CHARITY ORGANIZATION BULLETIN

FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL USE OF
CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES
CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
OF THE
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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR — FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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REALIZING ON THE APPEAL: ITS SCOPE AND VALUE

By BARRY C. SMITH
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ONE of the problems ever present in the work of our charity organization societies is that of holding and developing the interest of people who respond to special family appeals. In the course of a winter's work a large number of first-time givers are thus secured. Many—perhaps a large majority—of these donors know little or nothing of the society. Something in the appeal arouses their sympathy or interest; vaguely they know that it is the society's business to care for such instances of misfortune; they send a check, make thus their first contact with the society and its work, and thereby present us with a definite opportunity.

To seize and make the most of this opportunity is our problem. If such givers are to be held as permanent friends of the work, it is clear that some definite effort must be made to inform them about it, its purpose and methods. They must understand what we are trying to do and the way we are doing it. They must see clearly that the purpose is worth while and become enthusiastic about the "how." So shall we have enlisted the lasting interest and the continued financial support of those who have given rather from impulse than from knowledge or understanding; and so shall we have fulfilled also a duty—that of

adding to the ever-growing and intelligent army of folk who understand and appreciate social work, and their own social responsibility.

Obviously if it were possible for us to become personally acquainted with such givers the solution would be comparatively easy. Personal contact unquestionably provides the best opportunity for interesting and educating the individual who by chance or intent comes in touch with us. Most wide-awake workers are quick to grasp such opportunities. In small communities such contacts are in many cases easily established and are of great value. A live secretary of a society in such a community, directly in touch with the case work and directly responsible for the financial support of the society, naturally sees the way through. Consciously or unconsciously, he senses the connection and makes it his business to see that the donor learns something of what his gift has accomplished. A letter is sent, a personal call is made, a report follows regarding the family aided, something of what the society is trying to do in this particular instance becomes known to him, the secretary's personal influence counts for something, and shortly, the society has a new friend and social work a new adherent. Every secretary worth his salt knows the value and possibilities of such follow-up work. In a large city, however, the situation is different. Even in the small city there may still remain a considerable number of donors with whom it is not possible to establish any personal relation, and this number increases tremendously in the larger communities. No very large percentage of givers can become personally known to the workers in a society in such a city as New York. Something may be done perhaps to increase this number—certainly we should lose no opportunity of doing so; but evidently in the great majority of instances some other method must be worked out.

Some of our larger societies adopt carefully planned programs of publicity. Trained men devote much effort to the production of bulletins, reports, newspaper articles, etc., with the purpose of making intelligible the principles of the society's work. Such publicity has a distinct educational value. Much of it is excellent. It achieves results; it could not be given up. Yet I believe its chief value lies in strengthening the conviction and broadening the view of the man who has been for some time a believer in the work. I do not believe it effectively reaches the person who has recently, and for the first time, given for relief. It belongs to a later stage in his education.

Let us examine briefly the mental attitude of such a giver and our usual method of dealing with him. Mr. Brown has been touched by the misfortunes of the T family as described in the society's appeal. He takes little if any interest in the society itself, but the story of the T family has reached him. There centers his interest. If we expect to extend that interest, to broaden it, to make him understand the value of constructive family work, we should logically start right there—with the T family. But what we usually do is something entirely different. Mr. Brown receives a receipt and possibly a brief note of acknowledgment. Two weeks later he has forgotten the entire matter.

But the society has not forgotten. In due course of time he receives various pamphlets and reports. If he reads these carefully, understands and appreciates them, he may likely become a believer in the society and continue as a friend and supporter for years. But usually, I am afraid, he doesn't read them at all. Instead he is bored, pitches the literature into the waste-basket, half regrets he ever sent a gift and so got into our mailing list, and wonders what became of the money anyway. And so we have lost a contributor and, worse, a social opportunity. A few more postage stamps are wasted on him and then he becomes an inmate of the "morgue" at which we gaze regretfully now and then, marveling at its constant growth and the small number of resurrections.

How did we fail? The answer is perfectly clear. We did not start where Mr. Brown started—with the T family. Instead of beginning with his interest in the T's and leading him gently onward to an interest in the *work done* for the T family and thence to an interest in the *work itself—for any family*—we ignored his interest in the T's and tried to make him hop all the way over to an enthusiastic understanding of organized charity. It cannot be done—no matter how good our publicity work may be. The very best publicity work must deal in somewhat general terms. Even when concrete instances of case work are brought in they partake of the historical and fail to arouse the sense of living and present needs among living people. If we are to show Mr. Brown that in entrusting his gift to us he has chosen a means of accomplishing a permanent good, and thereby make him a permanent friend, we must demonstrate it first by making him acquainted with what we have done, are doing, and expect to do with the T family. Nothing else can quite take its place—neither the best of educational articles nor an appeal for another equally interesting family.

The principle here involved is extremely simple; it is based on an elementary psychological fact. There are however some practical difficulties in applying and working it out, particularly in a large society with a number of district offices. Appeals are usually written in such a society by a financial secretary who has no direct acquaintance with the families. He cannot give first-hand information about them. The district workers, on the other hand, know the families at close range. How can it be made possible for them to bring to the donor's attention systematically and regularly the pictures of real life, the little things of common human interest, the every-day work for and with the family which he needs and would be glad to know?

During the past two years a consistent effort has been made by the financial department of the New York Charity Organization Society, in coöperation with the district offices, to develop a means of giving to the contributor this information and to build on that foundation a real interest in work for families. Some real progress has been made and the success attained has been sufficient to warrant the belief that other societies may find an interest in knowing the method that has been followed.

It was planned at the outset to attach the interest of givers so far as feasible to the work of the districts in which they lived. This presented the double advantage of fostering local interest and of utilizing personal contacts to a greater extent than would be otherwise possible. New York however does not lend itself easily to this arrangement. Several districts comprise territory of such a nature that very few people in the neighborhood could be interested financially or otherwise. Furthermore the division of territory between districts is of necessity chiefly arbitrary. There is little local neighborhood feeling in New York and few natural neighborhood centers. Further, the society issues frequent newspaper appeals which it is not deemed advisable to discontinue yet, and this too interferes with the residence plan, as many new givers contribute in answer to such appeals to families in a different part of the city. Many suburban dwellers also contribute. After some experiment, therefore, the following plan was adopted:

A relief donor already secured was assigned to the district in charge of the family in which he was interested.

If the contributor had given for two or more families in different districts he was assigned to the district in which he, the contributor, resided—thus carrying out the locality plan as far as possible. If he did not reside in either of these districts, he was then assigned to the one nearest his home or to the one in which he had shown the greatest interest.

A simple signalling device was adopted so that the district to which the donor was assigned could be told by a glance at the contributor's card.

The segregation of names being completed, each district prepared a duplicate file of all contributors assigned to it. To this were added the names of all new donors secured through appeals to non-contributors by the financial department. As each gift was received, the donor was assigned to the proper district, and the district was at once notified by a slip giving the name and address of the contributor, the amount and date of gift, and the family helped, thereby enabling the district to keep its file up to date.

A courteous note of acknowledgment was promptly sent to the donor by the financial department, giving the district office and name of the secretary under whose care the family was and promising a later report. The district secretary was then expected to send each donor within two months after receipt of his gift,* a letter reporting on the disbursement of the money, the family situation, progress made, interesting details concerning the children, etc. The letter was to be informal, on no account to ask for further gifts, and to place emphasis on the service rendered and constructive results secured or to be secured. No further appeals whatever were to be sent to donors from the financial department, but at a later time, not less than six months after the

* In the case of givers who had contributed some time previous to the establishment of the system, reports were sent as rapidly as possible.

previous gift, an informal appeal was to be sent from the district office signed by the district secretary, asking interest and assistance for the same or another family.

It will be noted that this arrangement divided the financial work of the society. The financial department continued, of course, to handle the work of raising all general funds both for service and for relief. It continued also to issue newspaper appeals and special family appeals to non-contributors. But it delegated to the districts the task of cultivating the interest and understanding of givers already secured for special families, retaining only a necessary general supervision. The belief that the districts with their first-hand knowledge of families were the logical agents to do this has been more than justified by the results so far attained.

The informal reports sent from the districts were written with a background of intimate knowledge which could not fail to bring before the donor a vivid picture of the actual day by day work done. That they struck a new and long-wished-for note was clear from the first. People were delighted to hear something of the family they had helped. Many replies expressing keen appreciation and satisfaction were received and not a few unsolicited checks accompanied them. One woman wrote that she had never before been informed of what had been done with her gift; that she had no idea of the possibilities back of such a gift; and that it had awakened a sense of responsibility in her. Many letters were, of course, unanswered, but enough were received to indicate with considerable certainty that we were on the right track. Reports were exactly what contributors wanted, and the society had been actually excluding them from all direct knowledge of how a gift might be raised to the N^{th} degree of utility and power by the work which the district worker could make a part of it.

A further test of the effectiveness of the plan was made when the district began sending appeals. Like the reports, these letters were informal and thoroughly individual. No form letters were used. They mentioned the contributor's previous gift, told the circumstances under which his help was again needed, explained briefly the plan adopted for the family and, if the family was unknown to the donor, usually made some reference to the one previously aided regarding whom a report had already been sent. Sometimes the appeal was merely a further report of progress, asking continued aid for the same family.

A relatively small number of people, after all, had acknowledged receipt of the earlier reports, but the returns on the new appeals removed all doubt of the effectiveness of the report system. Replies were numerous and receipts large. As this is written there is a report from one of the districts on my desk. It shows that of 79 donors to whom the district had sent reports and appeals, 34 had responded, with gifts totaling $528. In 13 instances the gift was increased. This report was for appeals sent in August, one of the most difficult months in which to secure money. It is of course true that some districts have been more successful in their efforts than others. That was to be expected. That

the plan, as a whole, is a success, however, is perhaps best demonstrated by the figures showing the total amount so secured by the districts from January 1 to July 31, 1916. This total is $12,528.76.

One of the specially gratifying results has been the development of personal relations. The segregation of givers by residence was of assistance in this connection and the informal letters with their personal touch were another factor. Several district secretaries make it a point in acknowledging a gift or writing a report to invite the contributor to call at the office. No opportunity for increasing first-hand knowledge of the work among contributors in this way is neglected. One district in particular has enlisted the services of a volunteer who enjoys this work and she has done much to interest givers in particular cases.

In such increased opportunities for educational work lies the real value of the whole plan. Although it may be necessary to measure success largely by financial returns, it is important to be clear in our own minds on the question of relative values. Money for the relief of families under our care is essential, as is general financial support. For that reason, if for no other, it is bad management not to make every effort to hold givers once secured. But the financial side, as such, is after all relatively unimportant, particularly in large cities. Just as many potatoes can be raised one bushel to the acre in a hundred acres as ten bushels to the acre in ten acres. Slipshod methods of farming may produce a sufficient crop if the farm be big enough. As much money may be, and I regret to say frequently is, secured by extensive cultivation of the charitable public following poor methods, as can possibly be obtained in any other way. The sob story is still the most effective way of getting dollars. An organization that chooses to raise its money by harrowing tales of misery spread broadcast can usually do it without worrying about educational effects. The chief worth of the system I have attempted to outline lies in the fact that it educates the giver in the very process of securing his gift. When a report of the expenditure of a $5 gift can awaken "a sense of responsibility" something more has been accomplished than merely getting another $5. One person at least has been led appreciably along the road to an understanding of organized social effort and to a desire to support it, and work for it. It is by some such test that an ethics of financial method should be built up. And if such a method brings generous financial returns, it shows perhaps that after all people are not only willing to think—but that they prefer thinking to feeling, if the proper opportunity be presented.

NOTE.—The supervision and detailed direction of such a system presents a number of difficulties. Careful checking to prevent duplication is especially important. No two societies, however, would be likely to find exactly the same method practicable and it has not been thought necessary to bore the reader with the complicated detail of management. The Bureau of Appeals of the New York Charity Organization Society will be glad to furnish specific information on request.

THE MEANING AND LIMITATIONS OF RECORDS IN RELIEF WORK*

By ROSE J. McHUGH
District Superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago

TECHNICALLY records as used in relief work have been defined as "repositories of information concerning the social relations of individuals." If accurately and sympathetically compiled they may be put to many uses, but there is one reason and only one for their existence—that the individual concerned in their make-up may be effectively and speedily helped through his difficulties. Their usefulness may be measured by their value (1) to the individual, (2) to the community in arousing effort for the common welfare, (3) to the society keeping them, as a basis for reports to its benefactors and to the community of its stewardship.

