of treating them. If we worked for distribution instead of centralization, in the hope that, in any given case, the one social agency which (among a possible half dozen interested) is most responsible for treatment could also be induced to take the responsibility for organizing and handling the relief, we should materially reduce a congestion of effort which, in some places, is hammering down our standards of treatment cruelly. If a clergyman, for instance, becomes interested in a case of need, develops his own plan of treatment and puts it through up to the point where twenty-five dollars in relief is needed to make it a success, is this the exact point at which the C. O. S. should be appealed to? Would not a frank conference with him and a full explanation of what we are organized to do for his church make him a more intelligent co-operator in the long run than the gift of the twenty-five dollars could?

With our centralizing plan, it is no uncommon thing, in midwinter, to hear the overworked members of a C. O. S. staff retort, under criticism, "Well, what are those people complaining about? Didn't we *give* the family something?" This state of mind among the workers indicates poor statesmanship somewhere near the top.

2. *Investigation.* We could make out a very good claim to the discovery of the idea of adequate relief; we could make out an even better one to the discovery of the idea of securing an adequate basis of fact as the necessary first step in social treatment. But a discoverer need not be a monopolist. Is it not just a little bit childish of us to assume that we are the only people who can make an investigation? When we teach our public to think so, they have their revenge by hammering down our standards unmercifully at this point also. They overload us with a miscellaneous assortment of "investigation only" cases, and cheerfully accept our conclusions, though in many of the dispensary, coal fund and other special investigations that we make, our inquiry is confined to one visit to the home, or even, in some cities, to an office interview merely, and is all so poorly done that it sets no new standard for anyone.

I well remember my satisfaction at the Toronto meeting in 1897 when Mr. Devine, then a very new member of the National Conference of Charities, was asked whether it was not the business of a C. O. S. to make all the investigations for the overseers of the poor, and replied without a moment's hesitation, "Only long enough to teach them how to do it." As an educational venture, as a demonstration, such work is

admirable, though it is even more admirable to bring their own investigator into the C. O. S. office for training. I should be glad to see largely increased our intake of workers sent to us for training from other agencies; such an increase would organize social service far better than any expansion in the number of our investigated cases.

It is not safe to dogmatize about investigations for other agencies; the size of the place and the local situation must be considered. But is there not a possible principle of action in the suggestion that, other things being equal, social agencies both public and private that are spending collected funds upon a certain form of service should collect and spend *enough* to choose their beneficiaries with intelligent discrimination? Private citizens cannot be expected to do this; agencies organized for some other purpose than the treatment of any form of need cannot be expected to. We exist, in part at least, to give the charitable efforts of all these effective aid.

The Department with which I am connected has, as you know, printed several editions of a "Directory of Charity Organization Societies." The demand for this directory and the reasons given for wanting it have led the Department to send a communication on the subject to the National Association for Organizing Charity. Among the agencies that wish to have their out-of-town visits and inquiries made by our charity organization societies are the following: Public health departments, departments of safety, public charities departments, state boards of charities, state reformatories, prisoners' aid societies, boards of children's guardians, S. P. S. C.'s, children's aid societies, homes for infants, tuberculosis associations, remedial loan associations, large business corporations that have many out-of-town correspondents, and even the commercial reporting agencies that are directly engaged in the business of disorganizing charity in some of our large cities. It is very gratifying to note such general acceptance of the principle of investigation. We are responsible for it; why not do all the work? During the next five years these requests will assume very large proportions, probably, but the mere size and burden of the task is not nearly so good a reason for attempting to regulate it as is the danger that non-regulation will put a barrier between the more and the less progressive agencies of each social service group. Competent heads of municipal charities departments complain that similar departments in other cities do not do this kind of work to their taste, and the same complaint is made by the children's charities. How are their colleagues ever going to learn to do better work if we continue to act as insulators? The transfer must be made with care, of course; it is for your Association to say just how it shall be made, if at all; and there will still always remain a number of out-of-town tasks that will be legitimately ours, in addition to the inquiries from our own sister societies.

3. *Publicity.* I have left myself no time in which to elaborate the obvious statement that the quality of our output can be seriously damaged by any methods of money-raising that are not thoroughly informed. Not only in our financial publicity but in all other kinds there is demand for

a thorough appreciation of what we are aiming to do and of the conditions under which it can be done. Many a good worker has known what it is to labor at the improvement of case work standards, to succeed in a measure, and then to see his work battered down in a day by a thoughtless public statement which has forced the whole staff to struggle for weeks through a mass of applications that should never have been made. A fitting punishment for such indiscretions would be solitary confinement at the hard labor of reading the recorded results.

4. *Co-operation.* It would be possible, of course, so rigidly to limit our intake as to cut off all our work from that main stream of co-operative effort which it is our chief aim to feel and to strengthen. A generous and receptive attitude would seem to be the whole secret of co-operation; but it is only half the secret—the other half is to be better than your word always, to do more than you promised, to give a better output than any one expected. On this side, co-operation prospers by the following-up of a thousand small details, and incidentally there is also more even distribution of the burden; our intake is better cared for because our processes are understood and our work is shared by others. Signed agreements lead too often to nothing but disappointments, but the unofficial acts of each day, if thoroughly done, knit our work into the social fabric by a thousand filaments. An intake that chokes off such detailed services chokes off co-operation by disappointing those who expect good work from us and fail to get it.

Until we achieve a certain quality of output, moreover, all the finer kinds of co-operation wait. Medical co-operation, co-operation with the minor courts, which need social evidence so badly, co-operation with the best elements in the various alien races to which so many of our cases belong, co-operation with the many other social groups in the community that can strengthen our work because they are different and know things that we do not—all this waits to be achieved in case work or will never be achieved at all. It waits, until we have given more generous recognition than we are now giving to the worker who comes into actual contact with our families. She must be better paid, more intelligently and completely supervised, more often consulted about all our plans and departments of work, better backed by good district organization, and better trained by occasional opportunities for advanced study and observation. The trained worker thus developed must be given a chance to do trained work; must be protected, that is, from any dumping upon her of impossible burdens, whether these originate within or without the society.

Our aim in all this will not be a seeking after the virtuoso's pleasure in a pretty piece of work admirably done. We do long ardently, all of us, to cure and prevent the ugly disease of poverty, in so far as it is curable and is preventable. Slowly but steadily we have seen the lower levels of poverty lifted, but none know better than we how far those levels can and should still be raised. The tools at our disposal used to be few, our vision of possibilities limited. Now, the most vaulting imagination might

well stagger before the opportunities for service that lie spread out before us. This charity organization movement of ours is just in its beginnings; it is destined to render wonderful service by informing with skilful purpose the social impulses of the next quarter of a century. There will be no "whirling in futile motion" where it gets a good grip.

How shall we get this grip? Shall we do it by concentrating in our own hands all or as many as possible of the social tasks that involve the relief and cure of family troubles? At some stages of a community's development and for the time being, yes; but, as the size and social consciousness of a community grow and our opportunities for effective service multiply, no.

During the last year I have been much interested in some data gathered by the Charity Organization Department in several of our large cities as to the basis of fact upon which their different agencies were in the habit of building social treatment. It was the proud record of the charity organization society in one of these places that its own case investigations were no better—hardly so good, in the tests applied—than those of several other agencies, public and private. A large section of the social service of the community had been permeated through and through by this society's tonic and standardizing influence. This had been accomplished, not by grasping tight the major responsibility for investigation, relief, treatment and the rest, but by sharing it, and by dignifying the task of the case worker.

To concentrate upon the treatment of a given number of families and never look beyond them would be to narrow our usefulness both to the families and to the community. What I am advocating is poles apart from this. No executive can afford to neglect community organization for case work, but his share in community organization is a perfectly definite one. He will be only one of a hundred undifferentiated social reformers (whirling around, some of them, in futile motion?) unless he is prepared to bear competent witness to the daily effect of bad conditions upon actual families, and to the probable effect upon them also of proposals, good and bad, for bettering those conditions. Competent witness—what a pivotal thing that is! How many puffed out, pretentious schemes shrivel up before it! It is no narrowing of the field of charity organization, but a broadening and deepening of it to call upon the movement to set its own house in order and prepare itself to bear *competent witness* to what it now really knows—not to what it knew in the last decade, not to what it more or less happily now guesses, but to what it really, by the most painstaking and skilful work of which it is capable, now knows. The utilization of a very high and resourceful grade of case work for the social education of the community would be a unique contribution to social welfare. Are we prepared to make this contribution? In this new National Association, in its choice of Mr. McLean as leader, in its courageous acceptance of responsibility for the whole field of charity organization endeavor, I find the best assurance that, if we are not yet prepared, we soon shall be.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS*

National Association for Organizing Charity at Cleveland

I.—CO-OPERATING UNDER DIFFICULTIES

QUESTION.—*When societies with whom one is obliged to work closely have different standards of work than the C. O. S., how far is it desirable to waive principles in order to secure co-operation?*

ANSWER BY EUGENE T. LIES, *Chicago*.—This is not a child's question and a simple answer will not satisfy. Indeed, it is calculated to lead the unwary into a peck of trouble. There is no answer possible until terms are defined.

By "different standards of work" is doubtless meant different conceptions of the goals of social work and different conceptions of the effectual processes of reaching those goals.

By "principles," the propounder of the question very likely meant the old fundamentals like investigation, registration, adequate treatment, co-operation and prevention; and possibly in addition everything included under treatment that has to do with sound social and economic theory.

By "co-operation," I take the liberty of supposing is meant the working together both in individual cases of distress and in broader social reform effort.

Restating the question in this light, we have it thus: "When societies with whom one is obliged to work closely have different conceptions of the aims of social work and different conceptions of the effectual processes of reaching those goals from the C. O. S.'s, how far is it desirable to waive the old fundamental principles of investigation, registration, adequate treatment, co-operation and prevention, and to violate sound social and economic theory, in order to secure a working agreement with some other interested agency on any particular case of distress or in any social reform effort?"

An adequate answer would cover many considerations. Let me give but a few of them.

1. It is inconceivable that a C. O. S. worker would ever be called upon to throw over all of his ballast at one fell swoop.

2. With sufficient patience and skill and with proper spirit on the C. O. S. worker's part in the exercise of one of his normal and important functions, viz, that of education, in probably nine out of ten cases of controversy, the opposing party could be won over. The trouble is that many of us forget that, in this C. O. S. business, we are ever teachers as well as assuagers of sorrow and relievers of need, and that, therefore, we are obligated to learn the art of instruction. We are apt to expect too ready understanding by others of our long-maturing principles and methods, forgetting that we, ourselves, had to go to school to

* The National Association's Committee on Program invited the societies to send in questions for discussion. Six were chosen, but the answers to only two—to the two most nearly related to the subject of Intake and Output—are here given.

others. Some of us, too, maintain the pedestal attitude and expect whole-souled obeisance when we utter a lordly decree. Others again would drive when they should strive to win. A knowledge of applied psychology is one of the great essentials in the equipment of a social worker. Hence, at this point, I would say to all of us: "Get the best book extant on pedagogy, and make its contents your own." We will learn that we must work from the known to the unknown; from the simple to the complex; from the lower to the higher.

3. If the other party has a pretty full measure of common sense, judgment and sincerity of purpose, we will do well to look closely to our own defenses and see if perchance he has stolen some of our thunder, but is rattling it in a way different from our usual method of rattling it. In other words, in any particular instance we ought to be certain that the other fellow doesn't understand our principles even better than we do; that he hasn't the wiser plan and the better way of accomplishing it. But,

4. Granted that the plan of treatment in any particular case of need is agreed upon by both parties of intelligence and it is merely a *question of procedure*, then the course is more difficult. The query may be as to which of our principles we are asked to yield, or it may be merely a question of degree. If the other party contends, for example, against any investigation at all, then we may well afford to balk absolutely, for it is our business to withstand social quackery. If, however, this intelligent, sincere person maintains that he has the facts and haste is essential, then, while possibly expressing some doubt in tactful phrase, and clearly placing responsibility upon the other side, we may simply yield and proceed to the next step. We need not always insist upon making our own investigation. If the outcome is bad, we at least will have remained friends and, in the future, may have our way fully.

5. Suppose the *plan* in any special instance suggested by the other person of intelligence is in controversy and we feel certain that, from all our experience, the outcome would be seriously unfortunate for the poor family, what should be our attitude? Here I believe that after we have made every reasonable effort to change the mind of the other person and have brought in other wise counsellors and have cited the results in other similar cases, and have still failed to change that mind, we must gracefully but deliberately refuse to go further. We are not in this business to hurt but to help. BUT, let it be added that the greatest pains ought to be taken as we go out to leave the door swinging both ways behind us, so that the party of the second part may step through after us, if he changes his mind on this case, before it is too late, or, by and by, after he sees the error of his ways; and so that we may soon go after our differing friend to do more missionary work with him. In other words, leave no rancor behind which will simply intensify differences.

6. When there is some serious question as to the measure of common sense, judgment and sincerity of purpose of the other party, then, indeed, is the test of character up to us. Will we cajole, persuade or

stampede? We shall certainly need the patience of a Job, the tact of a diplomat and the skill of a Froebel, if we are to win over a person or organization which may, if it have influence in the community, do irreparably harmful things. If we fail with the executive officials of a society, it is our proper business to go to the directorate, and if we fail there, to go on to some agency in the community that has disciplinary powers, like the recognized charities endorsement committee of the city.

7. All that has been said as to the course to be followed in dealing with other organizations in matters of case handling ought to be applied also in dealing with other organizations in matters of social reform, only "more so." For here the issues are larger and of wider application. We have still to resort to many of our principles in understanding any proposed measure or in promoting, ourselves, any new movement. It is more difficult to apply those principles in these larger ways than in the case of individual problems and we are sometimes apt to forget that they are applicable.

It is distinctly our duty to be so closely related to the life and activities of our city as to know what is going on in the field of social work or what is brewing. It is our duty to apply tests of C. O. S. soundness to proposed measures of reform to determine if they are conducive to the strengthening or weakening of human character, ambition, and efficiency; if they are holding up the lure of present advantage at the expense of permanent good; if they are likely to place power and functions of service to the poor in dangerous or unfit hands. It is our duty further to rally support to our views among others who are like-minded or nearly so, and together with them to follow out the various suggestions made above in reference to case handling. But, when it is absolutely necessary to fight a real enemy, as is sometimes the case in the passage of a housing ordinance, for example, let us fight with courage up and conscience afire, even though we are compelled to break away from other organizations with which we are wont to co-operate.