It is desirable to use a uniform record card which contains the framework of information needed about the individual or family. The census enumerator adheres rigidly to his form; he must or his compilations suffer in loss of accuracy and completeness. His aim is to secure complete information on definite subjects about certain groups of individuals to whom it applies. But the visitor for a charity organization must ever be alert to subordinate his record form to the needs and the interest of the individual. Personal bias should never appear in a record, and the impressions of the recorder are often misleading if not wholly worthless unless it is clearly indicated that they are impressions only. Frequently it is for the best interest of the individual to make the contact with the charity organization as slight as possible, and it is not always easy to secure full and complete information in the first interview; we know how often it is the fruit of personal relations that grow only with time. In almost every investigation the visitor secures a certain group of facts easily, others with difficulty, and still others only after a long period of acquaintance. If forced, these latter are given grudgingly, rarely completely, and at the sacrifice of good will. This sacrifice can never be justified if the aim is to secure face card information. Such information unfortunately must be secured at this price, though this rarely happens if the visitor has sufficient tact and skill, when it is essential for good work to understand fully the hidden resources and weaknesses of the client. Good records, considered apart from the technique of form, are dependent upon the visitor or interviewer. A charitable intention is essential. He must have in addition a sympathetic manner and tact in making his inquiries, a vigorous intellectual grasp of the importance to the individual of the information he is seeking and

* A paper read at the fourth biennial meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities held in Washington, D. C., September 17–20, 1916.

of its social significance, a retentive memory to avoid as much as possible taking notes in the interview and repeating or seeming to emphasize certain points, and always an ability to leave his client comforted and reassured. "The poor are pathetically approachable," said Phillips Brooks, and the interviewer must be keen to safeguard and protect from exploitation this simple confidence and candor.

The fundamental value of a record is its use to the individual. A few years ago in connection with some emergency relief work after severe floods, an agent of a society conducting relief work gave to a new employer of that society as his first duty the task of constructing a record blank which could be used in investigating the needs of farmers who had suffered losses in lands, crops, and stock. He worked about an hour and returned to the agent saying: "I do not know at all what kind of a form you want, but I have made out a list of questions that I would want anyone who came to help me ask me if I had lost my farm."

An investigation made once and accurately recorded need never be made again. This conservation of information in a record is a guide to all who subsequently may be called upon to care for the subject of the record and it is the latter's protection and safeguard against duplicate investigations contemporaneously or subsequently made. It is an assurance for the poor against bungling, through however well meaning efforts in their behalf, against proposed solutions of their problems which have already been tried and found useless or worse, against all hasty and ill considered action, and against schemes or measures that take thought only of the superficial manifestations of the disease of poverty and neglect the fundamental and deep-seated causes. As a device for making it easier to do good work rather than poor and for making it possible to discover the results of either, records have their place in the economy of charity.

We have emphasized the point of view of the relief and care of individuals in distress as the foundation of records because they can be built on no other. The files of all societies that conscientiously and with high purpose carry the burden yearly of trying to keep good records contain many instances which justify their labors. I remember in this connection one sentence of a record, written seven years before, which was the clue to securing necessary treatment for an insane woman and homes for her children. The mother appealed to a charity organization society for relief. Her husband had deserted her and she was living in the basement of a wretched rooming house in one of the most undesirable neighborhoods in the city. Relief was given. The children were clothed and two of them sent to school; the other two were under school age. The family were moved to better rooms, and work was secured for the woman. She could not hold it, though many attempts were made to find work which it was hoped might be suitable for her. After many failures she was sent to the clinic for examination. A very careful one was given her and the physician reported that the patient was in good physical condition, but that she was subnormal and unequal to supporting or caring for her children. This was before the state in

which she was living made any provision for the care of the adult feeble-minded, and the diagnosis provided no care for the patient or solution of the family problem.

A conference was then held of representatives of the societies who had known the family. These were a Juvenile Court officer, a visiting nurse, a visitor from the Charity Society, a member of the committee of that society who had known the family, and an agent of the Society for Mental Hygiene, who had not known the family, but who was asked to attend because of the nature of the problem to be considered. The tragedy of the delinquent father, the incompetent mother, the neglected children, and the whole pitiful condition of this wreckage of family life was earnestly considered. It was the agent of the Society for Mental Hygiene who discovered in the record of the Charity Society the entry made seven years before that the mother was found wandering about the streets with her children and was taken by the visitor to the County Institution, which at that time cared for the infirm, the tuberculous, and the insane in the same institution. The brief record gave no clew to the department of the institution to which she was committed, but the agent said: "Can not that be looked up? If Mrs. A. was there as a patient in the Hospital for the Insane there is a record of it. If you can secure this and submit the history to the physician who has just examined her very probably that information may make a material difference in the present diagnosis, for what appears to be a condition of subnormality is sometimes found to be a phase of dementia præcox."

The record at the County Institution showed that Mrs. A. had been a patient there seven years previous to the inquiry, that the diagnosis had been dementia præcox, and that she was taken from the institution by her husband, who had not asked the consent of the authorities. The physician at the clinic when given this information made another diagnosis, and the patient was sent for observation to the Psycopathic Hospital, from which she was committed a few weeks later to the State Hospital for the Insane. Three of the children were placed by the Juvenile Court in the care of a religious society of the faith of the parents. Three years before the court had given to the same society the custody of two older children and the father had been ordered to pay for their care in the institution which the society maintained. In the three years he had made one weekly payment. The Charity Society agreed to pay the board of the baby, who was in a serious physical condition, in a private home until the father, who had meantime been found and sent to the work-house for contributing to the dependency of his children, could assume their support. After his release he made no attempt to care for any of his children, and a year later the court gave the baby to the society that had the five older children in its institution.

It is manifestly impossible to estimate how long it would have taken to discover the mother's condition if the clue to it had not been revealed in the earlier record, but certainly we are justified in believing that she and the children were saved some months of suffering which

would have been the result of further fruitless and well intentioned efforts by the court and the Charity Society to help her to maintain even the simplest semblance of a home.

The second consideration as to the value of records is based on their usefulness to the community. It is true that in relief work statistical information on records is regarded largely as a by-product and never as an end in itself. All isolated and undirected effort is of doubtful and temporary value, and however fully a record may serve the individual for whom it is written it does not attain to its complete usefulness unless it also serves every other individual who may be suffering in the same way or from the same causes. The charity worker who is content with the relief of pressing needs does not tabulate statistical material; but if he has insight into needs, vision and faith that misery may one day be abolished, his vision will lead him to combine, with his effort for the needy, a recording of such research material as may be needed for legislative or other action. Records ought to reveal social, economic, and industrial conditions which make for dependency. They may be used in the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge about such conditions and so become effective in awakening public opinion to the need of fundamental changes. Social efforts that will ultimately be of real benefit to individuals must be based upon painstaking inquiry, and the records of societies that deal with the groups likely to be affected by any contemplated action, may, when intelligently kept, contain substantial evidence.

The keeping of records must justify itself to the society compiling them, for it demands an outlay of money for material and clerical assistance as well as the larger outlay for the time and skilled intelligence of the workers who write them. In this consideration their effect on the workers themselves is first. It is not easy if one is working for a period of years to keep in mind all the lessons one learns from experience and study unless one has concrete evidence of them which is quickly available. Records faithfully kept stimulate the worker to higher endeavors. They make it possible for him to interpret and weigh his efforts and they are a measure—though not the only one—of the quality of his service. For purposes of training young workers and volunteers they should be conscientiously kept. Charity workers—paid or volunteer—frequently give up their work for various reasons, and their accumulated wisdom and experience is lost to their successors if no record is kept. Those who follow must painfully acquire these, and the price is often additional suffering to those they are trying to help. Who should in justice pay this price—the poor in their poverty or the society organized for their assistance?

Secondly, a society finds records valuable to it as a method of bookkeeping. The public has a standard of financial integrity; the society must live up to it. It ought always to be prepared to show, in addition to what has been received and dispersed under general classifications, how much has been spent for every individual family, and what it can do with the money entrusted to it in purchasing better conditions

of living for its charges. We need to keep accounts of our stewardship, and they form the material for annual reports and occasional papers on the work of the society, its progress, its needs, and its aims. Interest through them is aroused so that the society may win the coöperation and good will of the public which are necessary for its life.

Further consideration of the value of records may be based on their use in promoting the confidential exchange of information among individuals or societies wherever that is necessary for the welfare of the individual. Information tabulated from any given number of records may be the basis of discussion of problems that are common to, though viewed from different angles by, a group of societies working in the same or different localities.

At best, records in relief work are but tools in the hands of the skilled craftsman. As such they must register accurately, they must be easily adaptable to many media of work, they must be ever elastic to unforeseen and unprecedented demands. Unity and diversity are qualities so essential that without them records are but sounding brass. Let us keep records, sympathetic, accurate, complete, as is necessary to render an account of our stewardship to our contributors, to promote the public welfare, and chiefly to save the broken and forlorn souls whom we have to serve; so that they may not, in addition to their heavy burdens, be called upon to suffer for any ill advised or hastily considered, even though well meaning, efforts in their behalf.

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RECENT CASE WORK LITERATURE

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NOTE.—SPECIAL ATTENTION IS CALLED TO THE FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE 1917 CHARITY ORGANIZATION INSTITUTE, WHICH IS MADE ON THE LAST PAGE OF THIS *BULLETIN*. ITS SESSIONS WILL BE HELD EARLIER THAN USUAL THIS YEAR. APPLICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP SHOULD BE SENT IN SOON.

RECENT CASE WORK LITERATURE

I

A DOCTOR WRITES FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

A Layman's Handbook of Medicine. With Special Reference to Social Workers. By Richard C. Cabot, M.D. Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1916.

WHEN a leader in the charity organization movement was told recently that Dr. Cabot was about to publish a handbook of medicine which would be described on its title page as written "with special reference to social workers," she exclaimed, "That's what I call real coöperation—not just talking about it, but working it out in detail."

Interesting and inspiring as any development in the natural world is the chance to see how a genuine discovery in the social world grows and ramifies. Dr. Cabot made such a discovery in the year 1905, when he realized (to use Miss Cannon's words) that, in seeking the improvement of dispensary practice, the social worker could be made a potent means of securing "more accurate diagnosis and more effective treatment." Hospital social service has not always kept to this central idea, but its founders have, and it is a cheering thing to see how one progressive step after another has followed their good beginning. The socialization of long established and somewhat institutionalized medical agencies came first. Then the extension of the newer point of view to medical practice outside the hospital and dispensary. Then the introduction of the medical student to the idea of social context—to a realization, that is, of the ways in which social and physical conditions interplay in the life of a patient. Then, progressing first through the daily intercourse of medical-social workers with the social agencies of the community, but now definitely pushed forward by systematized instruction, the further socialization of the social worker himself. For he too has been blind enough to contexts sometimes. In the winter of 1915–16, Dr. Cabot gave a series of lectures on medical subjects to the non-medical social case workers of Boston. "Their needs," he explains in his preface to this volume, "have guided my selection of subject matter because, as I see it, they best represent the general public. For the same reason their questions and the answers given to them have been made part of the book."

The assumption of the present reviewer is that every social case worker is going to be eager not only to read but to own and frequently refer to this handbook of 524 pages. It is packed full of practical experience, and written in a style so clear that no one can fail to understand it. The common diseases are more emphasized than the rare

ones, and the social worker's need of a forecast that can be made a part of his social plan is not overlooked. Thus,

> Chronic bronchitis, in the few cases in which it really does exist and is not mistaken for phthisis or heart disease, almost never kills. People should insist, in this and in other diseases, on knowing, not how to diagnose, but what to expect in any common disease; that is, *prognosis*, or the outlook. The expectations from a given diagnosis is a thing I think social workers and laymen generally cannot know too much of, for the social plan depends upon this. If the person is going to live but a few days, we take a different course from that which we should take if he is likely to recover.
>
> When we are told that a person in whom we are interested has heart disease, we must try to get from the doctor *a diagnosis including a prognosis*. That will tell us which type of heart disease we are dealing with. The different types are entirely different propositions from the point of view of making a plan for the patient.

Nor is the difficult question of influencing people to change their doctors dodged.

> The question is often asked, in connection with operations on the nose or throat, whether a social worker should "steer" a patient away from one doctor and to another. I think it is her job, like the job of any other friend, to *try* to get the patient in contact with somebody who will make a right diagnosis. These are delicate situations, but if a person is really suffering, whether from medical ignorance or from any other cause, social workers should not fail to do what they can to get him in touch with the best sources of health. Of course a social worker ought to be distrustful of her own judgment. She ought to be as sure as she possibly can be before she takes it upon herself to steer a person away from one doctor to another. The necessity is comparatively rare. But it exists.

In certain diseases in which the diagnosis depends less upon physical examination and chemical tests than upon past history, Dr. Cabot takes especial pains to point out the service that the social worker can render in collecting and testing the evidence. Some of the diseases that come under this head are cancer of the stomach (p. 95), gall stones (p. 140), and peptic ulcer (p. 141). Of mental deficiency (p. 254), especially high grade feeble-mindedness, he says:

> The history of these cases is often more important than the direct mental examination. When did the child walk? When did the child talk? When first have its teeth? These are the three questions on which every expert dwells with special care. Children who do not walk until two or three and do not talk until three or four are under great suspicion, even if we are without any further knowledge about them.

The signs of congenital syphilis in a young baby are carefully described (p. 366 sq.)—not in order that any non-medical person may venture to make even a tentative medical diagnosis, but that medical aid may be sought. Diseases of the middle ear are important things to look out for, especially in young children.

> Any child that is sick and not doing well should have an expert examination of the ears. It does not make any difference what a child has; if he is sick and not doing well, look after his ears. Last week I attended an autopsy on a baby. During life our attention had been centred on the chest and abdomen, yet the

autopsy showed nothing wrong there; it was a case of meningitis from ear disease.

Not only in the period preceding diagnosis is the social worker useful. During treatment his interest and ingenuity may serve a good purpose. He should know what expensive treatments are worthwhile and what are not. The careful treatment of a tuberculous joint is worthwhile; so is much more attention than is now given to certain forms of heart disease. The treatment of diabetes *after* diagnosis should be left more and more, in the opinion of our author, to social workers. Tonsillitis has such serious after-effects that it cannot be treated too carefully. "A person may need as much time for convalescence after tonsillitis as after pneumonia." Dr. Cabot does not often urge operation where there are other ways still untried of effecting a cure, but here he does. Local treatment is "like spraying the front of a house when the fire is in the backyard." Prevention may come through improvement of the milk supply. Meanwhile, operation will often be necessary, though it should be noted that not all enlarged tonsils are diseased. "To count as 'a defect' every prominent tonsil or adenoid found in the routine examination of school children is folly."

Dr. Cabot feels that every social case worker should know how to take temperatures and feel pulses. In his uncle's day no nurse was allowed to take a temperature, "it was too serious and delicate a matter." But all that has changed, and often, when neither nurse nor doctor is at hand, it is important to know "how to steer the patient" to the right medical agency. Another emergency service is, in cases of penetrating wounds—even where a nail has gone into a child's foot only half an inch and there is no bleeding—to get the puncture widely opened by a surgeon without a moment's delay. There is always danger of tetanus.

Medicine is not unlike social work in that its practice is so experimental as to be influenced by many theories which do not survive. The reviewer can remember how the theory that a "torpid liver" was to be suspected at every turn and to be righted by heroic measures embittered her childhood. According to Dr. Cabot, however, the following are defunct fads also—conscientious mastication or Fletcherism, avoidance of iced water as bad for the digestion, practice of deep breathing to benefit the lungs, and disinfection of houses and bedding after a germ disease.

Leprosy is not a highly contagious disease.

I think the disease is most interesting from the public health point of view, for here we have given to the State Board of Health the power to put a person out of the community for life because of a disease which, as I have said, is of almost no danger to the general public. But still we think that such powers ought to be held by the State Board of Health, although not applied to this rather innocent disease. It is sometimes questioned whether the State has any right to deal in this way with individuals, by reason of their infection with syphilis, tuberculosis, or typhoid, but it may be pointed out that we are already doing it in the case of one feebly contagious disease, leprosy.

With regard to dietetics, we are urged to fix our attention upon height and ask ourselves what, at a given height, the weight should be.

If our client weighs more than this he ought to eat less, and if he weighs less, he ought to eat more. This is a very general statement, of course, and our author acknowledges that there are people who can "eat about double the average diet and never gain an ounce."

Knowing that the Massachusetts General Hospital has been studying industrial diseases with great care of late years, one finds the chapter on this subject a disappointment. Evidently progress is going to be slow. We have a clear description of lead poisoning in an earlier chapter, and anthrax, caisson disease, and the skin diseases due to occupation are described in this chapter, but Dr. Cabot takes a conservation position about industrial overstrain—too conservative, it may be suspected.

Alcohol is not a stimulant, we are told, and alcoholism is a psychological question, not a physical or a social one. The American public seems inclined to make it a social question, at present, and one of our largest charity organization societies has just adopted a resolution, in the middle of a hotly contested local campaign, advocating "no license." The important thing for the social diagnostician to remember is that "in alcoholism memory suffers more than any single faculty." Neither the drunkard nor the drug taker, moreover, can be trusted to tell the whole truth about his habit.

Dr. Cabot emphasizes the way in which the psychoneuroses "merge indistinguishably into health."

> Almost anyone, if run down . . . may be psychoneurotic, or, as we used to say, neurasthenic, for a few days or weeks. . . . There is nothing that I resent more than the attempt to arrange the whole human race into two classes, psychoneurotics and others. . . . We may some of us be fortunate enough to escape such states for a considerable portion of our lives, but we have no reason to look down upon anybody else who does not so escape. . . .

To sum up in its entirety this message from a great physician to the great army of social workers, what composite impression does it leave with us of the modern physician's point of view? First, its frankness about what modern medicine does and does not know, can and can not do. Second, its reduction of the home medicine chest's contents to sterilized gauze. "We do not need to have brandy, for instance, or whiskey or any 'stimulant' at hand. There is no occasion for those drinks in medicine. Any one who needs a stimulant had better have coffee, or hot milk, or hot soup. I do not really know a single medicine that I think is necessary to keep in stock in a house." Third, its recognition of the supreme importance of skilled and conscientious diagnosis. Fourth, its reliance upon re-education of habit and upon the appeal to the mind of the patient as among the most valuable of therapeutic agents. Fifth, its conservatism, in so far as this is needed as a protection against quackery and the fads of the moment. Sixth, its sense of context, its firm grasp upon the concept of the patient in his social relations. The total impression is a challenge to the practitioners of a younger, less highly organized profession—a challenge to social work with its spurs not yet won.

M. E. R.

II

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CASE WORK FROM THE FIELD OF HOME ECONOMICS

FEEDING THE FAMILY. By Mary Swartz Rose. The Macmillan Co., 1916.
LOW COST COOKING. By Florence Nesbitt. American School of Home Economics, Chicago, Illinois, 1915.
THRIFT BY HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTING, AND WEEKLY CASH RECORD FORMS. American Home Economics Association, Baltimore, Maryland, 1916.
HOUSEHOLD ARTS AND SCHOOL LUNCHES. By Alice C. Boughton. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio, 1916.

SEVERAL recent publications in the field of home economics would seem to promise to be of service to case workers in caring adequately for the living needs of families. Two of those here reviewed deal with problems of nutrition, one tries to offer a solution for some of the difficulties of budget record keeping, and one discusses certain of the social and economic factors so closely connected with public school education in the household arts.

More is being learned each year with reference to the reasons why certain dietary habits always give adequate nutrition, and why others eventually, if not at once, prevent normal growth and development in children, and cause physical breakdowns in adults. The knowledge at present available has been unusually well presented by Mrs. Rose in her book, Feeding the Family. Mrs. Rose is assistant professor in the Department of Nutrition at Teachers College, Columbia University, and is universally recognized as one of the authorities in matters of dietetics.

Feeding the Family, as Mrs. Rose states in the preface, is intended "for the numerous housewives who prepare something like a thousand meals a year for their families, and who wish to know how the science of nutrition can be made to function most successfully in their daily lives." Certain parts of the book will be of interest only to the housewife or the student of dietetics, but much of it should also prove useful to the case worker by giving her a background of sound practical knowledge concerning the nutritive essentials in a diet and their probable cost.

Food requirements vary greatly according to age, weight, health, and activity. For instance, the amount of food and kind of food required by a man is different from the amount and kind required by a child. The diet of a tubercular person has to be more generous than that of a non-tubercular person of the same age, weight, and activity. The food required by a large man doing heavy muscular work will be very different in amount from that required by a small man whose only task is the watching of the factory machine. All these variations are discussed in detail in separate chapters of Mrs. Rose's book, especial attention being paid to the essentials in child feeding from infancy through the adolescent period, although the requirements in adult life and old age are also well and comprehensively treated.

The case worker will probably be much interested in the discussions of food costs which will be found throughout the book, as well as in the chapter entitled Cost of Food. The method of calculating costs may seem complicated, but Mrs. Rose advises it as the only one which will allow close adaptation to the many variations in kind and amount of food per individual.

The simplest way of indicating variations in the amount of food required is a statement of the variations in numbers of calories required, it being assumed that, in the ordinary mixed diet, food which will give sufficient calories will also give sufficient protein, calcium, phosphorus, and iron, the other essentials in nutrition. A man of ordinary weight will need about 2500 calories a day if he leads a sedentary life; 3000 calories, if he is moderately active; 3500 calories, if very active. A woman, being normally much lighter in weight than a man, will require about 2200 calories a day if leading a sedentary life; 2500 calories, if moderately active; 3000 calories, if very active. During the last months of pregnancy and while nursing a child, a woman's food requirement is greatly increased so that it may equal or exceed that of a man doing heavy muscular work. The requirements of children have been equally accurately determined, and allow close estimates of the amount of food required at various stages of development.

Mrs. Rose uses these figures as the basis for calculations of food costs. In discussing the food requirement for a man leading a sedentary life, she states:

> It is possible to supply this amount of fuel (2500 calories) in the form of cereals, beans, pork, bread and butterine, with hot coffee and milk, for from 10 to 15 cents a day, or from two-fifths to one-half cent per 100 calories. Reference to Table IV, showing costs per 100 calories of some common foods, will make it clear, however, that the range of foods which can be used in a dietary costing less than three-quarters of a cent per 100 calories is quite limited. Men prefer a more varied diet and it is easier to secure all the elements for good nutrition, including good digestion, if it is possible to spend somewhat more for food.

Throughout the book are many dietaries planned to give adequate nutrition at a cost of three-fourths to one cent per 100 calories, or twenty-two to thirty cents per active man per day. One section is devoted to a discussion of Family Dietaries at the Lowest Cost, very practical suggestions being given with reference to the kind of foods to be used and the way in which they may be combined in simple but satisfying meals. Mrs. Rose feels that the needs of the children can not be ideally met when the dietary falls to two-thirds of a cent per 100 calories, except in districts where milk and fruit and vegetables are very cheap. This represents an expenditure of twenty cents per active man per day and probably allows for less variety than is customarily demanded in a family dietary, although physiologically adequate.

An accurate estimate of the necessary cost of food for a family, therefore, involves knowledge of the food requirements of the various members of the family and also knowledge of their dietary habits. Far fewer calories will be required for one family than for another. It will cost much less for a generous nutritive allowance for a family content

to use foods which give a high nutritive return for expenditure, than where the appetite is satisfied only by a constantly varied diet.

It may be questioned if the case worker has time for such an individualization of the dietary needs of the families under her care. If she is interested in the subject, however, and wishes to be familiar with the commonly accepted nutrition standards, Feeding the Family would seem an unusually good book to read, and to use afterwards as reference material in solving problems of necessary food costs and wise dietary advice.

An excellent supplementary book to Feeding the Family is Low Cost Cooking, by Florence Nesbitt, field supervisor and dietitian of the department of relief of the Juvenile Court of Chicago, and formerly visiting housekeeper of the United Charities of Chicago. This book was prepared for use by housekeepers "who must conduct their homes with a small expenditure of money." Mrs. Rose's book is an answer to the questions What? and Why? so frequently asked with reference to matters of dietetics; Miss Nesbitt's is an answer to How? so frequently asked by women who are forced by circumstances to try always to plan and select and buy in such a way that not a penny spent for food fails to provide the maximum of nourishment.

Many practical suggestions are given with reference to thrifty buying. Recipes for low cost dishes are given in such detail as to make their following easy even when knowledge of cooking processes is almost lacking. Menus for winter and summer meals are planned, and full directions given for every step in their preparation. Hints for lunches are not forgotten, both for the cold lunch to be taken away from home, and the home lunch for the school children whose mother is away at work during the day. As may be judged from the above outline, the book is an admirable one for use by friendly visitors in improving family dietary habits, and should also prove suggestive to the regular case worker.

The keeping of household accounts has never proved a very popular task even among families of considerable education, intelligence, and business ability. Still less has it been popular among families with a limited amount of education and only slight tendencies to prepare written records of any kind. Where the income is small, however, there would seem to be a distinct need for the keeping of accounts which would help toward an intelligent and thrifty use of the income. The cultivation of the habit of account keeping, especially among wage earners, is being strongly recommended as a means of reducing living costs, or at least securing a larger return for expenditures.

The Committee on Household Budgets of the American Home Economics Association has just issued the pamphlet, Thrift by Household Accounting, and Weekly Cash Record Forms, as an effort along this line. At the beginning of the little book are suggestions with reference to the use of the knowledge to be gained from the weekly accounts, and hints about the wise division of the family income. Then follow a series of pages for the weekly records, each divided to allow for the

entry of expenditures under headings which will group them to show at the end of the week how much was spent for rent, fuel, and household supplies, various types of food, and the clothing and other personal expenses of each member of the family. At the back of the book is a page upon which may be recorded total amounts used each week during the three months for which the book is supposed to last. There is also a page for the keeping of statements of savings and debts, "to encourage the increase of the former and the decrease of the latter."