All this, I know, is not a full answer to the question propounded, but what has been said may suggest the remainder of the answer. The next to the most important thing in my mind as I close is the fact that we C. O. S. people must do more and more educational work and do it in nearly all conceivable ways known to the teacher or the publicist. We need to give out in printed matter, reports, lectures, etc., not merely what things we do, but why we do them and why we do them so and not so. With widespread, more popular understanding of us peculiar people and our ways, the question of our ability to secure co-operation will become largely one of reconciliation of personalities.

Finally, the most important point is that we need to recognize, indeed, that not one of us in the field is FULLY, FULLY equipped for his many-sided, complicated, mind-body-and-soul-trying task, and that if we would induce the co-operation of others we must first co-operate with ourselves, and make ourselves fit in knowledge, in method, but most of all in spirit.

II.—INVESTIGATING FOR OTHER AGENCIES

QUESTION.—*To what extent is it desirable for a charity organization society to make investigations for other organizations?*

ANSWER BY WALTER S. UFFORD, *Washington, D. C.*—In attempting to answer this question we must bear in mind the primary function of a society for organizing charity. This function, I take it, is the rehabilitation of families in need. In the long run, as workers in organized charity we must stand or fall by the character of our case work. In the discussion this morning much stress was laid upon good case work, but possibly the meaning of the term was not made sufficiently clear. Some who were present may have gotten the impression that there is something mysterious about the process and have gone away from the meeting with a sense of discouragement. Good case work means getting at the facts, following up every clue of information, with a single object in mind, namely, intelligent action for the recovery of the family, such action to be based upon thorough diagnosis. Good case workers must be good diagnosticians. They must find out the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about their particular families. Bearing in mind that rehabilitation is our function, as charity organization workers we reach the natural conclusion that the process employed to bring about recovery should not be divided into fractional parts. In other words, investigation may not as a rule be separated from treatment. Too many people in the community look upon the charity organization society as a detective agency whose prime function is investigation for the elimination of frauds and fraudulent schemes. The community must be rid of this idea. The best corrective is good case work or success in rehabilitation. To this end diagnosis and treatment should go hand in hand. This does not mean that we should not at all times be hospitable, obliging and co-operative toward those who seek our service. There will be occasions when we shall be called in, not as general practitioners, which is our usual rôle, but as specialists. We all share the experience of having families who have become thoroughly disrupted by bad handling on the part of inexperienced, though well-meaning individuals and agencies turned over to us as a last resort. We know also how volunteer agencies doing excellent work consult us freely in their more difficult situations. With all such we are glad to co-operate in every helpful way at all times. Our topic rather has reference to a general policy. It is possible to pauperize institutions as well as individuals. For this reason we should seek to avoid doing other persons' legitimate tasks. I have in mind a society which for many years has undertaken to pass upon the merits of applicants for free dispensary treatment. The work seems to have been undertaken at first from a desire on the part of the society to do everything asked of it. Established now as a custom, the policy of referring such applicants to the nearest branch office of the local charity organization society still continues. This society finds it impossible to visit the patients in their homes, and a

brief office interview is held, such as is commonly conducted by the registrar of our free dispensaries. The policy results in subjecting the applicant to a "walking test" and to no little inconvenience, as the patient is obliged to consult the office hours of the society as well as the office hours of the dispensary and to make two calls in place of the usual one. The theory that applicants for free medical treatment must, in a majority of cases, be known to the local charity organization society does not work out in practice, as approximately not more than 30 per cent. of these applicants are found to have been previously registered in the confidential exchange of the society. This is an instance of investigation begun in hospitality and convenience, continued as a matter of course, later become an established policy through successive administrations, and now found difficult to break off, because of the attitude of the medical profession, dispensary boards, the local department of charities, and the board of managers of the investigating society. No more extreme case of the failure to limit intake in order to increase the efficiency of output could well be cited.

Our conclusions then may be summarized as follows: Our primary function as charity organization workers is the rehabilitation of families in need. This process of rehabilitation consists of diagnosis and treatment. The process, although two-fold in definition, in general practice should be one in order to secure the best results. This does not mean that there shall not be good team work and co-operation on the part of all interested in a given family. In fact, the one community service which the associated charities or society for organizing charity can render to all the philanthropic agencies of its city or town is the conduct of a confidential exchange or directory of all agencies and individuals in touch with families in need. By means of this information these particular agencies and individuals can be brought together in the working out of a common plan for effective rehabilitation. The responsibility for carrying out this plan can then be centered in the most appropriate agency in a given situation. We should not sacrifice our own efficiency nor pauperize our colleagues by undertaking other persons' jobs. Let us seek to standardize the case work of our community by showing that we get results with our own families. One piece of good case work or family rehabilitation is worth a dozen arguments in the conversion of skeptics. In the process of standardization let us be willing to accept, at least as a starting point, the investigation of our colleagues, and to urge that they in exchange accept ours, so that the family if passed on from one agency to another shall not be made the subject of duplicate, unnecessary investigation. If this policy is accepted, we shall soon discover whether the parties in the exchange are good or poor social physicians. By friendly conferences and by concerted efforts to raise the standards of work among all philanthropic agencies, let us demonstrate that, while we seek the co-operation of all social workers, we ourselves are ready to meet our colleagues more than half way in laboring with them for the advancement of social justice in our several communities.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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NUMBER 10

CASE HISTORY SERIES

CASE IV

THE DOYLES

I CONDENSED SUMMARY OF FACE CARD. Kate Doyle, 32, and Angus, 37; *man* Scotch and a ship-fitter, *woman* Scotch-American and a buffer in metal works; both Catholic; *children*, Margaret 15, Angus 10, Thomas 7, Kate 4. *Rent*, house of 4 rms., \$9. *Relatives*. Man has a sister living in the city; woman has mother, brother, sister and cousin in city and a sister in Canada. *Other references*, one previous residence, St. Boniface church, three doctors, a shipyard, a drawn and stamped metal works employing Kate as buffer, and a hosiery mill in which Margaret was a knitter and topper.

10 RECORD SOMEWHAT CONDENSED.—June 10, '10, Public Department of the Poor writes to C. O. S.: "Will you please visit Kate Doyle, 14 E. Alberta St., whose husband Angus has deserted, leaving her with four children."

Visited. MRS. DOYLE is of average height, but large build; brown hair, gray eyes, decided features, several teeth missing. Says she was married when she was about 16, has had nothing but trouble ever since; has had eight children, four of them dead; is expecting the birth of another at any moment. Has made no provision for her confinement. Had Dr. Adams for the first child, but has never had a doctor since.

20 Sometimes she has been able to pay a midwife, at other times a woman friend—not a licensed midwife—has come in to be with her. Would not give her name for fear of getting her into trouble; thought, if necessary, would just send for her this time. Her mother, who lives in the next block, will come in and look after the house a little.

Doyle usually goes away when there is any family crisis. Hard drinking man and very abusive. Now that Margaret is working, he does not think he ought to give his wages into the house; has had \$4 from him in five weeks. On the 1st they had some words and he went away. She thought there was going to be trouble, so went to the police station to get a warrant for him. The magistrate would not issue the
30 warrant because they had not been separated long enough. In the meantime he had disappeared. She has heard that he is with the ship-building company in Marlford [the adjoining state] but does not know. Will go to work again as soon as possible and just ignore him; has given him so many trials that this is positively the last. Claimed she would not have tried him this time only he was working and people said that it was really wrong for him to have no home, etc. He did almost no better, however. The rent was paid in advance to the 14th. Margaret draws from \$9 to \$12 every two weeks. The next pay day
40 is the 17th.

Would not consider going away to the hospital and having the children placed temporarily. Finally said, in case Margaret had to stay home from work when she was sick, that she might be in need, as her relatives thought she ought not to have brought the present trouble on herself and did not care to help her. Before she made up with her husband this time, she had been living with her mother, who was very good to her. She looked after all the children.

Mrs. Doyle earned \$8.50 a week at the Galt Works. Once before some years ago, when man was away, she worked at the Church Hos-
50 pital. She likes the mill work much better. Her mother will not take the little baby, if it lives, so she will have to move near a day nursery. She seems to have her plans clearly made for the future and not to be worrying at all about the present.

June 10, '10. MRS. CLAYTON, Mrs. Doyle's mother, said that her daughter had made a runaway match. Her husband had a trade where he could get employment anywhere. He never felt the slightest family responsibility, but had just drifted around. He has been gone as long as two years at a time. When he returns, he always seems to be able to get around his wife. Mrs. Clayton is now through with "rearing
60 up his family for him." She does not propose to take them in again. She says she is a widow and fairly impoverished by what she has done for them. All she has left is a house to live in with practically no income. Supposes that she can run in and look after Kate's house for her while she is sick. Thinks it will be all right for her to have no doctor, as she never had one. About two months ago Doyle kicked her so very

badly that Mrs. Clayton had to get Dr. Bond. When man is home and working he gives almost none of his money into the house. Mrs. Clayton seemed to be rather uncertain as to why agent should be looking into the case at all, and apparently thought that Mrs. Doyle could get
70 along.

June 10, '10. At 613 E. Shuster St. [next door to previous residence], family said that the Doyles were very nice people; man worked steadily; all quiet and well-behaved. At 615 the woman said that she lived a few doors below when the family had that house. Mrs. Doyle was a very fine woman, hard-working and respectable. As far as she knew, man was all right, had never seen him under the influence of liquor and knew that he worked steadily. He has a very fine sister. Woman's people are also extremely nice. All the other families in this
80 neighborhood are Polish or Italians, so no further information could be secured.

June 13, '10. Letter written to Supt. of the shipyard where man had worked.

June 14, '10. DR. LEONARD knew who the family were and that man was a chronic deserter. He thought they came to him when they had no money and went to another doctor when they could pay. He knew nothing of the home life or of the wife's reputation.

June 14, '10. MRS. EAST [Kate's sister] is a fine looking woman. She said her only misfortune in life had been losing her husband. He left her a home to live in but she has no income except the earnings of
90 two half-grown sons. It is out of the question for her to do anything at all for Kate. She did not know very much about the situation, as she and Doyle had never been on good terms; did not visit the home. Felt sure, however, that their mother would keep an eye on the situation and, except for trying to prosecute Doyle, there was nothing that any outsiders need do.

June 15, '10. Letter from Supt. of shipyard asking visitor to call. Supt. says the men in Doyle's department thought that he had gone to Ormond [about 450 miles away]. They did not know where he was working up there, but there was considerable shipbuilding at that place.
100 He had complained to his foreman that he had a dreadful life with his wife. They have believed his story as they did not know anything to the contrary. He is a man who goes on periodical sprees, but is an excellent mechanic. On this account they have put up with his ways.

June 15, '10. Mrs. Doyle's brother not visited, as his house is under measles quarantine.

June 15, '10. DR. ADAMS knows the whole family connection. Old Mrs. Clayton is a "rum soak." He knows that in times past Mrs. Doyle drank, but he cannot say if she is doing so or not, as he has not met her personally for two or three years. Man is utterly worthless;

110 undoubtedly a good worker, but drinks hard and cares for no one but himself.

June 15, '10. MRS. DOYLE not at home. Found her at her mother's. She preferred to talk in her own home, so returned there. Her mother has now decided that she is entirely willing to take care of the children while Kate is sick, and the friend already mentioned will come in and attend her. Margaret is earning enough to keep them in food, and her brother and sister have promised to look after the rent. A friend who worked with her at the Galt Works had been over and asked her to come in to work again; did not know she was in no condition to do so. The
120 women working on the buffing wheels are making \$2.25 a day, and she knows she will get along splendidly as soon as she can go to work. Did not want the C. O. S. to do anything at all for her, except to see if we could locate her husband in any way. She does not believe he is in Marlford, says that he has gone to the Oriole Steel Works [about one hundred miles away in another state] usually when he went away. Thinks he is more likely to be there than in Ormond.

June 16, '10. Letter to Oriole United Charities.

June 16, '10. Letter to Ormond C. O. S.

June 21, '10. Found MARGARET at home on next visit, as they are
130 overhauling the machinery at the mill. She is a good-sized child, with a mature figure; very pleasant and intelligent. Said she felt entirely able to support her mother and herself, but really could not keep the three little ones.

June 22, '10. Ormond C. O. S. writes that man cannot be found.

June 25, '10. United Charities of Oriole writes that, with the co-operation of two of the superintendents at the Oriole Steel Works, which is about twenty miles from the city, they succeeded yesterday in interviewing Doyle. He claimed that his wife drank, neglected her home, their children and his meals. Asked that we see the priest about Kate's
140 signing the pledge and try to interest someone in his neglected children. Earns from \$14 to \$16 a week, promised to leave \$7 every Saturday night with the Supt. for his family—this after much pressure from the mill official in whose presence he was interviewed. Oriole society promised that we would look into family conditions further and they urge that Mrs. Doyle send a note of acknowledgment when money is received.

June 27, '10. Called at St. BONIFACE to see Father Devery. He did not remember Kate Doyle but consulted the priest who made the visitation in that neighborhood the last time; that priest did not remember her either. Promised to go and see Kate himself and have a talk
150 with her.

June 27, '10. Visited MRS. DOYLE; she has not been confined yet; is getting rather nervous although she insists she will not go to a hos-

pital. Does not wish us to make any provision for her. Margaret lost all last week, as the cleaning of the machinery took longer than they expected. A money order came this morning from Oriole; no letter, just \$7. Was very much delighted and surprised, and very willingly wrote a note to Doyle, as suggested. The two little boys were at home. They are very nice appearing children; their mother said she never had any trouble managing them, except that the oldest one was beginning to
160 go with the Robly boy next door, who is not a suitable companion for him.

June 28, '10. Called on MRS. STEELE [Doyle's sister], whose home is very attractive. She has ten children; seems very placid and sensible. She did not know that her brother had gone away; thought that if he had done so, his wife had "deviled him" into it. They ran away and were married when Kate was 16 and he only 18. They have never agreed. Mrs. Steele does not shield her brother, as he undoubtedly does drink, but is a very good workman and not lazy. Thought that if
170 Kate would "hold her tongue," she ought to be able to "jolly him along" and keep a nice home. Sometimes when he will stop drinking, Kate will drink herself, which is very discouraging. Her mother is not the right kind of woman and easily leads Kate astray. However, Kate is not a drunkard at all; she is a good mother, managing her children well, and is also very clean. Mrs. Steele thought it would be very unjust to arrest Doyle, as there is so much fault on both sides. She thought, however, he ought to be forced to contribute towards the support of his children. Suggested that, if he was willing to send money, he might send it to the C. O. S., so that they could watch and see that it was properly spent.