The books were prepared especially to be of service to the small wage earner, but they would seem also to promise to be of service to the case worker in her contacts with families who may need temporarily a certain amount of educational supervision of expenditures in order to later become more surely self-supporting. The New York Charity Organization Society is using this book in connection with its family work. The Committee on Household Budgets also suggests that the books be used for the collection of records of typical family expenditures in different parts of the country, as the basis for more accurate knowledge than we now have of the cost of living. As yet the books have been in use for too short a time to have their practicability tested out, but it would seem probable that they would prove helpful in interesting people to use money more thoughtfully and less carelessly, thus increasing community thrift.

Courses in household arts are now given almost universally in the elementary and secondary schools. Their introduction into the curriculum has been rapid, for but few have questioned their probable value in educating girls to assume their later responsibilities in homemaking and housekeeping. It has also frequently been claimed that such educational work is of great immediate and practical benefit in improving present home standards, especially among immigrant families and those with tendencies to drop below a desirable minimum of decent living.

In connection with the Education Survey of Cleveland, conducted by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres of the Russell Sage Foundation, Miss Boughton made a special study of the actual value of household arts instruction, as now given in the public schools. Certain of her criticisms and recommendations should prove useful to the case worker in her efforts to improve present living standards by individual and community action.

Miss Boughton discusses in detail the distinction between housekeeping, which is "a science, a business, a vocation," and homemaking, which is "an art, an avocation, and a marginal activity."

Technical training in housekeeping can be given in the public schools, but it should be counted as purely vocational work and preferably should be given in the secondary schools or in extension classes for adults. It is seriously questionable, in Miss Boughton's estimation, if this technical work given to young girls carries over from the grammar school to their own homes, established perhaps ten years later.

Education for homemaking is needed by boys and girls alike, but homemaking cannot be taught as a school subject. The kind of a home one makes

does not depend upon a particular set of facts about food, clothing and shelter, organized into a course by the school. The satisfying qualities of home depend rather upon the ability of members of the household to coöperate in an enjoyable and harmonious use of their free time. . . . The school can in large measure equip boys and girls to be homemakers, but this highly socialized education should not be confused with strictly technical vocational courses now offered by departments of household arts.

In spite of its limitations in value on the technical side, Miss Boughton feels that much of the subject matter of household arts has distinct social and economic value, and that these should be more fully recognized by the community. It is important in the elementary school to set right standards of living with reference to housing, clothing, and food. It is also important that children "be taught first and foremost to use and enjoy goods wisely." Later on, when the need for taking responsibility in household management arises, should come the technical courses which are limited to girls; this earlier work should be for both boys and girls.

The case worker will probably be much interested also in the discussion of educational work in Infant Hygiene. Miss Boughton feels very strongly that better courses in hygiene should be given in the public schools, but that grammar school girls should not be expected to carry full adult responsibility, and that if possible such educational work should be carried on directly with the mothers through milk stations, babies' dispensaries, etc.

The possible educational value of the school lunch is strongly set forth. "Teaching children to eat nutritious food is good, but teaching them to buy it is much better." "When children get wholesome food in school and sane habits of buying it which carry over after they leave school, the lunch service has accomplished one important part of its work."

Miss Boughton also makes a suggestion about the establishment of a food clinic in the school lunch department which might well be advocated by the case worker interested in securing better feeding of children.

Food clinics offer an opportunity for coöperation between the school lunch department and school doctors and nurses. The lunch department may make itself felt in the home through a new channel. Doctors and nurses have won the confidence of the parents through service rendered. They are giving instructions about various health needs of children. The lunch department can help here. It can work out the daily or weekly diet of children in relation to age, family tastes, standards, and amount to be spent. It can help with advice and suggestions regarding "special feeding" cases and, if necessary, provide recipes and show mothers how to prepare various new and unknown dishes.

The effect of education in improving home conditions is of vital importance to the case worker, and this study of Miss Boughton's should prove helpful to her in her work, as well as the other books here reviewed, which perhaps seem to have more direct bearing upon family living problems.

EMMA A. WINSLOW.

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Session of 1917

THE EIGHTH INSTITUTE will begin its sessions in New York City Monday, April 30, 1917, and continue for four weeks thereafter. Membership is limited to twenty charity organization executives and case workers who wish to profit by further intensive study and discussion in their own field. There is no fee. Admission is by invitation issued near the end of March. Applications for membership should be made at once on forms supplied for the purpose, as it has not been possible for several years to admit all who have applied.

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CONTENTS

ON THE VERGE

As this BULLETIN goes to press, no one knows what the outcome may be of the present diplomatic crisis with Germany, but before this number is distributed it may possibly be war. Two years and more ago, in discussing the possibilities of a hard winter, we quoted two sentences from a little English book—the Great Analysis—which had then been out several years. The first sentence was this: "It is a monstrous and intolerable thought that civilization may at any moment be hurled halfway back to barbarism by some scheming adventurer, some superstitious madman, or simply a pompous, well-meaning busybody." The second was more constructive and more optimistic: "There is a great deal of common sense in the world, if only it could be organized to a rational end."

This, whatever happens, is the part that the charity organization societies have to play—not, of course, to organize the common sense of the world, but to bring organized common sense to bear, at least, upon the social needs of their own communities, especially when social needs

concern those least able to find a way out for themselves. In case of war, three things are likely to happen which will affect our immediate task—more planned help than usual will be needed, more unplanned help than usual will be forthcoming, and all the cranks, it may be predicted, will have ideas as to what everybody else should do.

They abound at such times. A month after the battle of Manila Bay, a retired actor who owned an unprofitable farm had the patriotic idea of turning it into a national Home for the Widows and Orphans of the Spanish-American War. This example of preparedness was not all thriftiness—it was probably a half-and-half mixture of motives. In any case, when a C. O. S. secretary found the actor playing the heavy philanthropist with gusto in his newly opened office ("Remember the Maine" was on the door), there had been just one American killed in the war, and that one had been a bachelor. Nevertheless, a well-known banker had already consented to act as treasurer of the new Home, the newspapers were giving the scheme friendly notice, and the theatrical troupes were offering their services to raise funds for it. Hysteria is a great disorganizer, and the time was one of hysterical tension.

It is part of the duty of a charity organization society, in our opinion, to keep its head at such a time, but it may be doubted whether the way to do it is to offer to place itself at the head of, or even at the service of, every such ill-advised scheme as this one, in the vain hope of steering it into better channels. Some people can learn only from their own experience, as the retired actor learned from his. The charity organization society always has its own work to do and it serves its country best when it does its work well. It must coöperate with other legitimate work, of course, and it must expand to meet the extra demands that will inevitably come, but it is not called upon to neglect its own work for the regulation of every kite-flyer in the charitable field. The society that started out with the assumption that it could do everything better than anybody else would be in grave danger of ending by doing everything worse.

As regards war relief, should war relief become an unhappy necessity at home, the right place to which to turn for guidance on any matter not purely local is the American Red Cross at Washington. Mr. W. Frank Persons has just been granted a leave of absence of some weeks by the New York C. O. S. to help the Red Cross in the organization of arrangements for the care of non-combatants and of the dependents of soldiers who may be called to the colors. A better choice for this task could not have been made. He will know how to organize the common sense of this situation to a rational end if anyone can.

ATTENTION IS CALLED TO THE FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE 1917 CHARITY ORGANIZATION INSTITUTE ON PAGE 43, AND TO THE ADVANCE NOTICE ON THE LAST PAGE OF A NEW BOOK FOR ALL SOCIAL CASE WORKERS.

METHODS OF CASE WORK SUPERVISION

By JOANNA C. COLCORD
Superintendent of District Work, New York Charity Organization Society

IT is obvious that supervision means one thing in a small society without district offices and with one or two case workers under the close direction of the secretary or assistant secretary, and quite another thing in the large districted society. The sort of supervision which must be given in the small society, however, corresponds rather closely to that which the district secretary exercises over the work of her district in the large society, so that keeping this in mind we find the problems, at least in so far as they refer to case supervision, not so very different after all.

Case supervision in large societies has the disadvantage of being often at two removes; that is, the district secretary in her function of "deputy case supervisor" has already been over the work, and the record when it reaches the central office represents, therefore, a composite of the district secretary's ideas and suggestions and those of the visitor who did the work. As far as the quality of the case work goes this fact is of no special importance, but when the supervisor's effort is to estimate the quality of a single case worker's output the situation is somewhat complicated.

I. THROUGH THE CASE RECORD

The case record has one obvious superiority over an oral or written report in that it is not constructed all at one time. Its chronological order prevents the working out of a consistent misconception on the part of the case worker; that is, provided the dictation is given and written up at regular intervals. The facts of an investigation cannot be anticipated or discounted, and for this reason even a poorly constructed case record is preferable for supervisory purposes to a well written synopsis. The former shows definite steps and definite changes of attitude on the part of the family and the case worker, and frequently suggests the reasons for these. The latter shows only the finished results.

This is not to say, however, that to the busy case supervisor the detailed written report which is often included among the correspondence of a long record may not be in time of pressure a veritable life-saver. It furnishes a valuable index to a record which read in its entirety may be full of repetitions and irrelevancies; and if the chronological order is sufficiently respected it makes it possible to refer to those parts of the record only which need to be read in full. Like any short-cut method this one has its dangers and should be resorted to only as an emergency measure. The same caution applies to overdependence upon the synopses or closing entries which are commonly inserted in the records by societies which close cases.

Case records may be read to discover a single fact or set of facts, as for instance the promptness with which the initial visit is made after

the case is referred, or the extent to which the clues discovered on the first visit are utilized in investigation. Or a group of case records may be given a much more searching study to throw light on the characteristics of a given case worker or a given district.

In general the following suggestions refer to the examination of case records by a supervisor who is not in daily contact with the person responsible for the case work. Many of the suggestions, however, should be useful to one reading a case record for any supervisory purpose whatsoever.

In studying a case record it is important to begin with the face card. This gives the reader at once the type and composition of the family, many of the problems presented, and many of the clues available to be used in the investigation. It is well to have on hand a pad of scratch paper in order that other clues found in reading the history may be jotted down for later reference. After reading over and checking up the investigation, a good plan is to look among the correspondence for a copy of a report. In writing a report to the person or agency referring, or to a cooperating agency, the case worker often assembles and evaluates the evidence in hand as she seldom does in the record itself. Reports of the decisions of case committees may also be useful for this purpose; but as they are commonly entered on case records they are too brief to show the processes by which the decisions were reached. One case supervisor in a large city while reading a case record keeps her notes on a large sheet of scratch paper with a line drawn down the middle. On one side she writes items of investigation covered (to be later checked up with sources available). On the other side she sets down items of treatment. In this way she feels that she minimizes the danger into which case supervisors often fall, of making much of faulty investigations, and failing to note excellences in other aspects of the case work.

1. Suggested Questions to Keep in Mind.—Some suggested questions for a supervisor to have in mind in reading a case record are given below, in the full realization that this list is extremely sketchy and incomplete.[1]

Was the place of the first interview well chosen? Are there evidences of hurry; of prejudice; of premature promises or advice? Has the visitor digested and arranged the details of her interview in some logical order, or is the information jumbled and vague? Is there description which sets this home off from other homes and makes the members of the family stand out as separate individuals? If any members, especially the man, were not seen at this stage, were they seen later? Was there a drive for past history and background, or was the present emergency allowed to monopolize the field? Were the clues secured numerous and varied? Were obvious clues overlooked which should have been secured in first interview?

[1] In framing such of these questions as relate to investigation free use has been made of a Supervision and Review Questionnaire which is to be included in a forthcoming book on Social Diagnosis by Miss Richmond. Bulletin readers are therefore requested not to make any public use of these questions until after the publication of the book.

Was the Confidential Exchange consulted after the interview as well as before? Did the same visitor who saw the family follow up the outside sources too? Are there evidences that visitor planned the order of her visits to the best advantage? Did she make the mistake of "choking off" information by premature efforts to get relief for the family? Has any source of information or group of sources been neglected? Have new clues been turned up in the course of the investigation, and have these been utilized? Have letters been written where visits would have probably gained more information? Has there been any attempt to evaluate in the record the testimony of the different people interviewed, or have conflicting reports been entered fully without any such attempt? Have unfavorable reports been overemphasized or allowed to stand in the record without being either proved or disproved? Has emergent relief been delayed? Has it been given unnecessarily?

Are there evidences that the "assets and liabilities" as disclosed by the investigation were weighed by the visitor in reaching a plan? Does the plan if set forth (in the form of a committee decision or otherwise) take account of all the factors in the situation and all the individuals in the family, or is it a routine affair? Does it make best use of community resources? Has the family's coöperation been secured, or is a tendency shown to push through without this? Has a "no-thoroughfare situation" been allowed to develop?

Has volunteer help been successfully used? Have reports, initial and subsequent, been promptly sent? Does the record show such a use of other agencies and individuals as to strengthen coöperative relations? Have we tried to do the other fellow's job or allowed him to take over ours? Does this record show something regarding community needs? Does it open up any new line of inquiry as to the relation between industrial and community conditions and poverty, delinquency, or disease? Is there evidence that the worker had in mind its possible use in this direction?

2. THE CONTENT OF THE RECORD.—The success with which supervision can be accomplished through case records alone is, of course, largely dependent upon the quality of the records. If they are full without being verbose, if the writer's mind is of the type that sorts out and emphasizes the important facts, if the descriptions of persons and individuals are colorful and yet impartial, the method of using the case record only is correspondingly valuable. Even the best case workers, however, have a tendency to set forth investigation far more fully and exactly than they do treatment. Much emphasis has been laid in their training upon the value of investigation, and it is, moreover, an impersonal thing in the sense that in writing up the case record of investigation it is unnecessary, and even usually inadvisable, for them to include much about their own actions or reactions. In recording treatment, case workers are usually lucid and explicit with regard to the removal of disabilities, but when it comes to the infinitely more difficult and skillful task of developing assets, the natural modesty of the good case worker often prevents her recording in full the processes by which desirable ends were gained. It is common to find a successful case record in which the results appear unwarranted, in fact, even marvelous, as coming from the treatment which was recorded. Often a letter from the family may be included in the correspondence which will throw light upon the case worker's personal and unrecorded efforts.

As an illustration of what has just been said, a district secretary once told her supervisor about the success of her assistant in solving an

unusually difficult problem in intemperance—that of a man who, though a capable workman and a man of good character, was universally disliked by his fellow-workmen, and whose pride and pique led him to form drinking habits. A great deal of careful work was done, including medical care for the man and his family and his reinstatement with a former employer who knew his weaknesses; and he was induced to keep straight for a period of several months. As the holidays approached the worker realized that this was going to be a time of particular strain for her client, and on the night before Christmas, led by some sort of a sixth sense, she went to his home in the evening, taking with her some toys for the children, more or less as a pretext for her visit. She met the man on the stairs, coming from his house, with a beer can in his hand, and forthwith sat down with him upon the stairs and argued it out with him for an hour. At the end of this time he returned to his rooms, the impulse to drink, for the time being at least, conquered. The supervisor sent for the record and found the incident set forth in it as follows:

12/24/15. Called at ————————. Gave man, who was at the door, Christmas stockings and other toys for the children. Man has not been working this week but expects employment next week and will report at the district office on Tuesday night.

3. The Construction of the Record.—Aside from the question of the material included in the case record, there are some points in its mechanical construction which may greatly help or hinder the case reader. When correspondence is filed separately from the history sheets, it is important that the entry concerning letters received contain a line or two summarizing their contents, as otherwise constant reference back and forth is necessary, and the attention wanders. Committee decisions should be made to stand out in some way, as by printing in capitals, entering in red, or underlining in red. Long entries should be properly organized and broken up into paragraphs. A device which has been discussed and experimented with to some extent, and which would undoubtedly simplify the task of the person who does much case reading, is that of leaving a wide margin at the left side of the history sheet, in which the stenographer as she writes up the record can enter marginal headings calling attention to items of investigation, relief given, and so on. Another device, useful especially with long records, is that of indexing the record; that is, typing on a separate sheet the name of each member of the family, and of persons or agencies frequently seen in connection with it, and listing opposite each the page numbers on which they appear. It may be questioned however if this is often worth the extra clerical work.

4. The Choice of Records.—We have touched above upon what to look for in estimating the quality of the case work in the individual record. In a supervision of the case work of several workers, or of several districts, the primary question is whether or not to institute any system in the choice of records to be read. Shall all records come before

the supervisor at some period of treatment? Shall the supervisor depend upon other forces than the need for supervision to bring case records to her desk? Shall there be a hit-or-miss policy of dipping here and there into the case work, or shall the attempt be made to read selected groups of case records for purposes of comparison between workers or between districts?

For the small society the method of reading all cases at some period in treatment is a feasible one. To be sure, the tendency commonly is to read records at the time of closing, or when some stopping-place has been reached in the treatment. This has the advantage of presenting each case as a complete history but has the very real disadvantage of using the bulk of the supervisor's time in dealing with "dead" work. Wherever the attempt is made to read all cases it would seem that some way should be devised of getting hold of the case record while the case is still active and investigation or treatment, or both, are still in progress. The criticism, advice, or suggestion which the supervisor can give on the basis of live, active case work has many times the force and efficacy of the comment which goes back to the worker with a closed record.

Few of the larger societies, however, are able to make a success of the method of reading all cases as a matter of routine. The process is likely to degenerate into a hurried notation of a few outstanding facts; or else the supervisor ceases to do the reading herself and it becomes the task of some subordinate, less well equipped. When this point is reached some supervisors are in the habit of devising certain routine methods which bring case records to their desks automatically, and they depend upon these records for material, considering that they are probably a fair sample of the work that is being done in the districts. Records on which emergent funds are spent, or those which are sent to the central office in order that an appeal for special funds may be sent out; cases on which there has been court action, or the "complaint cases" which automatically come to the superintendent's desk, are examples of this sort of hit-or-miss selection. It has the advantage of conserving the busy supervisor's time, but the tendency is, of course, not to give the careful study to case records thus selected which would be necessary to make constructive criticisms of the case work. A method which has proved very valuable, both in large and small cities, and which can be utilized in self-supervision by the case worker as well as by her supervisor, is the "cross-section method." All the cases under care on a given date, or opened within a given period, are read and carefully compared as to adequacy of investigation and treatment. Such a study as this may be followed up six months or a year later by a further study of the group of records. Or the sampling method which is a variation of the above may be used, and only, for instance, the first ten records opened by each case worker in a given month may be used for the basis of a supervisory study. Care must be taken, however, that the *sampling* is done in such a way as to avoid *selection.* In a recent statistical study made in all good faith, a group of all cases open on January 1, or

opened after that date, and closed before May 1, was gone over carefully, before it was realized that under the conditions laid down short-term cases would be unduly preponderant, and the group would therefore not be a true *sample* of the society's case work.

In preparation for this article a questionnaire was sent out and replies received from eight of the large districted societies; the practice of two others nearer New York was covered in personal interviews. In all of them it is expected that all records will be read at intervals by the district secretary (in Chicago the assistant district secretary) as part of the regular case work of the district. Two of the cities reported that all records were read when sent to the central office for closing, and one city reported that "records with recent dictation" were sent to the central office to be read and checked up for statistical purposes at frequent intervals. This gave an opportunity for reading them for supervisory purposes also.

The following are some of the types of cases reported from these cities as coming regularly to the supervisor's desk for approval or suggestion:

Allowance cases where money cannot be secured by the districts.
Cases where relief is given for more than three weeks (or four weeks) after the date of opening.
Cases involving large expenditure.
Cases presenting especially difficult problems.
Cases where court action has been or is about to be taken.
Cases where complaint has been made about the treatment.
Cases involving a difference of opinion between ourselves and some other agency.
Cases which have received newspaper publicity.
Loan cases (in a society which handles a special loan fund).

In the replies to this questionnaire the feeling was rather generally expressed or implied that the best results in supervision were gained by making, from time to time, definite studies of suggested groups of cases called in for no other purpose. One society prefers "types of cases selected by periods of time," the advantage of this method being that it brings together the work of a number of people in the handling of similar problems, and permits some comparison of their relative efficiency. The disadvantage lies in its tendency to classify cases according to the "causes of poverty" and to minimize the extraordinary differences which may exist between individual cases which belong to the same "type." Some examples of special studies which have been made in the different societies are included here merely as suggested material:

Ten records of each case worker (selected at random from the daily report sheets) of families receiving relief within a given month, the visitor submitting with the record a plan of treatment. The same group of cases to be reviewed again six months later.
All cases referred within a given time by certain agencies or individuals.
All cases transferred from one district to another within a certain period.
Cases which have been held over from one month to the next without active treatment.
Cases on which inquiries have been made of the Confidential Exchange dur-

ing a given period by other agencies. (For the purpose of noting promptness in following up.)

All cases opened during the previous month (to note promptness of visit and report to person or agency referring, and new sources of information opened up and obvious clues neglected). The same group to be studied six months later for accuracy of diagnosis and thoroughness of treatment.

Cases opened for the first time during the "panic winter" and reopened the next winter.

Cases upon which relief has been given, due to "insufficient income."

Cases involving workmen's compensation; relief to widowed mothers.

Cases making first application within a certain period, in which the man and woman are both under twenty-five years of age.

5. SUGGESTIONS FOR SELF-SUPERVISION.—Several societies reported interesting results in stimulating self-supervision among the workers. One society asked its district secretaries for a synopsis of five records which had been active during the previous three months. Another encouraged its district secretaries to "take frequent 'cross-section' views of their work, such as taking all the new work of six months ago and seeing what has happened to it from all points of view, relation of investigation to treatment, use of volunteers, etc. Before a district-secretary-in-training leaves a district for another she is required to look over all her work and group it under headings something like these: In these families we accomplished what? Why? Under the why, all the successes due to good investigation and treatment come out, and our relation to coöperating societies. Then she takes the failures up in the same fashion."

Another society in discussing the work of its study-classes reports: "One group was asked to examine all the records which came under their individual care during the previous month and select for study those in which the male head of the family is living (either at home or elsewhere). The study was a simple one, merely to ascertain how much time elapsed between the first application and the time when contact was made with the man. Also how well the man was followed up. It showed a weakness in one district which had over half of the 'man never seen' cases. The study has had a stimulating effect on all the visitors." To state the findings of this study in some detail: Of 65 families where the male head was living, it was found that in 23 he had never been seen by the district worker—in 7 instances because he had deserted, in 3 because he was in an asylum, and in 13 for no apparent reason. In the other 42 cases he had been seen—in 24 cases on the day the application was made (in 17 of these he had made the application), in 10 cases within a month thereafter, in 3 cases from one to five months later, and in 5 cases not until from one to eight years had elapsed. Further study led to the conclusion that of the 42 men seen 22 were followed up adequately, 11 should have been seen oftener, and 9 were not followed up because the man entered an institution after application.

This same society goes on to state, "Another class of 16 visitors has just finished the analysis of October cases handled by them to ascertain how many of the problems presented are community problems and how

many are individual. Then a further examination of the first group to show whether the community has a suitable and adequate remedy or preventive measure. If not, does our treatment point the way to a desirable public action?"

Before leaving the subject of case records as a means of supervision, mention should be made of the possibility of studying *letters* apart from the record of which they form so important a part. In the district as ordinarily organized the district secretary criticises and revises when necessary all outgoing letters, and they usually go over her signature. There are times, however, when the supervisor may desire to have copies of *all* letters, for instance, to certain coöperating agencies, or reports to donors, or inquiries to out-of-town agencies, sent to her desk for a definite period. These often throw a great deal of light on coöperative relations, and bring out strongly excellences and weaknesses not before realized.

II. THROUGH FORMS AND REPORTS

The value of forms and reports as adjuncts to supervision has probably been largely overestimated. A study of the division of active cases between workers helps the district secretary to adjust the load evenly; and similarly, the volume of work as told by the monthly reports guides the supervisor in the apportionment of workers to the districts. Daily or monthly reports may give light on the activities of volunteers, and on the relations between visits *from* families and visits *to* families —a ratio which bears watching. One of the societies answering the questionnaire has devised a daily report sheet in duplicate of which great things were expected in the supervisory line, but this society now counts it "of almost no supervisory value." Two societies use daily reports to check up promptness of first visit and of report to person or agency referring. Another city finds the daily report "valuable in making studies of the visitor's disposition of her time and in the selection of work done in times of stress."

Such a daily report sheet, used by the Philadelphia S. O. C., has the following headings:

Worker's Name **District** **Date**

NAME	DICTATED	OFFICE VISITS				Letters		Phone		RELIEF S. O. C.	
		Applicant	Consultative	Applicant	Consultative	Out	In	Out	In	Obtained	Administered

There is space enough left at the right-hand side of this sheet for remarks.

Statistical cards are reported as being of service to the supervisor in two ways: first, in checking up the completeness and accuracy with which information has been entered on the face card, and second, in furnishing a handy index by which types of cases can be quickly assembled for study. There was no disposition whatever to ascribe any supervisory value to the *results of the statistical tabulations themselves;* though for societies whose system permits the recording on the statistical card of items of treatment as well as "problems presented," it is difficult to see why interesting combinations of the two groups of information might not be made, which would have some bearing on the resourcefulness of the work of the different districts.

Several societies attempt to supervise currently from the central office the promptness with which reports are sent. In addition to the societies using a daily report sheet, one society uses for this purpose a Visible Index system with signals. Another society which has the Visible Index uses it to keep track of gains and losses in coöperation. It may be said in passing that the uses of this device as an aid to supervision, both in the district and the central office, are many; and it is strongly recommended by those who have tried it.