180 June 28, '10. Letter to U. C. of Oriole assuring them that woman was not so black as she had been painted. Home neatly and attractively kept, children well-mannered, woman certainly not drinking now. Man said to be in the habit of making these accusations.

Feb. 8, '11. Central Office asks that we visit and see how matters are going at the present time, whether Doyle is still paying the money to his wife, and whether the baby lived.

Feb. 8, '11. Called at 14 E. Alberta St., but there was no one living there. Found the family at No. 31. Mrs. Doyle has been getting along very well, aside from the fact that all the children are just recovering from the measles. The baby was born on the 11th of July.
190 One of her neighbors came in and helped her out, but she did not need any doctor. After the baby was born, Doyle came home and is now working in the shipyard again. He has been doing very nicely ever since. Does not know exactly how much he makes, but thinks it is about \$2.50 a day. Has been very much amused to overhear him telling his friends that it doesn't make any difference where a man goes in this country now, he is always found out and made to support his family.

So he has decided that he might just as well stay at home and do what he ought to. Is very grateful to the C. O. S., and declares that it is the
200 best lesson that Doyle ever had.

CASE V
ALBERT GOUGH, SINGLE

NOTE.—The following record from a new charity organization society in a town of less than thirty thousand was printed, with comments, in the BULLETIN for May, 1911. There was so much demand for this number from workers for the insane and from teachers in the schools for social workers, that the edition was soon exhausted. At the request of the schools it is here reprinted, but with most of the comments omitted.

- 1 Oct. 20, '10. Man came to office with card from Rev. Mr. Broadway of St. Agatha's Church. Says he is fifty-three years old, born in Ireland, coming to this country in 1889. Lived for a time in Altruria [in another state 150 miles away], returning to Ireland once. In 1894 he left Altruria and his two sisters who were then there, and has spent all the intervening time in and about Burlington [forty miles away but in still another state], supporting himself by making water-colors and selling them. Had to sell the last for less than the price of the frame. Says that his work is so amateurish it does not find a ready market. Man claims not
10 to have been in jail since he left Altruria, saying that he served a three months' sentence in Bridgeport for drunkenness previous to his leaving. Admits, however, that he left his family because of his intemperance. Says that he has not drunk now for some time and that he is extremely anxious to get back to Altruria and find his people, from whom he has not heard in sixteen years. Is without money, spent last night in a "miserable" lodging house (Garber's). Is not strong enough to do heavy work. Says he has worked his way down from Danbury stopping at Enfield [two cities in the same state as Burlington]. Only place he
20 could say he had worked any length of time was for J. B. Frost of Enfield. Has done only a day's work here and there beside. Could give no clues to his relatives beyond their names. Is willing to go to the Salvation Army and work there until more permanent work can be found for him. Man claims to have had only a primary school education in Ireland, but his English is remarkably good; mentions incidentally that he has invented a safe door proof against nitroglycerine, and a ball-bearing castor. Had never patented them, but counted that a small matter. Says it is the fault of the Americans to-day that they give too much attention to inventions and science generally and not enough to poetry and philosophy. Described his journey through the blackness of
30 the tunnel a mile and a half long as like "wallowing in the River Styx," and said that it would be impossible, he thought, for any Americans in New York City to-day to write such a book, for instance, as the Book of Job. Inclined to be "woolly" generally.

Oct. 20, '10. Secretary arranged with Mr. Goldthwaite, Salvation Army, to give man temporary shelter and food until permanent work can be found for him.

Oct. 20, '10. Secretary wrote Danbury and Altruria Charity Organization Societies and Mr. Frost of Enfield.

October 20, 1910.

- 40 MISS MARY LANGDON, *General Secretary*,
Danbury Charity Organization Society.

My dear Miss Langdon:

There has come to our notice to-day a man who says his name is Albert Gough. He is about fifty-three years old and claims to have worked his way down from Danbury where he supported himself, he says, by selling water-colors which he did himself. I am writing you to learn whether, by any chance, he may have come to your notice while he was in your city.

Very sincerely yours,

October 20, 1910.

- 50 MISS LAURA MASTERS,
Altruria Charity Organization Society.

My dear Miss Masters:

One Albert Gough, claiming to be single and homeless, has asked assistance in getting to Altruria, where he claims to have lived sixteen years ago on Ames Street near East. He says he cannot remember the number of the house or the name of the street where he lived at the suburb of Norton. His object in trying to get to Altruria, he says, is to learn the present whereabouts of his two sisters who were living there when he last heard of them in 1894. He claimed not to remember the address of either. The husband of Martha, Joseph Flynn by name, 60 he said formerly worked for a firm of Jones on Water Street. Alice is the wife of one Peter O'Brian. I realize how little you have to work on but am tempted to hope that it may not be too little, for I have so often seen you do so much with practically nothing to go on. Mr. Gough says he is fifty-three years old and that he has sold his own water-color productions to get enough to live on.

Thanking you, I am,

Most sincerely yours,

CONFIDENTIAL

October 20, 1910.

My dear Mr. Frost:

- 70 There has come to our office a man giving his name as Albert Gough, who says that he was in your employ some time ago. He is about fifty-three years old and claims to have some ability at water-coloring. We are very anxious to learn what we can of him at once, as we should like to get him suitable work if we can determine what is suitable work for him and whether he is reliable. Will you not kindly write us by return mail what your experience with him has been and whatever else you think may be of use to us in our attempt to help him most wisely.

Thanking you, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

- 80 Oct. 20, '10. Secretary telephoned Hardman's factory, the Jayne Creamery, and Miss Ober for chance of work for man, without success.

Oct. 21, '10. Man wrote:

SALVATION ARMY, October 20, 1910.

Miss Paul:

If you could do something to get me on my way quickly as possible I should feel under great obligations to you.

Now, I never did such heavy work as one is asked to do here, jamming

down heavy papers with a heavy tamper, which would take a vigorous man, used to the work to do, and then moving and loading the bales 7 or 8 cwt.

90 I am not lazy; rather I work quickly and dexterously in my line of work with assiduous application.

This work to one, foot weary, with body stiff and sore—is it a logical starter for rehabilitation? And is the fraying of one's clothes a reasonable way to induce the sense of confidence which respectable clothes give? It seems quite as if things were working under the reverse lever, just here.

Miss Paul, I am not a "kicker," but I can't help having a logical mind and a straight line is the shortest distance between two points.

Seems to me I must make my destination. You cannot conceive my anxiety regarding my folks; also my desire to see after whatever property I may have.

Sincerely,

100

ALBERT GOUGH.

P. S.—Please remember, I have no complaint to make regarding Mr. Goldthwaite, he's considerate to me.

Oct. 22, '10. Secretary telephoned Mr. Goldthwaite, Salvation Army, who says he is sure that man is not doing heavy work. The bales he speaks of are heavy, to be sure, but there are four or five men to move them. Secretary told Mr. Goldthwaite that she would notify him as soon as she learned of any work for man.

Oct. 23, 24, 25 and 26, '10. Letters received from Mr. Frost, Danbury and Altruria.

110

ENFIELD, October 23, 1910.

Sarah Paul,

Your letter of October 21st just received asking about Albert Gough. He was working under me for some fifteen months. I consider him a very trustworthy man and regard him a man of his word and his capability is more than ordinary.

Yours truly,

J. B. FROST.

DANBURY, October 24, 1910.

My dear Miss Paul:

120

I have been helping Miss Langdon try to obtain some information for you about Albert Gough, but we have been unfortunate in not being able to find out anything. We have tried at the Department of Charities and at other places which might know of him, but have been unsuccessful, and are sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

BERTHA ROBERTS.

ALTRURIA, October 25, 1910.

My dear Miss Paul:

130

We have at hand your letter of the 20th regarding Albert Gough, and are still following up the slight clues we have been able to find. Out of many Joseph Flynn's we have at last come upon one who may prove to be Martha Gough's husband. He worked, up to six or eight years ago, for Jones Brothers, a hardware firm, now gone out of business, at 90 or 92 Water Street. Mr. Flynn is now employed as a collector by the Multiple Insurance Co., and is living at 916 Amity St., Glenside.

No Mrs. Alice O'Brian whom we can find has ever had Gough for maiden name, and there is no mention of Peter in Altruria directories from 1890 to the present year. An Albert Gough, clerk, boarded at 10 Broome St., in 1892, and an Albert Gough, carpenter, boarded at 603 Camden St., in 1893. Both addresses are near Norton where your Mr. Gough claims to have lived at cor-

140

responding times.

I shall call this afternoon on the Joseph Flynns at Glenside, and shall be very glad to let you know at once of the result.

Very truly yours,

FRANCES SARTORIS.

[Feeling that the whole process would be interesting by which the handling of these slender clues led, as will be seen from the next letter from Miss Sartoris, to the discovery of the right Mrs. Joseph Flynn, the editor of this record has asked the Charity Organization Society of Altruria to write out for us all the steps taken in this inquiry. All the names mentioned in the letter were first carefully looked up in the society's registration bureau, which contains lists of cases applying to other agencies as well as a complete file of its own applicants. None of the names were found there, and the inquiry was turned over to a new investigator who was spending her first week in the central office, with the sole suggestion that the city directory was often the investigator's best friend. After a careful search of every city directory between the years 1890 and 1910, a list was made of the Joseph Flynns, Peter and Alice O'Brians, and Albert Goughs contained in each, with their occupations and home addresses. The total entries thus listed were fifty-six. Notwithstanding Gough's statement that he had not lived in Altruria for sixteen years, it seemed worth while to search the directory for his name as well. Nothing was found, however, more recent than 1893, when an Albert Gough had been employed as carpenter and had boarded on Camden Street, in the neighborhood of Norton, where Gough had actually claimed to have been. This gave some hope from the very start that his story was true.

Then came the important task of drawing the right inferences from this mass of material. The investigator put her wits to work and decided that only Flynns and O'Brians who were living in Altruria sixteen years ago would surely warrant a following up, and that of these only those recorded as still living in Altruria could easily be traced. Only one Joseph Flynn clue fulfilled both these conditions. The following day, therefore, with lively expectations of at once discovering Gough's brother-in-law, Miss Sartoris made a call at this one address, to find that the family had moved. She made another call at their new address, discovered with difficulty, to find that they were all out for the day. To save time, therefore, and to allow for the possibility that this Joseph Flynn might not be the one that she was seeking, she decided to work also from the other end and try to discover whether this Flynn, upholsterer, was identical with a Flynn, a belt maker, who, from 1890 to 1904, had boarded in another part of Altruria.

The neighborhood proved Jewish, and children volunteered the information that "no Christians live down here." Proprietors of near-by grocery and clothing shops were also ignorant of Flynns, but at last a young woman in a bake-shop was found who remembered the family very well; the father, an upholsterer, had died nine years ago, and his son, a belt maker, had moved to Duane Street. The young woman did

not know whether the younger Flynn's wife was named Martha or not, but her age corresponded with the probable age of Albert Gough's sister. Duane Street corresponded with an address found in the directory for 1905, and assured the investigator that this was the same family that she had been seeking the day before. As they would not be home until the following day, she devoted a part of the afternoon to looking up a Mrs. Alice O'Brian and making sure that she was not Gough's sister. Early the next morning a visit to the first family of Flynn's left her very downhearted, as, despite the fact that her name was Martha, Mrs. Flynn proved not to be the sister. Thus the clue offered by the investigator's best friend, the directory, proved elusive. There remained, however, the Jones firm on Water Street, for Miss Paul had been careful to mention this additional clue in her letter of inquiry, and it was found from the directory that a hardware firm, Jones Brothers, had been situated there eight years ago. From an elderly clerk in a near-by bookshop it was learned that one of Jones Brothers' former clerks had a little office on the top floor of the building formerly occupied by the firm. Here he was found in a little attic room. He had known the Joseph Flynn employed by Jones Brothers, thought that he was now living at Glenside, and knew that he was working for the Multiple Insurance Company. A telephone message to the insurance company brought the Flynn address at Glenside. At this point the letter of October 25th was written, and less than twenty-four hours later Albert Gough's sister had been interviewed, with the result which follows.]

CONFIDENTIAL

Re GOUGH, ALBERT
My dear Miss Paul:

ALTRURIA, October 26, 1910.

I have called on Mrs. Joseph Flynn at her new address, 916 Amity St., Glenside, and I am very glad to report that she is Albert Gough's sister, Martha. The other sister whom Mr. Gough mentioned, Mrs. Alice O'Brian, has been in England for some years; a second sister, Dora, is living with the Flynn's. The father, Mr. Gough, died at their home seven years ago, and the old mother died there last March. There is also a brother, John Gough, living in Torresdale, and another brother, Patrick, with whom Albert boarded at one time. This Patrick Gough moved four years ago to Watertown, which is near you, and can be found at 1167 Main St. He would be very willing, Mrs. Flynn says, to help his brother, but on account of his wife's disapproval of Albert might not be able to do very much.

Mrs. Flynn seemed to me to have the fine feeling and the high sense of honor of a good Scotch woman. She was much affected to hear news of her brother, who was next herself in age, for the family has had no word from him for sixteen years, and had begun to believe him dead. She tells me that he was well educated as a young man, and did promising work, both as printer and as landscape painter, but that little by little he had fallen into intemperate habits and at last decided to go away from Altruria. The family were very anxious to have him stay, but saw that he had everything he needed when he left. They have remembered him loyally. The absent members still inquire in every letter for news of "Al," and the mother spoke of him continually last winter.

Mrs. Flynn is writing to Mr. Gough, in care of your Society. She says that her husband, and especially her brother John in Torresdale, will be only too

happy to pay Albert's fare to Altruria, and to find employment for him here, or to help him by any means in their power.

240 I shall be very glad if I can be of any further service in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANCES SARTORIS.

Oct. 28, '10. Man to office. Says has had trouble with Mr. Goldthwaite, who refused to let him come to office. Is unwilling to have him come back. Without shelter or food over night.