In three societies, the promptness with which reports go out is followed up through the Confidential Exchange. The method employed for this is shown in the following form of daily report, used by the Minneapolis A. C. These forms are sent to the districts daily, a copy being held in the Confidential Exchange. They are to be returned to the central office not later than the third day.

HIGHLAND Date.....

(NAME OF DISTRICT)

Name	Time Received	Time Visited	Date Reported	Remarks

One society states that the Exchange has a further supervisory function in noting failures to "get together" with other inquiring agencies; and in checking up the visitor's promptness in sending in changes of address and additional identifying information. This, however, is not done until the case record is closed and sent in for filing.

In keeping track of relief expenditures other than by means of case records, one society uses only the totals assembled monthly by the cashier. Comparing these district by district with volume of work, it is easy to pick out "an unusual showing" for discussion with the district

secretary. Another society, whose system calls for repeated requests by the district when relief without a plan is expended for more than a month, feels that this "encourages the districts to formulate their plans for families more quickly."

The accompanying table shows a somewhat complicated form of monthly analysis of the relations between cases and the different forms of relief.

TABLE SHOWING MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CASES AND DIFFERENT FORMS OF RELIEF, IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS[1]

Number of Cases Active	Number of Cases Opened	Amount[2] of Emergent Expenditures (General Fund)	Amount[2] of Pensions and Unplanned Relief (General Fund)	Number of Pension Cases	Amount[2] of Special Funds
333 (d)	72 (a)	$459 (h)	$346 (n)	52 (d)	$794 (n)
306 (h)	54 (f)	377 (n)	254 (d)	47 (n)	562 (e)
268 (a)	44 (k)	354 (a)	231 (l)	35 (h)	490 (m)
213 (g)	43 (m)	262 (k)	180 (a)	33 (m)	489 (a)
181 (l)	36 (e)	258 (b)	135 (c)	28 (a)	435 (d)
179 (f)	34 (n)	199 (d)	124 (k)	26 (e)	409 (f)
174 (e)	33 (b)	199 (f)	123 (h)	20 (k)	374 (h)
171 (n)	29 (d)	158 (j)	113 (b)	20 (c)	305 (c)
161 (j)	29 (c)	156 (g)	92 (e)	19 (f)	300 (b)
157 (m)	28 (g)	154 (c)	65 (f)	15 (j)	265 (k)
139 (k)	23 (j)	137 (l)	56 (j)	12 (b)	253 (j)
124 (c)	21 (l)	115 (m)	38 (i)	11 (l)	251 (l)
112 (b)	19 (h)	89 (e)	20 (m)	10 (g)	182 (i)
108 (i)	18 (i)	87 (i)	13 (g)	8 (i)	121 (g)

[1] Letters in parentheses indicate districts.
[2] Amount stated to nearest dollar.

A comparison of the columns "Cases Active" and "Cases Opened" shows roughly which districts are holding their cases and allowing them to mount up, and which districts are the most active in closing. The column of "Cases Opened" compared with the next—"Amount of Emergent Expenditures from the General Fund"—shows the districts in which there is a tendency to give this sort of relief, while the three last columns indicate which districts have been more successful in raising special funds and which have drawn more heavily upon the general funds.

Two societies which have a somewhat complicated system of listing expenditures from the general fund feel that it has decided supervisory value. Requisitions on this fund are divided in the office of the supervisor under a double classification which depends not upon the "cause of distress" but upon the *status of the man*—whether he be dead, sick, deserting, unemployed, or underemployed; and which further takes into consideration the length of time expenditures have been made for the

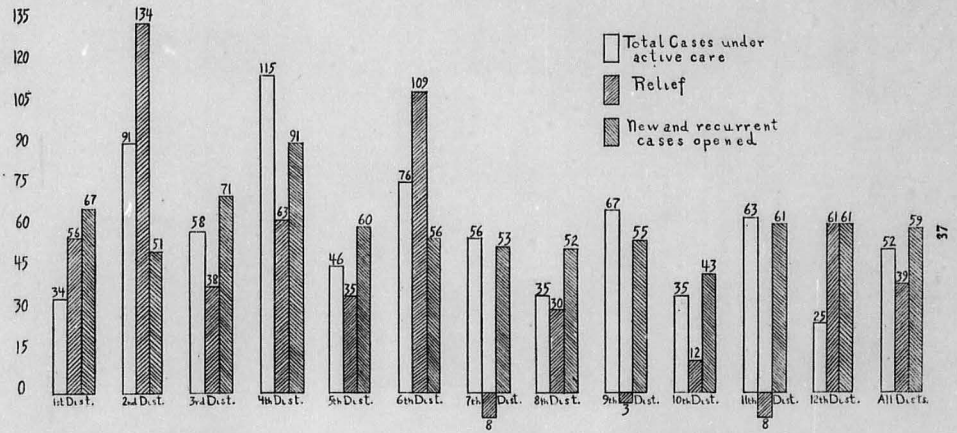

Diagram 1: Percentage of increase (or decrease) in total cases under active care, in relief, and in new and recurrent cases opened for the districts of a society in the six months November to April, 1915, inclusive, over the six months November to April, 1914, inclusive

family. With this classification it is possible to tell by districts how much of the relief from general funds was emergent, how much "relief without a plan," and how much had to be expended for regular allowance cases for which there had been failure to raise special funds. It is also possible to discover how each of these groups is divided under the "status of man" classification.

The studies which any supervisor is called upon to make of the relations of relief to volume of work are literally too numerous to mention, for this is a matter of continuing interest to boards of directors. One such study, made at the close of the heavy winter of 1913–14, showed in graphic form *percentage increase by districts* in relief, intake of work, and number of cases under care, over the previous year. (See diagram 1.) The same society at intervals stimulates its workers to self-supervision in the matter of relief by devising schedules to be kept by them for a month, which show whether or not there is a tendency on the worker's part to give regularly or irregularly, in kind or in cash, and in large amounts or small doles. In a similar way, visitors can be encouraged to keep track of the amount of relief they procure for their families which has not passed through the society's books, and to compare records among themselves; districts can in like manner be stimulated to a healthful rivalry in the raising of special case funds.

The supervisor may often find it interesting to get away from the comparison of items within her own society and to try to get light on how other societies compare with it in some of the more important statistical items. One such study undertaken by one of the larger societies this spring gave interesting results as to number of families per visitor and relief expended per family in these different cities. (See Diagrams 2 and 3.) The same method of presentation could be used in comparing district with district.

Supervision of the general office activities of the districts, aside from what their case record work shows, is a difficult matter. One large districted society so keenly felt the lack of a knowledge of the office routine of the various district offices and of their physical equipment as compared one with another that a study was undertaken which included visits to each district office by a person experienced in office equipment and arrangement, which resulted in suggestions as to lighting, rearrangement of furniture, reorganization of filing, and the installation of new equipment and furnishings where needed. In addition, each district secretary was asked to fill out the questionnaire given at the end of this paper (see p. 42), and the answers were made the basis of further discussion and further readjustments.

III. THROUGH PERSONAL CONFERENCE AND THROUGH MEETINGS

We have seen that case records and to a lesser extent other reports and forms are an important part of the material with which the supervisor works. "What every district secretary knows," however, is that the attempt to direct case work through record reading or routine reports

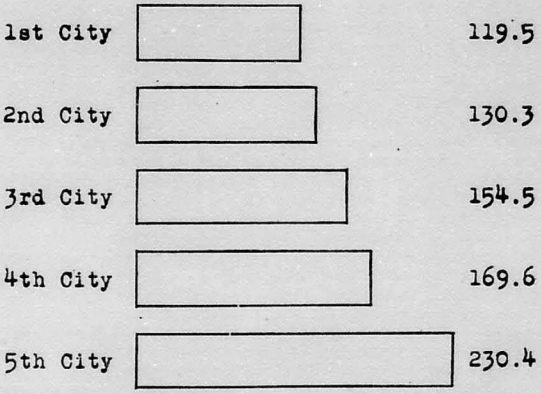

Diagram 2: Number of families per visitor in five different cities, 1915-1916

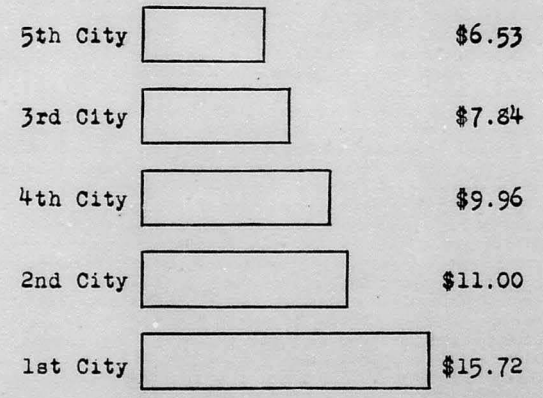

Diagram 3: Amount of relief per family in five different cities, 1915-1916

alone is a dry and comparatively fruitless task. The backbone of successful supervision is conference between worker and supervisor. If one or the other has to be sacrificed, then the case reading should be allowed to suffer. A successful district secretary confesses that for one whole winter of unusual pressure she never attempted to read case records at all, preferring by daily conferences with each visitor and by a fairly elaborate "tickler system"[1] to keep track of the case work. Since her visitors were comparatively inexperienced it was necessary to go with them step by step, and she "worked the Socratic method to death," but came through the winter with no serious casualties. She realized the dangers of her course, but deliberately chose it as the lesser of two evils.

The case supervisor of a districted society misses greatly these opportunities for frequent conference. The telephone we have always with us; but telephone conversations are notoriously poor substitutes for the face-to-face interview. The supervisor usually feels that time spent in visiting the district offices and attending meetings of the case conferences, though ill-spared, is well-spent. She welcomes the unexpected visits of district workers to consult about a troublesome case as opportunities to get light on their needs. She finds in the regular meetings of the district secretaries and the staff similar opportunities, and tries to keep the hour following such meetings free for impromptu conferences. When complaints or misunderstandings reach the central office, her first thought is to arrange a meeting which will bring the person complaining, the case worker, and herself together in a discussion which far oftener than not leads to an amicable settlement.

A plan which was tried by Miss Byington when supervisor in the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities was to set aside one hour at regular intervals for each district secretary. The secretary knew in advance and could prepare for these meetings, and she was sure of an uninterrupted hour in which to discuss all that she had on her mind concerning the welfare of her district.

The more formal group meetings of district secretaries are also immensely valuable from the supervisor's standpoint. These meetings are the logical place for technical discussion of case work and district work. Here new policies can be suggested and new methods described; and the reactions of the group in general and of its individual members will be in the highest degree suggestive and illuminating to the supervisor in shaping her own course and attempting to influence the development of the districts. To get the best results from these meetings the district secretaries should have a real voice and a real responsibility in the adoption or rejection of plans; and discussion should be shaped so as to permit compromise and mutual modification of ideas. No lectures or expositions, however instructive, will take the place in district secretaries' meetings of this rubbing of mind against mind in free debate. The other method is more suitable to staff meetings, where workers of all degrees of experience meet in one group; though even there, if free discussion can be

[1] See description of the tickler in the CHARITY ORGANIZATION BULLETIN for March, 1914.

obtained it furnishes a valuable opportunity to get light on the workings of individual minds and on the development of the younger workers. The same is true of training classes, though it is obvious that their primary purpose is instruction rather than supervision.

Supervisors vary greatly as to the amount of time they feel it wise to invest in attending meetings of district conferences. The following quotations from their letters bring this out clearly:

"I cannot visit each committee more than once a year."

"At one new conference I dare not miss a single meeting, the others I plan to attend at least once a month."

"The supervisor practically never attends district committee meetings. The assistant general secretary does this, attending practically all such meetings."

"I find it most helpful to visit the same conference a number of times consecutively."

"The case supervisor should attend district committee meetings at least once in two months to get the fullest use of them as opportunities for supervision."

"We feel that the supervisor's attendance at district meetings should be as frequent as possible. . . . Last year, in the districts where there were new superintendents [the assistant supervisor] attended some of these conferences four or five weeks in succession. There is one difficulty in a supervisor's going to district conferences and that is that any one from central office may have a 'dampening' effect on the conference group."

As regards the actual supervision of district conference work from the point of view of the volunteer, this is more often conducted by visitation committees of the volunteers themselves, and such systems are reported from several cities. One city gets around the difficulty suggested by the supervisor last quoted by having the various department heads at the central office attach themselves each to one district committee and attend its meetings regularly.

It seems safe to say that the supervisor who obtains the best results will be the one who does much careful case reading supplemented by frequent conferences with the staff, both district secretaries and visitors. She is likely to use statistical forms sparingly but intelligently. She must create in her staff the feeling that she is at all times available for consultation and to be relied upon in an emergency. Even if she visits the districts but seldom, she must be sure that they all feel that she is "there" when needed. She should value and conserve the differences between districts which mean the expression of individuality, and insist upon uniform procedure only in such reports as have to come from all districts to the central office. Above all things, she must avoid the tendency to notice only lapses and failures; she must be quick to note and appreciate success, to call attention to discoveries of new methods by the workers, and to avoid the constant hammering of adverse criticism, which means not criticism at all in its best sense but the discouragement of effort and the paralysis of initiative. Only in so far as she can succeed in creating a spirit of mutual appreciation and of working together, will the case work and district work of the society for which she is responsible be continuously on the up-grade.