Oct. 28, '10. Telephoned MR. GOLDTHWAITE, who cannot have him again to-night as house is full; not well impressed with him.

250 Oct. 28, '10. Man returned to office at 5 P. M. Saw Mr. King of Y. M. C. A., who has given him a ticket on a restaurant for to-morrow. No success in finding work as people do not wish to hire an old man. Secretary had previously telephoned Garber's to arrange to provide for man over night, but man says he heard of a better place with Mrs. Young, at 25 cents a night. Secretary gave him a note to Mrs. Young guaranteeing payment. Man says he has heard of a possible chance to work to-morrow.

Oct. 28, '10. Secretary telephoned Mr. King, Y. M. C. A., who corroborates man's story about meal ticket, and says he will make what effort he can about work for him this P. M.

260 Oct. 28, '10. MR. ARMSTRONG will give man work to-morrow taking down screens, etc., at \$1.50 a day.

Oct. 28, '10. Man to office, says he is unwilling to go back to his people on money that they send him. Prefers to earn the money to go there. Does not think this place is a good place to get work, because there are so many ignorant foreigners, younger men, doing the only work he is fitted to do. Says he cannot "sense" news of his family, it is so long since he heard from them. Says when he left them he was almost delirious from drink, so he has lost their respect.

270 Oct. 29, '10. Secretary met man on street at noon to-day. Says he has been working for Mrs. Armstrong to-day, but she has not made any arrangement with him as to terms. Explained that he was to work at \$1.50 a day, which he said was satisfactory. Says that he has twenty-five cents with which to buy his luncheon to-day; "always keeps twenty-five cents ahead."

Oct. 29, '10. MR. KING, Y. M. C. A., has learned of no further work for man.

Oct. 29, '10. Secretary consulted Rev. Mr. Broadway and Mrs. Stevens about possible work for man.

Oct. 29, '10. Secretary wrote Altruria Charity Organization Society and man's sister, Mrs. Flynn.

October 29, 1910.

MISS FRANCES SARTORIS,
Charity Organization Society,
Altruria.

My dear Miss Sartoris:

I want to thank you for the thorough work you have done in locating relatives of Albert Gough. I am writing Mrs. Flynn to-day, as I have not had any letter from her for Mr. Gough, and he is beginning to show returning symptoms of the "wanderlust."

290 Again thanking you, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

October 29, 1910.

MRS. JOSEPH FLYNN,
Glenside.

My dear Mrs. Flynn:

A letter from the Altruria Charity Organization Society, October 26th, promises a letter from you to your brother, Mr. Gough, in whom we are interested. He was much affected to hear of his family and says he is most anxious to see them all again. He feels a bit proud, however, about receiving any assistance
300 from them and says he wants to be sure of work before he returns to you. So we are trying to get him work here, that he may earn enough to pay his fare to Altruria. But it is extremely difficult to get temporary work for a man of his age. Consequently I am hoping that you will make a special effort at once to write him assuring him that there will be work for him in Altruria, and I believe if you send on the ticket and explain to him that he could pay it back to you, he would not be unwilling to accept it then. Meantime I am fearful that he will get discouraged here and start wandering again and we will all lose track of him, which would be a pity, it seems to me, since he seems genuinely anxious to do the right thing henceforth.

310 Hoping that you will write him and me at your earliest convenience, I am,
Very sincerely yours,

Oct. 30, '10. Man wrote:

MISS PAUL,
Madam:

October 30, 1910.

As you have so kindly given me so much of your time in procuring work for me, I thought that I might do something myself, so this morning walked out and back from Gorham only to find that "there never was no sich a pusson" as that indicated on the address given me; however I was directed to a lady, Miss Holt, who explained that Mrs. Ives, 900 Sixteenth St., Burlington, is the lady
320 intended. Miss Holt then kindly said that she would herself write Mrs. Ives with whom she is acquainted, and ask her to get me steady employment. Miss Paul, should she refer to you for confirmation regarding references, I should take it as an unforgettable favor if you would reply at your earliest convenience.

I have just got here and combated with wonderful success, the assaults of the wolf with a ten-cent supper, which reinforcing a ten-cent breakfast, I consider quite a miracle. I paid fifty cents to Mrs. Young, leaving me eighty-five cents to meet the foe with. This suggests the unpleasant fact that Mr. Goldthwaite still finds change elusive, could you, Miss Paul, contrive to have him
330 search for it?

I hate to trouble you with such sordidities and should not, were it not so terrible to face each day's possibilities with fractional money.

I shall go to Mrs. Armstrong's to-morrow and hope I shall get work for at least the day.

Respectfully,

ALBERT GOUGH.

Oct. 31, '10. Man at office saying went to Mrs. Armstrong's to-day, hoping for more work, but she did not give it to him. Mrs. Armstrong telephones that she will be out of town all this week and cannot give time to supervise him. Paid him \$1.50 and because he had said he had
340 bought himself an extra good breakfast to prepare himself for the work, paid him twenty-five cents extra for that. Secretary talked with man at some length, and he finally said he has been in an insane asylum at Bloomfield, where he was sent by enemies. As soon as he gets started talking about his enemies, talks away in a decidedly unbalanced way. Says that he is acquainted with all the tricks of the grafters in Burlington politics; they knowing that he is acquainted with their tricks, feared him and would like to kill him; have not quite dared to do this, however, and so have taken these other means of getting rid of him. Says he has been out of an insane asylum for three years, having had fifteen months'
350 parole. Says that out of money he had earned has paid his lodging up to last night and has about one dollar over. Mrs. Canfield of the Children's Shelter will give man work to-morrow.

Oct. 31, '10. Telephoned BLOOMFIELD INSANE ASYLUM [in adjoining state, about 75 miles away]. Say they have had no inmate named Albert Gough except one who is now in the institution. Will look up the records more carefully and will write if can learn of any such inmate having been there.

Oct. 31, '10. Telegraphed DANBURY STATE BOARD OF INSANITY [at the capital of adjoining state].

360 Oct. 31, '10. DANBURY STATE BOARD OF INSANITY telegraphed man had been in Bloomfield in 1894, in Franconia in 1906, and in Enfield Asylum in 1907. Cannot give further details, as records are confidential.

Nov. 1, '10. Man did the work at Children's Shelter.

Nov. 1, '10. MR. KING, Y. M. C. A., telephones two ladies are calling at the Y. M. C. A. for Mr. Gough; will send them to our office.

Nov. 1, '10. Secretary telegraphed Enfield Insane Asylum.

370 Nov. 1, '10. ENFIELD INSANE ASYLUM telegraphs man left the asylum October 10, 1910, without permission; is considered harmless and fairly trustworthy.*

Nov. 1, '10. Man's sister, Mrs. Flynn of Glenside, and sister-in-law, Mrs. Patrick Gough of Watertown, at office. Very much affected at learning again of the whereabouts of brother and anxious to take him back with them. Man seemed very pleased to see them and

*The J. B. Frost, of Enfield, who wrote under date of Oct. 23d, that Gough had worked for him for fifteen months and had given satisfaction was discovered, later, to have been a discharged employe of the Asylum.

- relieved that they cared enough to come to see him; but no persuasions availed to make him go back with them; he at once conceived the notion that his enemies would take delight in hurting him through his relatives and he said that under no conditions would he go back with them and so run the risk of ruining their business, or perhaps having them killed.
- 380 Has written President of Sunshine Society in Burlington and still has hope that she may do something for him in the way of getting him regular work. Relatives, after laboring in vain all day with him, left him money to pay his fare to Altruria and his expenses here.

Nov. 2, '10. Man writes:

November 2, 1910.

MISS PAUL:

- As there is quite a crowd awaiting engagements, I shall not inflict myself on you. I called just to ask if Mrs. Armstrong might have something for me to-morrow and if you could let me know how to fix my room rent, and if
- 390 Mr. Goldthwaite might be amenable to reason *re* the fifty cents due me, as working for \$1.00 or \$1.50 a day with hiatusses (too many) eats away one's resources tremendously.

My dear sister and sister-in-law gave me some, but I cut it down as they have too many expenditures already.

If I cannot get a position here by Saturday morning I shall proceed further.

My dear sister has greatly regretted my determination to saw my own wood, but I know I serve their interests best by doing so. She was a sufferer for about ten years, Miss Paul, and it has told on her greatly. I wish you had known her when she was beautiful.

- 400 Nov. 2, '10. MISS JORDAN telephones can give man work to-morrow if pleasant day; man very glad of opportunity to do the work.

Nov. 3, '10. MISS KENNEDY telephones would like to have someone go to the post-office and sort magazines for her. Man glad to do this.

Nov. 4, '10. Man at office again to ask us to help him get more permanent work. Urged him to go to his relatives and he raised the same objections again.

Nov. 4, '10. MISS LORD, daughter of Rev. Mr. Lord, says man keeps coming to her father for little favors, postage stamps, etc.

- 410 Nov. 5, '10. MR. KING, Y. M. C. A., telephones man came to him yesterday afternoon to leave a forwarding address, care of brother Patrick in Watertown. Said he was going there yesterday afternoon.

Nov. 5, '10. Man writes from Glenside:

MISS PAUL,
Madam:

GLENSIDE, November 5, 1910.

- The above address will come to you as a great surprise, I feel sure, and you must be wondering how I disappeared so suddenly. Well, I myself, was a decided victim of the utmost unexpected when my sister and her accomplice presented themselves at my lodgings, where I was just commencing a water-color
- 420 drawing to try its effect on the artistic sense of your town, but, alas, my attain-

ment from the local point of view must remain an unknown quantity, for, wilyly, I must go away with them, so after futile protest, I gave in.

It seems that the overseer, in a mood of misapprehension phoned my brother—he thought I was a city charge, and, also, as I both was told and infer from himself, was nettled by the comments of certain taxpayers. On reconsideration, I think, perhaps, it is as well, or better, that I came, and I shall see to it that nothing shall be wanting in my endeavors to get employment.

430 The only fault I can find with yourself is your over-anxiety about your applicants and as I saw your self-forgetfulness regarding me it often made me feel mean to give you so much extra work.

My sister and sister-in-law have been to a great deal of expense in their solicitude regarding me and I am most anxious to repay them as early as I can, as circumstances have entailed other expenses which they are trying to overtake.

With kindest regards from my sister, her husband, family and myself,
I am, gratefully,

ALBERT GOUGH.

440 Jan., '11. MISS OBER, of this society, reports that while in Altruria she met a district agent of the Charity Organization Society there who had had a visit from Albert Gough, seeking work. He asked her whether she knew that a new Charity Organization Society had been started in this place and assured her that it was doing excellent work. Communicating with the insane hospital from which Gough had taken his departure without leave, the Flynns have been able, on the assurance that he seemed to be perfectly rational, to secure his full release.

LESSONS FROM THE DOCTORS

BUT while the Oxford lecture-courses still, I believe, survive almost unchanged, the Training College lectures on the theory of education are beginning to show signs of a change as great as that which took place in the training of medical students, when the lecturers on anatomy, instead of expounding the classical authorities, began to give, on their own responsibility, the best account of the facts of human structure of which they were capable.—GRAHAM WALLAS.

It is not enough to hold a few fortuitous conversations with patients curious about psychological problems, but one must continue to put forth an educative effort during the whole treatment. One must, therefore, lose no time in learning to know the personality of a patient and the conditions in which he lives.—DR. PAUL DUBOIS.

Cases of disease present, as we say, certain leading symptoms. They thrust forward, like a soldier who presents arms, a complaint such as pain, cough, or "nervousness," so that it occupies the foreground of the clinical picture. Such a "*presenting symptom*," comparable to the "*presenting part*" in obstetrics, may turn out to be of minor importance when we have studied the whole case. But at the outset it has the power to lead us toward right or wrong conclusions in diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment, according as we have or have not learned the art of following it up. . . . We begin with the chief complaint and work inward and backward to the causes, the organic lesions, the evolution, probable outcome, and rational treatment of the case. Cases do not often come to us systematically arranged like the account of typhoid in a text-book of practice of medicine. They are generally presented to us *from an angle*, and with one symptom, often a misleading one, in the foreground. From this point of view

we must reason and inquire our way back into the deeper processes and more obscure causes which guide our therapeutic endeavors.—DR. RICHARD CABOT.

DISEASE is not like a piece of goods put in a box with a label on it which you need only to read in order to be able to deliver the goods. If you look at it closer, you will find that every disease you have to deal with is a piece of research, and every treatment is an experiment. You have to learn to observe the pure facts in the case, but you have also to learn and to practice how to make a proper hypothesis, to get the most probable idea. Then comes the experimental test, the treatment. Short cuts from the symptoms to the treatment, with avoidance of the tortuous path leading over the idea are not practical roads; on the contrary, they may lead to danger. The short cuts from fever to phenacetin, from abdominal pains to morphin, etc., not infrequently entailed pretty bad consequences for the patient.—DR. S. J. MELTZER.

It is more profitable for the progress of our science to stick to the second mission of our ideas, that is, to the production of new facts; and if I have before me two possible lines of work, one to prove the correctness of my hypothesis and the other to bring out on the basis of this hypothesis some new facts, though they may not prove absolutely the correctness of their progenitor, I always choose the latter line of work. Facts, real facts, are immortal. But theories? The nineteenth century is like a monumental cemetery, in which numerous brilliant theories have found early graves. It is not likely that the twentieth century will be different. But what does it matter? "Der Mohr hat seine Schuldigkeit gethan, der Mohr kann gehen."—DR. S. J. MELTZER.

THE STUDY of defectives and failures brings home to us most forcibly a fundamental fact of economics,—that certain persons are adequately endowed for small demands, but are bound to fail under an excessive demand. There would be far more happiness and real success in mental hygiene, if more people would realize that at every step every person can do *something* well and take a satisfaction in doing it, and that this satisfaction in something *done* is to be valued as ten times greater than the satisfaction taken in mere thought or imagination, however lofty.

Most failures in life are persons who withdraw from straightforward and wholesome activity into seclusion, into flights of imagination, or so-called "deep thought," all of which tends to make ordinary concrete activity appear as shabby and inferior. To find pleasure in mere activity, however humble, is a safer ideal and constitutes to my mind the basis of what is sometimes called the Anglo-Saxon superiority. It must be remembered that thought at its very best is only a link in a chain of events leading up to some final achievement. Its real and lasting fulfilment is found only in action.—DR. ADOLF MEYER.

SOME YEARS ago, when I was doing a good deal of work on the blood, I was asked to substitute as visiting physician to a convalescent home intended primarily for tired domestics and shop-girls. The matron met me with that patient and respectful expression which long service under many enthusiastic young physicians produces in some nurses. "I hear," she said, "that you are specially interested in the blood. Dr. R., the gynecologist, who was visiting last summer, found that all the patients were *gynecologic*. When Dr. C. visits us in summer, he finds them all *nose* and *throat* cases—that's his specialty. Now that you are to visit us, I suppose they will all turn out to be *blood cases*."—DR. RICHARD CABOT.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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WOMEN'S WORK—A PROBLEM OF POVERTY

By MARY VAN KLEECK

Secretary of the Committee on Women's Work, Russell Sage Foundation

APPEAL FOR A DESERVING WIDOW

The Associated Charities appeals for aid for Mrs. Flaherty, a widow who earns only \$19 a month and yet manages to care for her home and four boys—10, 7, 6 and 4 years old . . .

FOR AID TO SAVE A HOME

Two girls—the eldest of a widow's seven children—are working in a factory and giving their pay envelopes unopened to their mother each week. Five growing boys and girls make heavy demands on their mother's purse for food, clothing—and especially shoes—and what their step-sisters earn will barely meet these and their own needs, to say nothing of the rent . . .

APPEAL FOR STRICKEN FAMILY

The father of four little children is hopelessly ill with tuberculosis. In his absence his wife and her mother are doing their best to keep the home, the one working at her trade in a cigar factory, while the other cares for the children. But the woman's earnings—\$5 a week—are barely sufficient for food. Gifts may be sent to the office of the Charities Society . . .

APPEAL FOR NEEDY FAMILY

Mother's Hard Work Doesn't Supply Enough for Children.

These are newspaper clippings. To a secretary of a bureau of charities they are doubtless familiar—so familiar as to assure them a

place as typical cases. In each appeal the assumption is that the family is, in the popular sense, "deserving"—that their condition is due to causes beyond their control. Tuberculosis, for instance, is well-defined as such a cause of poverty. The mere mention of it as a factor in any case of distress is sufficient to bring to mind the two-fold effort to conquer it not only by wise methods of family rehabilitation but by an organized campaign against the disease. Much less familiar is the need for a two-fold effort in attacking another cause of poverty, obviously present in these four stories—the low wages of women workers. How many families each year fall below the poverty line not because there are no wage-earners in the household but because the wage-earners are women, earning women's wages? Are they not sufficiently numerous to demand that the charitable societies analyze the facts about women's work as they appear in case after case, and make the results available as a stimulus and a guide in community action? If the facts show that the low wages paid to women are a cause of poverty like tuberculosis, irregular employment, and industrial accidents, then the community ought to realize it. Not the problem but the public consciousness of it is new, and a charity organization society is in a position to see a new significance in old conditions and to educate the new public consciousness through the wealth of evidence which must surely be accumulating day after day in its case histories.

The public just now is very much confused on the subject of women's work. There lurks in the mind of many persons an idea that for women to earn wages is unnatural. A perusal of articles on industrial education reveals again and again this lurking notion that women's work in any case is merely temporary and that only those courses of training can be countenanced which relate to what are commonly considered household tasks. A generous donor will give money to a charitable society to supplement the earnings of a mother whose "hard work doesn't supply enough for children," when a similar appeal for a hard-working father would be critically scrutinized. The conclusion probably would be either that the man is worthless or that his employer should be paying him a just wage, and that in the latter case the society might better lay the matter before the employer than appeal to the public to make up the earnings which the worker should be receiving. In the case of the woman the subtle notion that women's work is unnatural inhibits any further analysis of the situation. In theorizing about whether women should work, any effort to improve the conditions of their work is forgotten, or never considered.

Yet even a brief outline of the large facts about women's employment is sufficient to show the need for analysis first and theory afterward. From 1880 to 1900 the number of "gainfully employed" women in the United States increased from two million to five million. In New York City one of every two women under twenty-five years of age works for wages, and one of every five women over twenty-five continues her work. Studies of the standard of living, like that made by

Mr. Chapin, show that a large proportion of working men's families who are receiving no aid from charity, are partially dependent on the supplementary earnings of women and children. Yet the earnings of women and young girls are often so insufficient for self-support that the family resources are drained, a fact obscured by the confusion of a composite family budget; in just such an obscure fact lies the measure of women's wages as a cause of poverty.

The Census shows that of all the girls and women employed in factories in the United States 50 per cent. earn less than \$6 a week in a busy season of the year. In New York State the proportion earning less than \$6 is 47 per cent. The group earning less than \$9, the amount named by many as the minimum living wage for a girl away from home, is 82 per cent. in New York and 86 per cent. throughout the country. Irregular employment in many occupations cuts these earnings in dull season. In busy season, strength is exhausted by overtime work. The increasing strain of industry and the early age of beginning work combine to injure thousands of young girls and to stunt their development; in years to come these young girls will be the inefficient housewives who will be the despair of the secretary of the charity organization society. The married woman, forced by the high cost of living to supplement her husband's earnings, finds generally that only the lowest paid work is open to her, factory work at home in crowded tenement rooms, or office cleaning, or day's work.

These facts are beginning to challenge attention. We do not lack programs of action. We have the movement for legislation to insure a shorter working day, plans for industrial education for girls, a growing campaign for minimum wage boards, and vigorous efforts to organize women in trade unions. Working girls' clubs are flourishing. Large sums of money are contributed to build boarding houses where young wage-earning women may live without suffering from the discrepancy between their wages and the normal cost of living. Public schools are being urged to establish employment bureaus. Increasingly strenuous is the advocacy of pensions for widowed mothers, and even for mothers who are not widowed. The demand that something practical be done is in the air, and, as always at that stage in the development of reform movements, not all the proposals are equally fundamental. Some of them may lead to disastrous results. Others, truly constructive, may fail for lack of intelligent public support.

If any real and lasting social good is to be accomplished, the immediate, urgent need is careful case study of the facts about women's work. None knows better than the agent of a charity organization society that social reconstruction presents two phases to the social worker, the individual problem and the mass problem, and that no real results can be secured if these two be divorced. The public needs the facts which, in social science as in all other sciences, are discovered through case study.

The desirability of definite information about the conditions of

work of the wage-earning women who come under the care of a charitable society needs no argument. It is obviously necessary in thorough case work, since it is part of the subject of income. Furthermore, the way in which a woman spends ten hours every day, and the effect of her surroundings upon her welfare are vital factors in case treatment. Nevertheless, though its desirability may be assumed, the method of securing information about an occupation is worthy of discussion. Few facts are so difficult to state with accuracy. Even the Census experts have been spending months in devising the best way to define and classify the innumerable types of employment recorded by Census enumerators in the year 1910.

Is it sufficient to state the industry, or is it better to name the particular process allotted to the worker? If the industry only be named—for example, dressmaking—an errand girl, a buttonhole maker, and a designer may be grouped together, and no real knowledge about the worker is gained. If the process only be named, then, for example, an "operator" may be one who makes a chiffon gown, or she may be one of many "hands" who put together a baseball player's uniform. For this reason two facts are needed, the industry and the worker's position in it.

Facts about wages are also baffling. They may be paid by the week or by the piece, and piece-work payments fluctuate violently in the course of the year. Any real conclusion about income demands knowledge both of usual weekly wages and of the time lost in a year. Probably, questions about hours of work and overtime are not often part of a case record, yet they have an important relation both to individual welfare and to family life.

Each of these topics might be subdivided, and many others added, in order to make a thorough study of work histories, but the following questions are suggested as likely to afford a basis for a plan of treatment in which full consideration will be given to work conditions.

1. Name and address of firm or employer.
- 2a. What is the business of the firm for which you now work?
- b. What work do you do?
3. What is your usual weekly wage when working full time? Piece work or week work?
4. How many weeks do you lose in a year?
5. How much do you give to your home each week?
6. What hours do you work daily? Weekly?
7. Do you have any overtime?
8. How long have you worked for this firm?
9. What other occupations have you had?

Any one of these questions may bring answers which will be clues leading to further information. For instance, if the kind of work seems unusually difficult or exhausting, it will be desirable to know whether it is hand work or machine work, what kind of machine it is, and what materials the worker handles. A statement about overtime may need elaboration as a possible basis for reporting a violation of a state

law limiting the hours of women's work. The knowledge gained in this way may be the means of getting the co-operation of the state labor department, the consumers' league, a trade union, if there is one, or an employment bureau. Often a talk with the employer, if wisely planned, might be a salutary evidence to him that the wages of women are a matter of public concern.

Quite as important as a large view of the problem as a whole is the knowledge that great variety characterizes industrial conditions. The fact that some establishments pay fair wages and maintain wholesome conditions gives new vigor to the effort to bring the worst up to the level of the best. The bearing of this on individual case treatment is obvious. Because the average wage of women in factories in our community is \$6 a week is no reason for being content with supplementing from charitable sources a working woman's earnings of \$6 in a cigar factory, when a frank talk with her employer or her transfer to another factory would increase her wages.

Such a possibility implies that the secretary of the society must possess accurate information not only about the worker but about conditions in different establishments in which women are employed. It is in this latter phase of the work that co-operation is obviously needed. The less this burden is definitely assumed by the charity organization society, the more rapidly will specialized organizations be developed that are better fitted to handle the task. It is in stimulating such efforts that the charity organization society can help to solve not only the individual problem of a woman worker but the mass problem of women in industry.

At present the danger seems to be that programs of action shall not develop from community needs, but be imposed from above—the result of activities in some other community, where conditions are different. This will be inevitable unless plans be based on case study. As a problem of poverty, the insufficient income of women workers and the unwholesome conditions in their work challenge the charity organization societies to join in this campaign of betterment as vigorously as they have joined in movements for improving housing conditions or stamping out tuberculosis.

MOTHERS AS WAGE-EARNERS.—Work in itself is beneficial if it is under healthful conditions, no matter whether it is what is ordinarily called "womanly" or not, and if it does not involve the separation of the mother from her young children . . . I believe that among the wage-earners at any rate there is an increasing tendency [this is in England] for women to devote themselves more exclusively to the work of housekeeping . . . I cannot refrain from quoting in this context the saying of a poor woman of whom Miss Loane writes in her beautiful book, *The Queen's Poor*. She had allowed herself to be forced into the position of wage-earner; "I'll regret it once, and that's all my life . . . there's only one rule for women who want to have a decent home for their children and themselves. If your husband comes home crying, and says he can't find any work, sit down on the other side of the fire and cry till he *does*."—MRS. BOSANQUET, in "The Family."

THE RELATION OF MEDICAL AND SOCIAL WORK *

A friend of mine has been good enough to analyze for me the Bulletin of Membership just issued by this Conference. It is incomplete, containing the names of only 999 members, and for some of these the particular form of social service in which they are engaged is not indicated. Among those in which the form is definitely stated, however, no less than 815 of the 999 are engaged in service with and for individuals. It has interested me to discover that these 815 can be divided roughly into 733 workers in non-medical agencies and 82 workers in medical agencies.

May I venture to make a few suggestions to the group of non-medical workers in this audience of which I am one? Others of this group may have had that particular experience of life or that particular disposition which has fitted them to take the medical point of view, or at least to understand it; so I would address myself especially to those who have found themselves as ill-equipped as I to play this new and interesting game of co-operating with the doctors. It must be admitted that many of us have been more bent upon getting young people into school and keeping them there, upon starting them to work under conditions as good as are now possible, and upon pressing in upon the older ones the fulfilment of their social obligations, whilst at the same time keeping ourselves alert to ease the strain where it has seemed most galling. It must be admitted that we have been so absorbed in these tasks that we have often failed to recognize the full significance of the bodily and mental strain of ill-health; we have often been blind to the obscurer signs of impending breakdown.

I cannot admit so much, however, without pointing out that health is not a thing apart from training, from work and from social relations; it interplays with all of these in the most interesting and baffling way. But, in all social work that has to do primarily with people, we cannot overestimate the importance of health questions; each added year of recorded experience forces them upon the attention of case workers with renewed emphasis and fresh illustration.

What, then, of practical value can we take away from the medical meetings of this Conference and apply to our day's work?

1. The seven sub-committee reports of this section are full of suggestions. We can read them carefully, after the Conference is over, with our own particular work in mind. But do not assume that nothing can be done about the evils enumerated in these reports without first organizing all the social agencies therein described. Too often we start an agency of some kind—a hospital social service department, a

* An address given by the Director of the Charity Organization Department before the Medical Section of the National Conference of Charities, Cleveland, June 17, 1912.

mental hygiene committee, a dental clinic—and then rest back upon our old habits. In order to get new results, it is not so necessary to start a new agency (though that too may help) as it is to get new habits. Heads and hands were made before agencies, and the sooner we make our heads and hands at home among the new fruits of social experience and scientific research, the better for the new agencies when they are started.

I tried the experiment, last winter, of sending for criticism a case record of four difficult girls in one family to a number of children's agencies and medical workers, as well as to my colleagues in the charity organization societies. I received over forty thousand words of comment. For a little while, the slow and difficult process of my own education seemed to receive a great impetus. Let me pass on a few of the impressions that remain.

One of the child-saving workers wrote, more especially of the youngest girl, that while in 1906 (the record was begun in that year) he might have shaped the treatment in the way recorded, now he had learned from the doctors to recognize, as needing expert diagnosis, the symptoms of constitutional inferiority which were the outstanding facts in the case history.

2. In other words, 1912 is not 1906, and no other lesson is more important for us non-medical workers than this one. Too often we go on doing our work in whatever way we first learned to do it, and continue that method to the end of time, leaving all the newer discoveries that have a direct bearing upon our own field quite unassimilated.

3. We might hold, as regards physical and mental diseases of social origin, a strategic position, I believe; for such diseases (as one of the reports of this section of the Conference points out) are still too often diagnosed in the later and hopeless instead of the earlier and more curable stages. A certain awareness in us would help to get the patient to the doctor much earlier, especially in those cases in which the economic breakdown happened to precede the complete appearance of its physical cause or complement.