Questionnaire on General Office Activities

1. a. Is there a regular schedule for keeping office?
   Give schedule.
   b. Is it usually adhered to?
2. a. Who answers the telephone?
   b. How are messages distributed?
   c. What are the regulations with regard to keeping a record of telephone calls?
3. Meeting Callers: Who interviews—
   a. Applicants?
   b. Other visitors?
4. Who keeps track of and orders supplies?
5. Who reports absences of staff to Central Office?
6. Who makes out index cards?
7. Monthly Report:
   a. Who makes out the Monthly Report?
   b. Are the case records checked up against the index cards as suggested in Handbook, as a preliminary to making out the Monthly Report? If so, who does this?
   c. Is it determined by actual count of index cards each month that the number given in Monthly Report is correct?
8. If any of the following files are in use, who is responsible for keeping them up?
   Street file
   Volunteer file
   Cooperation file
9. a. How are Committee members notified of meetings?
   b. Who reports to Central Office changes in District Committee?
10. General Correspondence:
    a. Who writes letters not concerning definite cases?
    c. Who is responsible for sending it to Social Service Exchange?
11. Day Book:
    a. Are entries made daily?
    b. Is Day Book inspected daily? By whom?

CASE RECORD

12. a. Who makes out face card?
    b. Who is responsible for entering additional information?
    c. Who is responsible for sending it to Social Service Exchange?
13. a. What visitors' case work is carefully supervised by District Secretary?
    b. By Assistant Secretary?
    c. What visitors take the initiative in bringing problems to District Secretary?
    d. How often does each visitor have conferences with supervisor?
    e. Is this before or after supervisor has read record?
14. a. Give schedule for dictation of case workers.
    b. Do visitors dictate from case records? From Day Book? From their note books?
    c. Does visitor read and initial all her own entries?
    d. Does District Secretary read and initial all entries?
15. a. Who is responsible for the removal of records from the file and for their replacement?
    b. Are all records in use during the day filed at night?
16. a. What visitors write letters on their own cases?
    b. Do volunteers write their own letters?
    c. Is District Secretary's name signed to all correspondence?

17. What system do you have of keeping track of when reports are due (to other than contributors)?
18. How are cases selected for closing?
    a. Are cases closed each month?
    b. At any certain time in the month?
    c. Who makes the closing entries?
    d. Who checks up treatment statistics?

FINANCIAL RECORD

19. a. Who is responsible for entries on case card?
    b. For making out requisitions?
    c. For making up cash statements?
    d. For making up contingent report?
    e. For keeping up donors' file?
    f. For handling contributions and sending private source receipts?
    g. For keeping up district contributors' file (entries and tabbing)?
    h. For making up donors' cards if used?
    i. For drafting appeals?
    j. For writing reports to contributors?
20. a. Do you attempt to keep a rough current balance on Special Funds?
    b. Who attends to this?

FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE

CHARITY ORGANIZATION INSTITUTE

FOR 1917

The Eighth Institute will begin its sessions in New York City Monday, April 30, 1917, and continue for four weeks thereafter. Membership is limited to twenty charity organization executives and case workers who wish to profit by further intensive study and discussion in their own fields. There is no fee. Admission will be by invitation issued near the end of March.

Application for membership should be made at once. Send for application form to

CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT,
130 E. 22d St., New York City.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION BULLETIN

FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL USE OF
CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES
CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
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MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR — FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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WAR NUMBER

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NOTE.—OUR MEETINGS AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ARE USUALLY A PLEASURE; THIS YEAR OF ALL OTHERS THEY ARE A NECESSITY. WE MUST GET TOGETHER AND ACT TOGETHER. PITTSBURGH IS THE PLACE AND JUNE 6TH THE TIME.

BEYOND THE VERGE

BETWEEN two BULLETINS—this one and the preceding—the world has taken strides unparalleled within the span of life of any of its readers. A dynasty with roots extending three hundred years into the past has fallen, and a great republic has declared that the world must be made safe for democracy. Great times are rare touchstones; they test the individual in all his relations, and in his relation to his chosen calling most of all.

In the calling of social work, this testing by the genius of the hour seems to bring very diverse reactions, all of which, however, show some one of three general tendencies—toward doctrinarianism, toward romanticism, and toward realism.

The doctrinaire is one who undertakes to explain things "by one narrow theory or group of theories." Recent events have left him gasping because they present so many aspects not set down in his neat little schedules. His habit has been to formulate programs and print them, and he has not been able to stop immediately, even when the world movement has swept him quite beyond his depth. For the conscientious objector who remains true to his convictions in these times there is always a place of dignity. He commands the respect of all of us, but it must be confessed that the improvisor of programs suddenly stands revealed as lacking weight.

The romanticists have reacted quite differently. The drama now so heroically staged has found them eager to match international change not only with a change of mind and heart in themselves but with a change of rôle too. Sometimes a change of rôle is an obvious duty forced upon us by the logic of events, but when a man leaves a difficult and necessary task for one less important and for which he is ill fitted, and does this in response to the excitement of the hour, he stamps himself as a romanticist. He stands revealed as one who must "dress the part" and match a change of outward circumstance by a change of costume.

The realist, on the other hand, is he who is determined to do well the thing which he is best fitted to do, always provided that this thing is a service essential to the day and the hour. "Each only as God wills can work . . . there is no last nor first." New trappings, new committees, new prominence do not in themselves attract him, though he may find his real task behind a gun, at the head of a government bureau in Washington, or in working obscurely, though with renewed devotion and intensity of purpose, in his usual place. The nation needs all forms of service, but by none will its life be more enriched than by the labors of those who can achieve the inward change of a new consecration without the outward and visible sign, without the stimulation, of a new job.

We charity organization workers are not by temperament or training one-remedy people; we can plead "not guilty" in the matter of the improvised programs. But the call of the hour has found some of us taking a romantic and some a realistic view of our present responsi-

bilities. Not all of the realists are staying—some are leaving our ranks temporarily to do work that they are peculiarly fitted to do, while those who remain are cheerfully assuming double burdens. It would be difficult to say which show the finer spirit of adventure—those who go or those who stay.

CLOSE RANKS!

Those who stay must close ranks. The country is going to need social case work in families as never before. Our government may safeguard the home as carefully as possible; it may select unmarried men, it may supply liberal allowances for the home dependents of soldiers, it may encourage the supplementing of government allowances through the Red Cross. But a million or so of men cannot be taken from their homes and from industry without causing many of those sudden dislocations in which skilled case work is so necessary. The government cannot improvise case work service. The existing family agencies of the country are going to have to do two things—build up a larger body of specially skilful service within the agency, and train a larger number of other people—chiefly volunteers—to do this work outside. If anyone has a lingering doubt that this is so, let him read Mr. Dexter's sober statement printed in this number. High cost of living, changes in industry whether we have good times or bad, abnormal demand for the work of the very young, the removal of male heads of families from the home, the extra excitement and extra strain which lead to increase of immorality and of drunkenness—this is no list of an alarmist, but a plain statement of what we, as conservators, must brace ourselves to face. What could steady this situation better than the organized skill of the agencies engaged in case work, unless it be their generous willingness to pass that skill on, as best they can, to the army of willing volunteers who will be anxious to serve?

OPEN RANKS!

Miss Goodwillie is quite right, in the address to volunteers quoted in these pages. The social case worker is going to be worth her weight in gold. But so is the volunteer who knows nothing of case work but is so eager to serve that she is eager to learn. Have we faith enough in the fundamental importance of our own task to be willing to take endless pains to share it with a much larger group of volunteers than ever before? That is the additional test which the genius of the hour is about to apply to us. A willingness to turn work over to others and then wash our hands of the consequences will not satisfy that genius. The proof of our metal will be genuine sharing.

In so far as an editor can judge, Mr. Dexter and Miss Goodwillie do not differ about volunteers; they describe different situations, however, in one of which professional social work has not yet won full recognition and in the other of which it is already highly prized. Some account is given on another page of the training classes for which the

schools for social workers and our own societies have already opened ranks.

THE SINGLE STANDARD

The question has been raised whether families of soldiers at the front do not require different social treatment from that given to other families, whether it is not necessary to slur over, with them, the usual preliminaries and take many things for granted both in diagnosis and treatment. This suggestion may mean one of two things: First, it may mean that soldiers' families belong to a different and presumably more normal class than those who, in any numbers at least, find their way to social agencies. Second, it may mean that, in the opinion of the objector, the *same* family ought to be dealt with in one way in a Red Cross office and in another way in, for example, a C. O. S. office.

The first assumption is easily disposed of. Many of the families which in normal times come to the attention of agencies engaged in case work are brought there by conditions as completely beyond their control as a world war could possibly be. They deserve not different but the same consideration that the victims of war conditions deserve. Both should receive that adaptable and thorough treatment which gets promptly away from the class and gives individualized care.

As regards the second assumption, that the sending of the bread-winner away alters the case and renders individualized care unnecessary, there is sound justice behind the feeling that the nation owes the families of its soldiers not charity but wages. Over and above the government's separation allowance, however, the breakdowns in family life that follow upon separation and the causes of breakdown that have preceded it will both have to be dealt with. It would be an ostrich policy that ignored them. In every country now at war, the need for home services in addition to home allowances has been fully demonstrated. With the long and continuous development of such services in the United States, we should be able, as Mr. Dexter points out, to make a new record, to carry through more adaptable and far-seeing plans for the protection of the home than have yet been attempted. What, however, could be said of the democracy of our people and that of our social agencies if either or both were to agree that the family of the humblest civilian should receive at any time or in any place a service and consideration short of the best. In so far as we ourselves have failed in adaptability and consideration in the past—and we have often failed—now is a good time to turn over a new leaf. We should not stultify ourselves, however, by agreeing that there can justly be more than one standard of service.

DEPARTMENTAL PREPAREDNESS

We said at the beginning that some social workers will serve best by change of occupation and some by continuing where they are. The members of the Charity Organization Department staff belong in the latter group. The largest task that the Department has ever under-

taken has just been completed. Another one of its most arduous undertakings is now rapidly nearing completion. All of May will be occupied, however, with the 1917 Charity Organization Institute. How can the Department help the charity organization societies, as it earnestly wishes to do at this juncture, and help them promptly?

First of all, the Institute will be made up of a competent group who are eager to serve. In so far as pressing problems can be dealt with by such a group under the direction of our staff, send them along now!

As training seems to have been the first thought of the societies in this emergency, and wisely so, we have begun to gather data about lecture courses and field training now under way. Some trainers have been invited to describe their methods. When these descriptions come in, we shall be glad to duplicate and forward them, upon application, to charity organization societies now undertaking the special training of volunteers.

We have also obtained for this same group, through the courtesy of the Red Cross and the New York C. O. S., a limited number of copies of the only two brief reports on emergency relief work that are, so far as we know, now available—those on the Titanic Disaster and on the Washington Place Fire. There is little literature upon emergencies, but the completest study ever made of one—of the San Francisco fire and earthquake—is not yet out of print. The book, which is a large and expensive one, was issued by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1913. It gives just such details as in any emergency—a fire, an explosion, a destruction of property rendering many homeless—would be most useful. But it will be too late to wait until such emergencies come before looking into the volume. Its discussions of first measures, of the handling of supplies, of problems of temporary shelter, of family relief, etc., should be known to every charity organization society and every Red Cross chapter while there is yet time to become familiar with them. With a view to making the book more accessible, the Foundation announces that it will be sent postpaid for $2.00 instead of $3.50, its regular price.

A DEPARTMENTAL CALL FOR RECRUITS

As many readers know, the Director of the Charity Organization Department has been working for more than six years upon a study of the methods used by social workers preliminary to making a plan of treatment for a family or an individual. This has just been published under the title of Social Diagnosis (see advertisement in this number). It seemed to the writer to be making its appearance at a time when no one would look at it, but before all of it was in type appeals began to come in from social workers in Canada and in this country for advance copies or an opportunity to see the proof sheets. It then

occurred to us that though, on the field of battle, the doctor who cares for the wounded needs a more flexible technique than at any other time, his decisions there would be more helpful if he had succeeded beforehand in making a good diagnostic method "bone of his bone." This, after all, is just what Social Diagnosis aims to do for the social case worker. Emergencies are hardly mentioned in it, but it tries to present without dogmatism the things that are now known about diagnosis in the social work field.

This is what the people responsible for training courses and those about to turn temporarily from other forms of social work to family work, because they recognize its importance at this time, have been quick to see—quicker, it must be confessed, than we were.