4. Let us cultivate, then, the habit of asking ourselves questions, and of asking them early. Not only from the special reports of this section but from the books and magazine articles that specialists are now beginning to prepare for us laymen, let us cull the lessons about health and disease that seem to apply to our own work and then *apply them*. We should cultivate, too, the habit of asking questions not only of ourselves but of others. The habit of mind that carries a query promptly to the one who is most likely to have the answer is a far more valuable asset than a whole library of the sort of predigested health information which reaches us daily now in the morning's mail.

5. Another suggestion is with regard to economy of means. In the depth of their interest in those four sisters, the workers respon-

sible ran from doctor to doctor, from hospital to hospital, and each scrap of diagnosis—all the contradictory scraps—were recorded with a blind faith that showed no consciousness of failure. As Dr. Cabot said, in commenting upon the recorded result, there was no sign of "rueful awareness" that they were not getting what they went for; and that they did not get it was probably due, in part at least, to the fact that no one means was deliberately chosen and then used to the full.

6. We are becoming convinced, of course, that the doctor needs and should use in his own work the social facts that are in our possession. Give him, by all means, the social facts that seem to be significant, but spare him, in so doing, your medical guesses. Otherwise, you will find that you are dealing with a closed mind at the very moment when you most need to find an open one. One critic of the record to which I have referred suggested that our social summary should always be submitted to the doctor in writing, whilst another objected that he might not always read it, and said that a better way would be to make a verbal report and then hand him a written summary before leaving. At the moment, it might mean nothing to him, but two months later, when he knew his patient better, some part of it might mean a great deal.

7. It is needless to say that physical and mental conditions change; that a medical diagnosis of six months ago must be brought up to date before we can safely make it the basis of social action.

Our information must be at first hand too. So rapidly does it deteriorate in passing from informant to informant that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it loses fifty per cent. in accuracy with each remove. A children's agency called up an associated charities, for instance, to find out whether a certain woman who had had tuberculosis was a safe person with whom to place a child at board. Representatives of those two non-medical agencies put their heads together over the telephone to settle this question, when a message over another wire, connecting with the hospital in the case, would have brought the medical record and a medical opinion based upon it.

Thus far I have kept to my text, and addressed myself to the non-medical workers, more especially to the case workers in this audience. Let me, in closing, give one illustration of a handicap that we share with the doctors. Physical diseases and social ones too usually hunt, not singly or in couples, but in quintuples, at the very least. Our task would be easier if this were not true—so much easier that sometimes we are tempted to envy the one-cause-one-remedy men. More or less hastily and clumsily we must choose our first point of attack and deal with one or two outstanding causes without delay, though with the other and more elusive ones always in mind, always modifying our treatment, and with our net so spread as to include them in time.

An associated charities sent me a record some months ago of a de-

sertion case. A policeman had told the wife that if anyone could find her husband the associated charities could. There had been fault on both sides, apparently, and the man, when found in another state, was persuaded by his foreman and by another associated charities to send money regularly for the support of his wife and children. After this had continued for awhile, it had seemed to him best to have not only the expense but the pleasure of family life, and he had come home again.

So far so good, and here the agency withdrew. It was a workman-like piece of social service, and the man was even overheard telling a chum that nowadays they found you no matter where you went. But while the man was still away and after the associated charities had been applied to, another baby was born. The woman wanted no help for this, or so she said; a midwife, who was unlicensed and whose name she therefore refused to give, would care for her, and she was independent and inclined to resent interference. Should the society make an issue of it? They decided not, being convinced that their treatment of the other disease, of the desertion, would suffer if they did. Having the fear of the Committee on the Prevention of Blindness in mind when I read the record, I took the problem to their secretary. The baby had not been born blind, but it might have been. *Should* they have insisted? No, not at the time perhaps, but they should have examined the registry of births later and have done their best to prevent further unlicensed ministrations by the same practitioner. It transpired, when this examination of the registry was made later, that the child's birth had never been recorded at all, thus bringing a third and quite different community complication into the net.

The moral of all this, of course, is that while we cannot do everything at once, while we have a right to expect our clients and our public to be patient, nevertheless it is a thoroughly good thing for *ourselves* to keep task number two in mind and to set ourselves about doing it just as soon as task number one is well under way. Let us choose deliberately, excluding one of two irreconcilable things for the time being if need be, but let us take the other task up as soon as we possibly can. Such a policy of inclusion, even in a minority of our cases, makes for understanding, for resourcefulness and for flexibility, makes for these alike in the practice of the doctor and of the social worker.

KEEPING CLOSE TO REALITY.—A life-long worker for education on the London School Board once told me that when he wearied of his work . . . he used to go down to a school and look closely at the faces of the children in class after class, till the freshness of his impulse came back. But for a man who is about to try such an experiment on himself even the word "emotion" is dangerous. The worker in full work should desire cold and steady not hot and disturbed impulse, and should perhaps keep the emotional stimulus of his energy, when it is once formed, for the most part below the level of full consciousness. The surgeon in a hospital is stimulated by every sight and sound in the long row of beds, and would be less devoted to his work if he only saw a few patients brought to his house. But all that he is conscious of during the working hours is the one purpose of healing, on which the half-conscious impulses of brain and eye and hand are harmoniously concentrated.—GRAHAM WALLAS.

CASE HISTORY SERIES

CASE IV—(Continued)*

COMMENTARY ON THE DOYLES

This is so simple and straightforward a record that no attempt has been made to gather in comments upon it from outside sources. It raises the interesting question, however, of where a charity organization society's duty ends.

One of the staff of the Charity Organization Department wrote, the other day, of a very good hospital social record in which there seemed to her to be "splendid balance between the physical and social needs of the family," and added, as an afterthought, "It is true that the deserting husband was completely ignored." He is, usually, by the agencies interested primarily in health, even by the best of them. A report of a first interview comes to us from a hospital social service department in which the sickly wife explains, over her washtub, that her husband has been living with his mother ever since he lost his work, and the interviewer at once promises to secure extra milk for wife and children, without waiting to see the man. Workers in our family rehabilitation group see some danger in this attitude. As school nurses, maternity nurses, milk and baby hygiene nurses, tuberculosis nurses, and plain district nurses increase and multiply, the inability of many of them to think of the family as a whole tends to divide social work still further into a number of small, unrelated specialties—to short-circuit it, in other words.

In so far as our family work tends also to narrow specialization, it is doing the same thing. We cannot afford to confine our work to the things that people apply for, or to the tasks that the community gets into the habit of thrusting upon us—to looking up deserters, giving temporary relief, organizing pensions, and the like—though, in certain cases, we may be forced to confine it to some one of these things by the undeveloped condition of our new society, by the untrained service at our command, by the miscellaneous assortment of tasks coming to us that we have not yet learned to divide, or by the inevitable pressure of an industrial crisis.

To organize the social service of the community in any vital sense, we must be actually working out, in at least a minority of the families under our care, the *synthetic relation* of the industrial, economic, physical, moral and social aspects of their welfare. Our public utterances on large social questions will have singularly little weight, otherwise. Nor can we urge medical and health agencies to join with us in enforcing fundamental family obligations, if we neglect to consider fundamental health needs. Neither can we expect the standard of living

* Comments upon Cases II and III will be published in an early number.

group to see the importance of the detailed technique that we are trying to develop, if we are giving little or no consideration—not in all cases, but even in a minority of them—to the details of women's work, wages and hours, and to the little that is now known about occupational disease.

It was with these considerations in mind that the treatment of the Doyles was used as an illustration in the address at Cleveland on "Medical and Social Work" which is printed in this BULLETIN (see p. 208). The criticism there made is closely related to the subject of "Output and Intake" discussed in our August number. More likely than not, the society that visited Mrs. Doyle did all for her that pressure of work and inadequacy of resources would permit, but the story bristles, of course, with undeveloped possibilities of helpfulness.

It was good for Doyle to realize that the father of a family cannot come and go at will, and the Oriole society did a good piece of work (135) in first interesting his employers (with whom they were evidently in the habit of co-operating), and then spending more than half a day in seeing them and him. Sometimes such an approach simply means that the man drops his work and goes elsewhere; but there are not many shipyards in the United States, the woman was in no physical condition at the time to push through a court prosecution, and the two societies probably reasoned that their best chance was to see the man in the presence of his superintendent, make him feel that they were not only his wife's friends but his, and appeal to him to make weekly payments. The ultimate test of the success of this treatment of a deserter will be Doyle's behavior at the time of the birth of the next child, if there is another.

Returning to the family history, we find three generations, on the mother's side, growing up in one city neighborhood—a neighborhood of varied industrial opportunities, evidently. We have the chance therefore, if we choose to take it, though the record does not help us very much, to fill in a background for Mrs. Clayton, the grandmother, for Kate and Mrs. East, her daughters, and for Margaret, the granddaughter. What sort of home-maker was Mrs. Clayton? According to lines 107 and 172 she drinks and is not a very good example to Kate. What kind of example is Kate setting Margaret? She married, at sixteen, a lad of eighteen, and "they have never agreed." She drinks, from time to time, but is not a drunkard (173), manages her children well, and keeps the home clean.

For Angus we have no background. In the interview with Mrs. Steele, his sister (162), none was secured. He must have come from Scotland before he was eighteen, because he married then, but we miss any account of his forebears, of the kind of husband his father was, of the boy's schooling, home training, employment before marriage, and whether he had turned his wages in to his parents. For later history, it would be interesting to know the effect of dull times in the shipbuilding trade upon Doyle's habits and movements. Was he at

home or away, drinking or sober, during 1907-8? Is his work seasonal? What is his state of health? Has he ever been arrested? Is there any court record? Are the children fond of him?

On the industrial side, had the young wife worked when the husband was at home and working, or had she worked in his absences only? In either case, what effect had her ability to earn and support the family had upon him? But for her condition in June, 1910, she would have been earning \$2.25 a day at the metal buffing wheels. Is this healthful work for the mother of a family? Is it related to the drink in any way? How did the children fare under Mrs. Clayton's care in her absence? What about Margaret's work in the hosiery mill, given her heredity and environment? Is it, in Miss Van Kleeck's words (p. 204), "of the kind that seems unusually difficult or exhausting," and what are her hours? Note also lines 26-29 about Margaret's wages and her father's contributions to the family.

The society was quite right to concentrate, at first, upon what was the main issue in June, 1910; to find the man, that is, and put upon him the financial burden of his own family. Having gained an excellent footing with Kate Doyle by so doing, the district committee could take up the traditions of the Clayton family with regard to midwives (64); the social and industrial environment that had been too much for Kate and Angus in the past; the possibility of another family breakdown, avoidable with good management, perhaps, when the income leaves \$11.70 a week clear for fuel, clothing and sundries*—all these aspects of treatment could be dealt with one by one. Nor need a system of birth registration (see p. 209) which allows the youngest of the Doyles to slip through its meshes remain unreformed, if other items of evidence are procurable.

* See method of estimating food costs in Mr. Almy's "Relief—A Primer," p. 30.



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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR

FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

MISS M. F. BYINGTON, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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CASE HISTORY SERIES

CASES II AND III—(Continued)

COMMENTARY ON RUTH STRONG AND BLANCHE POTTER

It is to be regretted that the comments on these two records include no analysis from a psychologist. All of the critics were communicated with at the time of the summer vacation, with the result that some of our correspondents, including two psychologists, failed to receive the records or our request for comments upon them until too late.

The persons consulted and reporting are as follows:

- DR. MARTIN W. BARR,
Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-minded Children.
- MISS MARY W. DEWSON,
Formerly of the State Industrial School for Girls, Boston.
- MISS AMEY B. EATON,
Formerly of the Eugenics Record Office, Cold Spring Harbor, and now of
the University of Utah.
- MR. HUGH FULLERTON AND MRS. E. F. RUNGE,
Juvenile Court, St. Louis.
- MISS ELIZABETH S. KITE,
Training School for Backward and Feeble-minded Children, Vineland,
N. J. (Dept. of Research).
- MR. FRANK D. LOOMIS,
Children's Aid Association, Indianapolis.
- MISS ELIZABETH V. H. RICHARDS,
Baltimore.

MISS ZILPHA D. SMITH,
 School for Social Workers, Boston.
 MISS ELNORA E. THOMSON,
 Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene.
 MR. HENRY W. THURSTON,
 School of Philanthropy, New York City.
 MR. ARTHUR W. TOWNE,
 New York State Probation Commission.
 MISS MARY VAN KLEECK,
 Committee on Women's Work, Russell Sage Foundation.

All of the critics combine their comments upon the two records. No attempt will be made, therefore, to discuss the cases separately.

INVESTIGATION

Investigation and treatment melt into one another, for investigation is only the first step in treatment. In Miss Eaton's comments, which we give in full, the various aspects are considered together:

In the Strong case, should there not have been a keener analysis and more thorough study of the case at the very outset? At line 122 we read, "C. D. F. felt there was no evidence of mental defect which would justify an examination." Was not such a judgment superficial at least? In line 105, a plan for an examination was made, and in lines 292-4, C. D. F. speaks as if an examination had been made by Dr. Winthrop, but no record or account of it is given. Visitor did not seek father and try to get full information from him or to learn of his characteristics and weaknesses. No effort was made to verify the family history, to diagnose the *real* cause of the child's trouble. In line 332, mention is made of Ruth's teachers, but there is no record of visits made to them to ascertain facts as to the girl's mentality. No visit was made to the Catholic convent where the child had been two years. Was there enough care and thought shown in selecting homes? Would it not have been better to place the child in a temporary home for a time, until more thorough analysis could be made, and then to select a home especially adapted to her needs? Certainly it was unfortunate to place her in a home with a man like Mr. Harker, whose character might have been investigated first. In line 421 we see that something was fundamentally wrong with the child, since she could not work when conditions were so favorable. Her discharge from Quimby's for taking candy, again, shows fundamental defect somewhere, though no notice of this seems to have been taken in the record. Dr. Winthrop's examination, when finally made, seems to be of little value and to throw no light on the case. Should not this have been followed by an immediate visit to Dr. Ballard and the matter sifted to the bottom at this time, if not before?

In the summary, we find that practically no analysis was made, no investigation, no plan based on a thorough study and understanding of the defects, weaknesses and difficulties involved. The mother's word is taken as a basis for the treatment in the case—hardly a scientific method.

The same general criticism seems to apply in the Potter case. Thorough investigation of the family history was not made, though the facts given showed that there was fundamental and chronic defect in all members of the family. The illegitimacy of the child's birth was found out not by investigation but by chance later.* With the family's defects in mind, should not every resource have been used to have the child thoroughly tested and examined, physically and mentally? The psychological clinic at this time would have given a sci-

* Through Blanche, however, who is not always a trustworthy witness.

entific basis for later work. The visitor seems to appreciate that there is some fundamental trouble (line 1527, "Blanche's lies are a part of her make-up;" line 1541, Blanche "is not wholly responsible;" line 2519, "tried to make Mrs. Irwin understand B.'s lack of mental balance"), but no action is taken to understand how serious the defect is or what treatment experts would advise.

To summarize: The criticism in both cases hinges around the fact that treatment was given before a thorough analysis and study of the case was made. The newer work in heredity makes every thorough social worker today realize that constructive work must be based on a recognition of the power of hereditary qualities; that it is not enough to change the environment alone but that a careful selection of environment must depend first on the study of innate weaknesses, defects or possible lines of strength. Is it not possible in both these cases that, if experts had been consulted at first, and then if someone had been found with a human interest and love for each child to work out a plan *based* on the scientific advice first given, each child might have been saved from the institution and made a useful member of society, even if not wholly normal? In other words, cannot we combine the point of view of those who believe in the force of heredity with that of social workers who believe that the right environment can develop the personality? This work is all new and many mistakes and failures will be made, but we believe that the way out must lie in the union between science on the one hand, and on the other love, understanding, humanity.

Mr. Thurston, Miss Smith and Miss Richards also criticize the investigation in some detail:

The fundamental mistake which the visitor made in both of these cases seems to have been the failure to get at the earliest possible moment the best medical and psychological knowledge that was then available. Such failure was more excusable when these cases were taken up than it would be now, when, especially during the last two years, we are discovering that so many more of our dependent and delinquent children than we had previously supposed are mentally and morally subnormal. In both cases the placing of the child in a succession of family homes seems to have been done with too little intelligence, and with a desperate attempt to get the child placed somewhere in the hope that the home would prove fit, but with too little investigation of the home beforehand, and with almost no consideration in some cases of the special fitness of the home for the child. (Thurston.)

In records showing such careful, patient, warm-hearted interest in the individual from an agency which presumably seeks the "rugged truth" from many different persons about any home in which they will trust a child in their care, there were four surprises for me:

1. No attempt is shown at learning the cause of feeble-mindedness—whether others in the family or previous generation were queer in any way, or whether Ruth or Blanche was injured at birth or in early infancy. The specialist, I understand, would not believe the defect due to scarlet fever (80). The cause, if it could be learned, might suggest how to care for the child now.

2. Nor is there any thorough inquiry into the family background, which might help to predict the outcome for the girl and plan to prevent its being a bad one. Nor is continuous current knowledge of the family sought in order to make it and its resources of use to her whenever possible. This applies especially to Blanche, in whose record after line 1230 no attempt appears to exchange information with the C. O. S.

3. The third surprise is that as late as September, 1911, the vivid and sympathetic summary as to Blanche (3139) should omit any mention of the little that was known about her family.

4. And the fourth is that a worker who had had at least six years' ex-

perience with feeble-minded girls and presumably with specialists who care for them should in the summary to the School for Feeble-minded say, "Fairly good in some studies" (1100). I wish you would ask some specialist in feeble-mindedness if I am right in thinking that it is significant that Ruth in the one late report we get of her schooling (907) should win low marks in arithmetic, grammar, domestic work, sewing, all requiring putting two and two together, reasoning and acting on reasoning, while in memory studies—geography, history, spelling—in deportment, which may be largely imitation, and in the mere mechanical keeping of things in place in her room, she gets much higher marks.

The convent (34) and the teachers whose names were gained much later (333) were never inquired of as to Ruth. In Blanche's case also there were only vague reports as to her proficiency in various studies, although the teachers were seen and the records were doubtless available (1240). Church, employers of some members of the family, etc., might have contributed knowledge. . . .

In Ruth's story, too much reliance seems to have been placed on the impressions of the workers themselves. The father, mother and stepfather seem never to have been inquired about save through a doctor whose standing is not given, although there is a slight suggestion that it is not high; nor is any mention made of the standing of the lawyer (137) whom they trusted with Ruth's address. Surely other clues might easily have been gained that would have led to more trustworthy knowledge of the history of these three important persons. . . .

One wonders whether if the inquiry of the Jamestown Commissioner of Health (1301) had asked for the birth records of brothers and sisters also there would have been any better success. Would it have been possible at this time to consult the family Bible (3002) and avoid the mistake of a year in the date? (Smith.)

What I particularly want to emphasize is the ineffectiveness of the interviews that were held. The interview with Dr. James (96) would suggest that the investigator went with but one question in mind, namely, to find out whether he considered Ruth mentally defective. Did not that narrow her opportunity for securing a more complete picture of the family? Again, with Blanche Potter, the visits to the school teachers (1240) were apparently nothing but generalities. Not an illustration was given, merely obscure terms, such as "on the whole consider her bad," "of average ability," etc. Perhaps more shocking to me was the inhibiting effect of the investigation by the C. O. S. in the case of Blanche. This showed itself in the visit to the mother (1235), who "confirms above." Surely the investigator must have needed knowledge for her problem—that of placing a difficult girl—which the C. O. S. might not have thought necessary. A visit to the police about Blanche (1249) elicits the item that she is known to them. How she is known is all that makes such an item important. Such interviews as these are, as recorded, far more dangerous than omissions. Of the latter one usually is conscious, but the former serve as a foundation for action, with the insecurity of the foundation concealed.

So much for omissions and commissions in the investigation of environment, or the objective investigation. Almost more important—certainly equally so—is the subjective side, or the girls' own points of view, which should have been gotten from the girls themselves. The Social Service Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital considers this side so important as to include in its outline "analysis of character and interpretation of the girl to herself." I think I am correct in saying that any conscious effort at such analysis or interpretation is totally lacking in the record. As Ruth was almost nineteen years old and the interview with the mother was so full of suggestions, there should have been several exhaustive interviews with the girl herself. Surely first and foremost to be found out was Ruth's own reason for running away; also what she had to say about the trouble at home, of her ambitions and ideals. The results of such interviews might have many relative values, of course, but certainly no intelligent plan could be made without them. Blanche, of course,

was only fourteen, but she, too, should have been studied in the light of her own point of view. Not only is this true before placing, but at every step of the way the girls' explanations of their failures should have been secured. (Richards.)

THE USE OF WAGE HOMES

Miss Richards further suggests under this head that Ruth's own home, from the little that we know of it, might well have been a proper place for her, and Miss Smith believes that Blanche might have found the affection she craved in her own home, after conditions had changed for the better there. At least if this plan had failed, the family would have understood the need of institutional care. Mr. Towne says:

The history of these two cases emphasizes the importance of having children that are placed out and that are erratic or difficult to control kept under close and intelligent observation by the placing agency or by a specialist acting in behalf of the agency. Indeed, whenever the circumstances allow, it would seem desirable at the beginning to consider keeping the child in its own home, if necessary, in order to facilitate such observation. In lieu of this, an effort should be made to put the child in a home sufficiently accessible to make frequent visitation practicable. (The fact that Blanche Potter had the reputation of being a buffoon and that she had visited places of questionable reputation made it desirable, of course, that she should be removed some distance from her former environment, but there should have been more inquiry as to her moods and actions after she was placed out.) As a corollary to the above, it may be remarked that the intelligent treatment of these cases necessitates that the agents of relief and placing societies should be acquainted with the general subject of feeble-mindedness and the ways of detecting it.

The use of wage homes for girls of this type is criticized by Mr. Loomis: "Since you are endeavoring to find the consensus of individual experiences, I may say that I used to think that the good private home was the proper institution for every kind of child (excepting of course hospital cases), but I have changed my mind. I believe that the private home should be the goal for every homeless child, but that we ought to use the institution in the first place for all except the most clearly normal children." Mr. Fullerton feels that after a girl's third attempt to stay in a private home (that is, if the families are carefully selected) there is need of a little sterner correction than a family home can give. Mr. Thurston calls attention to the probable limitation in the placing-out method for older boys and girls, that the homes are often seeking cheap labor. The ethics of such placing out is challenged by Mr. Towne: "These case histories suggest also an ethical question: Is it doing right by the foster homes to place out deficient and defective children in such a seemingly hit-or-miss fashion? Both girls referred to in the case histories had a deleterious effect on the nervous systems of some of the women in whose homes they were placed. Ruth might have killed the baby whose carriage she allowed to roll down hill. Furthermore, in the eyes of the foster homes and of their neighbors and friends, the placing out of such children tends to cast distrust and discredit upon the placing agencies."

There is much commendation, as there could not fail to be, for the faithfulness and intelligence of the visitor, but Miss Dewson, who does not seem to share the opinions about placing out just quoted, criticizes some details of the visitor's relations with the wage homes:

There seemed to me a lack of effort to work through and with the people with whom R. was placed. There is no sign of efforts to arouse interest in the employers to tackle R.'s case, nor any mention of the endless devices and plans which a visitor must usually suggest to employers to help them get started in to interest and encourage a girl and to train and develop her. The report is as bare as a hay-pole of constructive work. In line 199, the visitor took away dime novels, but she did not get Mrs. Acker to read some fresh, wholesome book aloud with R. Line 180, she wants a work-basket and clothes. Happy combination of desires! August 15th, she gets some ready-made stock underclothes—all stupid things but the ribbons, and nothing to make. Could not Mrs. Acker get up a little sewing club with neighboring girls to sew for themselves, or for Christmas, or to dress dolls for the children's hospital? Next to clothes (182) R. wants "company." None is mentioned until she goes to the Settlement. She wants to go somewhere. Is that just restlessness, and has Mrs. Acker spontaneously or through suggestion given her a reasonable amount of outing? She is eighteen and has shown no signs of immorality. She is not a menace to young people yet.

The negative side of lack of working with the people where R. is placed is shown in the lack of understanding of the situation in the Settlement. July 6th (511) Miss Barney of the Settlement *telephoned* to find out more about R. Why was she not seen when R. was placed there and told about V. E. R.'s hopes and fears and plans for R. in an intimate talk—especially when Harker was only five miles away and their relations were known to be undesirable? In such cases it is usually wiser to put from twenty-five miles upwards between a girl and an old environment. But why was V. E. R. willing to leave R. in a place where she could go out alone evenings, in any case, even if V. E. R. had been guileless enough to make light of Harker? At nineteen, R. is put in a situation where she is less looked after than if she had been at home. She is subject to good influences if she seeks them, but they are not intelligently and persistently directed to make her wish for them, in fact so that she cannot escape them. She is, too, at the critical period when a girl who is late in maturing sexually has been first awakened. And above and beneath all, she is feeble-minded, and no such girl should be left so free and so unsupervised in a city or anywhere. Another instance of the lack of instructions to the person through whom the children's society is working is shown (line 787) by Mrs. Ittel's allowing her to be "away most of the time." If proper instructions had been left in such a way that Mrs. Ittel would have grasped their sense, she would have telephoned for V. E. R. the first time R. had slipped out. . . .

One point is very important. Ruth was placed out and then in every case not seen for a long period.

Placing First Visit

June 9, 1906,	to July 6th.	Acker.
Sept. 1, 1906,	to Sept. 13th.	Mrs. Bird wanted her removed.
Sept. 18, 1906,	to Nov. 8th.	Drier.
Nov. 30, 1906,	to Jan. 8th,	(when removed). Eldridge.
Jan. 18, 1907,	to Feb. 11th.	George.

Until I wrote the dates I did not realize how little work was done at first hand with Ruth and her employers. Such work is the kernel of visiting. R. should have been seen within four to eight days after she was placed, and her employer also. Just to put a bothersome girl in an ordinary home and to leave her to luck is less satisfactory than to place her in a good institution.

MENTAL ASPECTS OF THE CASES

Nothing could better indicate the present very unsatisfactory state of medical and social knowledge with regard to the subnormal conditions shown in these two cases than the fact that, when they were printed, we were quite prepared to believe that both of these girls were typical feeble-minded cases beyond the shadow of a doubt. Nearly all of the commentators accept this conclusion—they could hardly do otherwise—though now we understand that, after some months of additional observation, the unusual nature of their mental defect is more apparent. It would seem that the present tendency to classify as feeble-minded those cases which were formerly classified as incorrigible, whilst marking a very wholesome reaction from the earlier point of view, must itself make way for closer individual study and more careful differentiation on the part of the social worker. Such study, meeting the advancing standard of the alienist, should make it possible, under his guidance, to discriminate more accurately among several types of girls—among those, for instance, who need merely temporary treatment and oversight for a slight maladjustment to their environment, those who need change of environment with oversight, those who need continuous care in a colony of the mentally defective, and those who are mentally deranged. Deeper insights must come slowly, but we should be pushing toward them unceasingly. These records, defective though they are, are far above the average of work with and for border-line cases, and the worker who made them is eager for more light.

So high an authority as Dr. Barr feels sure, from a reading of the printed records, that both girls are high-grade imbeciles:

In going carefully over the histories of Ruth and Blanche, reading line by line, I cannot see how there could be the slightest doubt as to the diagnosis—no question as to the best means therein indicated for their care.

Both are moral imbeciles of a high grade of intelligence, the class from which prostitutes and petty thieves are recruited; and one or both they would each become if permitted to live unrestrained and unprotected. . . .

Their defects, so apparent to the initiated, cannot be judged by the normal standard, and yet it would be well-nigh impossible to convince a jury that they are defectives, needing custodial care, as their superficial accomplishments and glib way of expressing themselves would blind those not conversant with the race to their inherent weakness.

Miss Kite, whilst accepting the indications of high-grade feeble-mindedness recorded, adds:

Judging from the text it would seem that there is here a deeper trouble than simple feeble-mindedness; the complication of a defect of character which especially belongs to the typical reformatory case. Of this class no adequate study has as yet been made, although it is one upon which a branch of our laboratory work is at present concentrated.

So far as is now known, the leading characteristic of this class is a weakness of those higher guiding processes by which normal persons learn to adapt themselves to a given environment. When this power is lacking, the environment may be good or bad, the management wise or unwise, and the result will be the same, so far as the subject is concerned, for there will always be a misfit

owing to the pathological condition of the subject. *In other words, such a case can never be made self-directing.*

It has seemed to me as I have come in contact with these subnormal children that much more might be done in their development if they could be in very small groups directly under the care and observation of a trained woman whose knowledge would give her an understanding of their limitations. For instance, in a home with not more than six or eight, they might be taught to do well the thing for which they seemed especially fitted, going out from the home for employment when prepared, preferably returning at night or bringing employment into the home. This theory might not work out successfully, but I am exceedingly anxious to see it tried; the woman in charge would have to have, together with her training, a patience and persistence beyond words to describe, but such women there are to be found. I have in mind one now who took, some four years ago, a woman from one of our state hospitals for the insane; the disease had been pronounced incurable, the woman had been kept in restraint and been noisy, profane and untidy in her habits. She is still insane, but is now neat in her ways, and restraint is never necessary. She occupies herself with household duties and goes to church and entertainments with the family. Such cases as these, and I could mention several, are responsible for my theory for the care of subnormal children. I do not believe the same results can ever be accomplished in large groups. The personal element which is so important is lacking. (Thomson.)

Assuming that the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness has been accurately made, most of the critics of these records turn their attention to the relations between the Children's Agency and the specialists:

The visit to the specialist was put off for a year and a half (709). The result was what C. D. F. anticipated (293). But would it have been so then, or even in August, 1906, when most of the essential facts were known from the mother's story and the first place (211 and 1020), and might have been supplemented by a school record—would it have been the same result, if the information had been given to Dr. Winthrop that was given to Dr. Cross (942)? V. E. R. in the latter case had just been taught by Dr. Ballard how to tell her story convincingly.

The lesson of Ruth's record seems to be that you should seek the specialist early, going to one after another until you find one willing to explain his reasons and teach the social worker what to observe and what to report to a doctor.

On the whole, the impressions of the Children's Agency's workers are better supplemented in Blanche's story than in Ruth's, but the inquiry seems still focussed too closely upon the child herself and not upon the background. There is splendid co-operation with teacher and boarding mistress (1400, etc.) and a good inquiry made as to one of her friends (1890), but the medical examination is again deferred even after the testimony (1358 and 2247) as to variations of temper and choosing much younger companions, which naturally leads to suspicion of feeble-mindedness. (Smith.)

Application to Children's Aid Society made June 1, 1906. November 8, 1906, V. E. R. (visitor) suggested taking Ruth to a nerve specialist, but C. D. F. (Asst. Sec'y) advised against it, saying doctor could only call it a border-line case, and nothing would be accomplished. This was the first mistake; C. D. F. assumed too much; girl should have been taken to a specialist on feeble-minded at this juncture. Feb. 25, 1907, again indicated need for examination by specialist. Sept., 1908, Ruth was finally taken to Dr. Ballard of School for Feeble-minded. He thought her morally feeble-minded but said the case was such that there would probably be difficulty in getting the doctor to sign commitment papers. However, she was taken immediately to Dr. Henry Cross, who pronounced her

unmistakably fit subject for Feeble-minded School, and signed the commitment papers.

Thus it took two years and three months of hard work, money and time (wasted), which should have been used on a normal child, to find out that girl was not normal, and was a misfit outside of an institution. This all points to an early examination of such children by a competent specialist, and perhaps examinations at intervals—child not to be told what for. (Runge.)

From the care with which the records are kept and the general intelligence shown in the handling of the case (except in the co-operation with the mother), Ruth was evidently in the charge of a society with standards. Since this was so, I am surprised that the society was so slow in formulating a policy based on the fact that Ruth was a girl who should have custodial care. I think this fact should have been clear in their minds, even though they may have been forced to handle her case in a way that was unsatisfactory owing to lack of facilities and an undeveloped public opinion. Possibly C. D. F. did realize this and it was not written into the record, but I judge not, for in line 123 he said there was no evidence to justify an examination; also line 294, C. D. F. said that the specialist could say no more than that she was on the border-line of simple-mindedness. The use of the term "border-line of simple-mindedness" seems to have satisfied the secretary, but it is too general. C. D. F. should have analyzed R. regardless of such a slack classification and seen that she was a girl whom, however classified, no amount of effort could make a desirable citizen. Moreover, when the first 103 lines were an unmistakable description of a girl who would not make a desirable citizen, if C. D. F. could not recognize this, why did he not follow out his impulse (line 105) to take her to the specialist? Family physicians such as Dr. James usually know less than social workers about the indications of feeble-mindedness. If Dr. Winthrop had seen her, it would at the least have been educational to Dr. Winthrop. The chief need at present is to connect for the doctors in actual cases the description of the girl as he sees her and her reaction to society. I most particularly object to line 293, where C. D. F. decides for Dr. Winthrop what he would have said if he had seen R. Although all doctors are not specialists on feeble-mindedness, and some of the specialists have much to learn, I think that the laity should not assume the decision of this medical point. Some social workers may have become by training fairly expert on this point, but I believe such a course is loose and unprofessional and would lead to abuses. (Dewson.)

OTHER ASPECTS OF TREATMENT

Readers of the October BULLETIN will recall Miss Van Kleeck's discussion of women's employment and its relation to case treatment. She furnishes the following very interesting memorandum on the subject of the work aspects of these cases:

Assuming for the moment that we do not know the final result of the continuous observation of Ruth or Blanche, supposing that they were, as they might have been according to the data at hand when their cases were opened, uncontrolled girls whose relatives had despaired of them and whose teachers had no hold on them—was the visitor's judgment in choosing work for them wise?

Both had been wage-earners before the society took them in hand. Ruth had left school to go to work. "Went into store as salesgirl for a time, but soon tired of this and went into shoe factory. Only stayed a little while there, and then mother found her a place where she could care for children. Tired of this and went into shoe factory. Left that after trying several positions, and now refuses to work at all." These lines in the record are fairly crowded with clues to Ruth's capacity for work, and her interest in it; yet the visitor makes no note of a conversation with her on the subject. How had she found her first job in the store? Was she really a salesgirl, and if so how had she succeeded

in getting that position immediately without beginning at the beginning as cash girl? What did she sell? Did she like the store? Why did she tire of it? How did she happen to go into the shoe factory and what part did she have in the work? Was there a chance for her to get ahead? etc., etc. How old were the children she cared for? Which of all her positions did she like best? None of these questions, with the light their answers would throw on Ruth's character and mentality, appear in the record. On the third page, without any mention of a conversation with her about her work, comes the statement that she was placed as housemaid in a private family.

Throughout the reading of these two histories, the United States Government's recent report on the "Relation of Criminality to Occupations" among women loomed large before my eyes, with its arraignment of housework and the "traditional pursuits of womankind," as shown in the proportion which they contribute to the ranks of the anti-social. Here is the summing up of the report:

"There seems no reason, therefore, to doubt the substantial accuracy of the results obtained from the examination of the occupations of women lawbreakers in varying localities, *i.e.*, that a disproportionate number, varying from twice to six times its representation, come from the ranks of domestic and personal service; that manufacturing and mechanical pursuits do not furnish their full share; and that from trade and transportation comes only a small fraction of the number which might fairly be expected." (Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-earners, Vol. XV, p. 49, Washington, Government Printing Office.) By way of explanation the report says: "They came from the ranks of domestic and personal service and from housekeeping, not because these occupations necessarily lead women into conflict with the laws but because they are the chief pursuits open to the kind of women likely to come into conflict with the laws, and also because these occupations have in themselves but few restraining influences for such women" (p. 75).

Is not too ready a choice of housework as the occupation in which to place "difficult" girls a very dangerous proceeding for social workers? Is not this a temptation to be strenuously guarded against, since the shortage in domestic servants may open the doors to those difficult cases with much less effort than would be required to find them work in a trade? It is not impossible for a housewife in search of a cheap "general housemaid" to appear to the hard-pressed visitor in the guise of an ally offering a "good home" to a troublesome young woman, when so far as the housemaid is concerned all the safeguards implied in the word home—protection for weaker members, thorough understanding, individual freedom, and the social control of family ties—are probably lacking, with none of the stimulus of group-action, such as many factories or offices supply, to take their place.

But in a community large enough industrially to have the School of Industries mentioned in the case of Ruth, the choice of the right occupation and the right employer among possible establishments is not a simple matter. Is it really desirable to add the complex functions of an employment bureau to the burdens of case work? Only continuous observation of many work places and first-hand contact with industrial demands every day in the year can equip a worker to give good advice about an occupation or to find the right job at the moment when it is needed. Until social workers realize the necessity of handing over such tasks to a central agency in the community—founding one if it does not already exist—much effort will be wasted, and much isolated experience will be lost. The fact that in this town with its School of Industries both the head of the school and the visitor advised Ruth, with her record of frequent changes of job, to be trained for the highly seasonal trade of straw-hat sewing indicates how great is the need for a bureau of advice. The visitors who served as guardians for Ruth and Blanche assumed a large burden when, in addition to the task of counsellor, they found positions, investigated them, and followed their charges' careers with unerring accuracy. The marvel is that they could continue the task so thoroughly for so long a period. . . .

The Blanche Potters and the Ruth Stronges counted in hundreds form a group, nobody knows how large, whose inefficiency, lack of standards of work or wages, and habit of drifting from one job to another cannot but make conditions worse for normal, wage-earning girls, their competitors in the market. Take all the Blanches and the Ruths out of the competitive struggle, and give them occupations suited to their capacity under conditions deliberately planned to meet their needs, and who knows to what an extent our present industrial problems might be simplified?

Several of the critics point out the failure to follow up Mrs. Harker's warning (530) that Ruth needed watching.

The relation between the visitor and the two girls is commented upon again and again. "The point that stands out most clearly," says Miss Richards, "is the trust which both girls place in her. Especially is this true in the case of Blanche, who almost never runs away without coming to V. E. R. She even telephoned that she was going to in certain instances. While stubborn in refusing to admit she was in the wrong, she would finally admit it to V. E. R. in cases where she had lied and been thoroughly disobedient. Such a hold is surely a triumph." At the same time, Miss Richards feels that the visitor's power of expression was better than her power of analysis, and that she often neglected opportunities of measuring the girls' characters and capacities:

There are certain points at which we can judge these. With an outline of such points in mind and some consistent accounting upon them from each home or workshop in which the girls were placed, years might have been saved, no matter what the final verdict. Such an outline should include mental capacity (attention, concentration, memory, judgment, teachableness, etc.); social relationships (what kind of companions chosen); what sort of amusements are sought; personal habits of every kind; disposition and character as shown in the daily routine and in attitude toward each human contact. Briefly, I want to point out that there was no such consistent study of the character and capacity of these two girls, but that many times the record gives illuminating hints that such knowledge was to be had and occasionally the recording is exquisitely complete.

THE RECORDING

A first examination of these records must impress anyone accustomed to the case documents of social agencies with their high degree of readableness. They almost seem to prove that the ordinary chronological method of recording is a mistake. Apparently they are written up long after from rough notes, sometimes after a lapse of a whole year (see lines 1770 and 1803). Closer examination, however, brings out some of the weaknesses of this method. "It is particularly disastrous," says Miss Richards, "in dealing with difficult girls, where a verbatim account of the way they talk or write may be the corroborating evidence of their mental condition." Miss Richards also makes a plea for the filing of the letters with the case record, quoting Dr. Healy as to the great importance of letters written by defectives and as to the value of verbatim reports of conversations held with them. Dr. Fernald reports one case, transferred from the Waverly School for the Feeble-minded to an insane hospital, in which the second diagnosis was based on letters written by the patient.

I find thirty-three items about Ruth Strong (continues Miss Richards) and forty-one about Blanche Potter. All of these might have proved of value had they followed Dr. Meyer's receipt: "It is usually of little import that a patient says or does a certain thing, but that he does it or says it in a definite setting gives the act or utterance its value;" and again, "As far as possible a concrete picture of the actual doings is wanted, not a mere registry of sense and symptoms." "The records should show the steps and the results, not merely a final judgment without a statement as to how it was reached." Of these thirty-three items directly connected with Ruth's character and capacity, only seven would in any way fall under Dr. Meyer's standard; and of the forty-one connected with Blanche, only twelve are in the form of description. All of these nineteen are scattered, hit-or-miss, through the record almost, it would seem, according to the leisure or the impulse of the visitor. Some of the remaining sixty-six are: "Naughty and perverse" (199); the Ackers are dissatisfied (210); "sulky and unwilling" (225); "girl a hard case" (276); "hopelessly bad" (316); has "tendency to melancholia" (585); reports from school poor and fair (1350, 1412); girl continues badly (1510). Contrast these meaningless opinions with a description of Ruth's temper and actions when going to Mrs. Ittel (767), and the school report at the Shelter (907). For Blanche even better illustrations are recorded, the most significant of all being her constant running away, of course. Why the accumulation of such evidence was passed over for nine years is a mystery to me. Eighteen runaways, either committed or planned, aroused little comment, but a suggestion of immorality, apparently passive in character, stirred the society to action. Mrs. Epperson's description of the way in which Blanche washes dishes (2163) and her young companions and their forms of amusement, climbing trees (2249), and catching butterflies; stirring up trouble by saying homes were immoral (2315); her poor arithmetic in regard to expenses (2829)—items such as these put together consistently day by day would have very soon meant an accumulation of facts which would have convinced at least the visitor and the general secretary and perhaps Dr. Winthrop that a mental examination was required.

Miss Smith brings out an important point regarding the statements of other agencies:

In Blanche's case the C. O. S. report (1187 and following) reads as if it were *talked* to B. S. Q. and written down by her. It seems less accurate in detail, less coherent than the summaries of the Children's Agency sent to the School for the Feeble-minded. Would it have been so if Mrs. Rooker had written it? The telephone and pressure of work are, I believe, injuring our records by this sort of thing. It seems to me that every agency not only should be willing and equipped to send out a summary of its own to a co-operating agency at work with the same family, but should insist upon sending one instead of allowing others to write the story down as they may choose. The difficulty is especially grave in a complicated case like this one.

The plan of securing a summary from the other agency, though it avoids the errors to which Miss Smith refers, still often fails to give just the data that are wanted—pertinent physical facts, for instance—and in very difficult cases there is needed not only the written summary but a personal interview, after the summary is in hand, with the worker who knows the case.

The visitor's own summaries prepared for the Benedict School have brought more than one expression of admiration. Her listing of the wage homes and their results is also worthy of imitation.

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