There is a limit to what one can say or do about one's own wares. If, after examining the book, BULLETIN readers feel that they want others who are interested in social work to know about it, here is a chance for some active recruiting. The volume does break ground which is new at present to all save a small group. If it contains ideas that we want to see adopted, why not push them? At the present moment and for two or three weeks more the reasons for writing the book and the nature of its contents are news. If the news is worth spreading, why not spread it? Here is a chance to utilize the natural avenues of publicity that are open to the directors and volunteer workers in each society and to its paid staff.

Who will agree to do all or some of the following things quite promptly—they are not time consuming—and notify the Department to that effect?

1. Volunteer to enclose in outgoing letters a small leaflet about Social Diagnosis that will not add appreciably to the weight of letters. Enclosure for a few weeks from C. O. S. offices to correspondents likely to be interested in the book is all that is asked.
2. Volunteer to ask for the book at the various libraries and to ask others to do so.
3. Volunteer to ask the bookstores whether they have it on sale and to urge others to inquire for it at the stores.
4. Volunteer to make the book or some part of its contents the subject of a news item for the daily papers, and for the religious and secular weeklies published locally.
5. Volunteer to send us copies of such notices as they appear.
6. Volunteer to mention the book incidentally to socially minded judges, lawyers, teachers, employment managers, industrial welfare workers, and clergymen. Representatives of all these groups have expressed an interest in its point of view.
7. Volunteer to tell us what we can do to bring the book to the attention of the people whose interest in it would most help the charity organization movement at this time.

That is what we want to do. Who will help us to do it, and in helping hasten the coming of social case work into its own?

WAR RELIEF AND CHARITY ORGANIZATION

By ROBERT C. DEXTER
General Secretary Charity Organization Society of Montreal

MONTREAL, the largest city in Canada, probably has the most extensive and effective war relief activities in the Dominion. An analysis of these from a case worker's point of view may be suggestive for case workers in the United States.

I am taking it for granted that the readers of the BULLETIN are familiar with the articles by Paul U. Kellogg entitled "A Canadian City in War Time" which have appeared in recent numbers of the *Survey*. Therefore I will not describe in detail the organizations dealing with war relief problems. In some of its criticism the *Survey* is hampered by being a popular journal, but its description of the work is careful and complete.

At the outbreak of the war Canada labored under several disadvantages which the United States does not have to contend against. In the first place, the war was an entire surprise to the Dominion; it caught everybody unawares. The United States on the other hand has had almost three years of watchful waiting, and the Mexican imbroglio last summer was a very definite indication of some of the social problems that the enlistment of large bodies of men might induce.

Another disadvantage was that the year 1914 had been one of fearful depression, particularly in the large cities. The war, arriving in the midst of this depression, increased its intensity; for almost a year capital was uncertain, and consequently unemployment among all classes of workers was common. Not until the munitions business had been established was this problem met. The United States, with business well organized and capital confident, will have little to fear.

A third disadvantage was that we had no country-wide, centralizing organization, such as the American Red Cross. The Canadian Red Cross by its charter was restricted to the care of the wounded and to the provision of supplies for this purpose. This led to the organization of a host of societies for varying purposes and with conflicting, sometimes even antagonistic, policies. Soldiers' Wives' Leagues, Khaki Clubs, Battalion Organizations, and all kinds of other societies immediately began to solicit funds without any very clear idea of how those funds were to be used. For the care of soldiers' dependents throughout the Dominion, the Canadian Patriotic Fund was soon organized, but all these other groups were already in the field. A great advantage in one comprehensive organization, such as the American Red Cross, is that in each locality volunteers may be assigned to the type of work that they can best perform. Many women skilful in making hospital jackets are worse than useless as family visitors; many excellent visitors may make poor executives; and so on all along the line. I would not at all discourage

the organization of groups connected with individual military and naval units, but I would very much like to see all these groups integral parts of a single community unit and each community unit a member of the larger state and national organization. Only one who has been through the opposite experience can realize the injustice done not only to the soldiers' families, visited by many "Good Samaritans" with divergent aims, but also to the Samaritans themselves, who are allowed to worse than waste their unselfish efforts.

The last, and to my mind most important, difficulty which Canada faced, was the lack of a body of trained social workers. At the outbreak of the war there were but two or three case working agencies of recognized standing throughout Canada, and these were barely holding their own under the burden of the industrial crisis. America's asset of thousands of experienced case workers should make her approach to the social problems of the war much more effective than ours has been. On these workers rests a very definite responsibility to mitigate some of the hardships caused by war.

An agency working with families sees first of all the family problems which any change produces. The war has brought forward three definite types of problems:

1. The family requiring aid, either material or in the way of service, because of the enlistment of its male members.
2. Families of interned enemy aliens or other aliens who, owing to war conditions, cannot be cared for in the normal way, *i.e.* either by their consulate or by deportation—or who, because they are aliens, become unemployed.
3. Families in need owing to industrial disturbances caused by the war.

The first type is by all odds the most important. The second and third require but slight comment. If Canadian experience is any criterion, these will be left solely to the attention of existing agencies. The public generally is not at all interested.

To what extent the United States will have the problem of the families of interned men and the alien problem generally depends upon three factors:

1. The policy of the Government regarding internment.
2. Its policy regarding deportable alien enemies.
3. The attitude of the public toward residents of enemy birth or extraction.

Canada has interned a large proportion of Germans of military age. At the outbreak of war a number of Austrian subjects were likewise interned; these latter were mostly Slavs and have since been released as they were not dangerous and were wanted in industry. The Canadian Government has always admitted its liability for the support of families of interned men—a step which, as far as I know, no government has taken for other kinds of prisoners. For the last two years the Montreal

C. O. S., at the request of the American Consul, representing Germany and Austria, and of the Canadian Government, has been caring for the families of these people. The Government has supplied funds for relief and for the salary of the interpreter, and we have given the necessary oversight.

In regard to deportation, I feel that the Government should provide for enemy subjects who in normal times would be deported, but who cannot be deported on account of the war. This has been done here until recently, when the Government disclaimed further liability, as owing to the duration of the war the three year period of residence had been established. Representations might be made to the United States Government regarding this question, as it does not seem fair that aliens should establish a residence simply owing to war conditions.

It might be suggested either that the Government itself take over the care of these aliens, or that well-to-do groups of their own nationality provide for them. Both plans have been tried here. Governments are not equipped for such work, and cannot easily adapt themselves to it in war time. The care of alien enemies by their own people for obvious reasons is not wise. There is no better opportunity for disloyal activities. Even when those in charge are absolutely reliable, the danger of misconstruction by the public is too great to be encountered. In this connection, may I suggest that if any charitable organization takes over this sort of work it would be ill advised to employ agents or district secretaries of German extraction or even of German name? The public is very quick to seize upon anything of this sort. It may be necessary to employ interpreters of enemy nationality, but at any rate entire responsibility for the work should rest with Americans. For different reasons the same suggestion holds good for work with families of soldiers' dependents. There are bound to be certain frictions and the fact that the visitor has a German name would add fuel to the fire.

With all families of alien enemies case work standards and ideals are essential. If the man is interned, the treatment is similar to that for a widow's family; unemployment may be particularly hard to remedy, but should be met in the usual way; sickness, immorality, or trouble of any kind, require the general treatment given under normal conditions.

Unemployment due to industrial disturbance presents nothing new in the way of difficulties, and the opportunity for enlistment often acts as a solvent. This problem will probably not be very acute in the United States, although there may be local depressions. Special war work will gradually relieve these. The real problem will come at the end of the war when munition workers by the thousands will be discharged, expensive machinery will be scrapped and orders not forthcoming, and there will be a labor market glutted with discharged soldiers. This is a war relief problem for thought rather than for immediate action.

To return to the problem of soldiers' dependents. Our Government pays a private soldier $33 a month, of which a married man is

obliged to assign $15 (many assign $20) to his wife. In addition the Government pays the wife $20 separation allowance. This is much more generous pay than is given in most countries, but the amount is not sufficient for a family without other resources and has to be supplemented. It would be almost impossible for the Government to arrange a standard of pay sufficiently elastic to meet all needs. Families differ as to size and standards of living, and even the cost of living differs in different parts of the country. In Canada we met the financial question by the organization of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, which makes grants to families in proportion to their size and to the cost of living in the given district. Its grants are restricted, however, and are too much a matter of routine. With a more thorough investigation and a more careful study of each individual case the grants might be more exactly proportioned to the just needs of the family. I doubt if this would entail extra expense, as many families are receiving Fund money which a more careful investigation would show to be unnecessary.

We soon found in Montreal that the matter of financial grants was not everything. This discovery of the Montreal branch has set its work apart from that of the rest of Canada. The absence of a husband or father or son is not supplied by a grant of $15 a month. Family crises go on just the same, babies are born, the roof leaks, there are epidemics of infantile paralysis, country holidays must be arranged; and in most families the father has been more than a financial factor. This occasions the real need for service; as far as possible the father's place must be supplied. In some instances this means more than filling the place that the father actually filled before he went to the front. A visitor said to one soldier's wife: "This must be a great change for you, Mrs. H?" to which she replied, "It is indeed, Mum, a 'appy change. 'E used to come 'ome regular without any money and now the money comes 'ome regular without 'im." In such cases the father's absence may mean the social worker's opportunity to help the family to a higher plane of living which the father's return will not entirely destroy.

It should be made clear from the first that any grant to families of soldiers, aside from the man's pay, is given for need only and is not a right. This has been definitely established in Canada by test cases put through our courts. Government agencies in general have had the utmost confidence in the work of the Patriotic Fund, and in cases where the mother has not been a proper guardian, have assigned the man's pay and separation allowance to the Fund to be used in the interests of the children. Such an arrangement is exceedingly helpful as it gives a lever towards rëestablishing a proper home. Cordial coöperation between Government authorities and the relief agency is greatly improved by personal acquaintance, and this is most helpful to the success of the work.

The universal disability of soldiers' families is that their breadwinner is away—in answer to his country's call. The majority of these families are essentially normal in normal times; their chief need is for the guidance and advice which ordinarily the father gives. Saving of

money for the time when Government pay stops, proper medical care for the children, protection against unscrupulous agents for piano-players and sewing machines; all these are problems which the worker for the Patriotic Fund faces daily with her better-class families. On the other hand, the disturbance in family life due to the war uncovers difficulties which otherwise would not have reached the surface, especially the immorality and intemperance of women. Intemperance in many cases, in fact, is due to loneliness, and immorality may follow. Many of the women, however, have been immoral or intemperate before; it is only because they happen to be connected in some way with a soldier that these handicaps are discovered at the present time. I cannot give exact figures, but the number of instances of immorality and intemperance among the families of soldiers is amazingly large and, as the war continues, is on the increase. An experience of some years in social work in the United States makes me fear that you will have these problems at least in some degree. One of the ways we have combated loneliness is by the organization of groups of soldiers' wives in neighborhood clubs, in settlements, etc. Besides the undoubted benefit to the women, this provides a useful channel for considerable volunteer activity.

A specific problem of immorality is occasioned by the marriage of soldiers at the time of enlistment to prostitutes, eager to obtain the man's allowance. Instances of immorality occur in only a small proportion of all soldiers' families, but they are widely scattered and serious, and, in a large city, form a considerable group. Many can be recognized only after careful investigation, and their existence is one reason why all investigations ought to be made by thoroughly trained workers.

Wayward children lacking a father's care, wasters who spend their month's allowance in taxi-cab rides, and complex legal problems are constantly met in the work of the Fund. Recently a soldier's wife came to me seeking help, because a daughter of eighteen had run away from home. There would have been no need to come, she told me, if her husband or son, both of them soldiers, had been available.

From this description of the problems of soldiers' dependents it is obvious that the highest ideals of case work are called for. Many of these family problems are exceedingly difficult and require the most careful, confidential treatment. Consequently, the people best fitted to direct the work are experienced case workers. In Montreal we are fortunate in having a capable and experienced volunteer in charge, but while the work here is probably the best developed of any in Canada it has not reached the maximum of success. Reliance on volunteer service has made the Fund undemocratic and less efficient. Its visitors are necessarily of the leisure class, most of whom have never worked before. One reason for this has been the administrative expense bogy. An attempt is constantly being made to cut down the expense of administration without intelligent consideration of the interest of the families. They deserve the best social service, just as they deserve the best medical service, that the community can provide, and it is unfair to turn loose on them hundreds of more or less efficient volunteers, many of whom

have had no trained leadership and cannot be given it now. It is not only unfair to the families of the soldiers but it is unfair to the volunteers themselves. Without sufficiently helpful oversight they often get unfortunate reactions from their experiences. I have talked with many of the volunteers who affirm that all poor people are liars; that they are all immoral; or, on the other hand, that they are all exploited.

A minimum for effective service should provide that:

1. All investigations of applications should be made by experienced workers.
2. All cases should be sorted, and the most difficult should be kept in the hands of experienced workers.
3. Cases presenting no special difficulty may be given to competent volunteers whose work should be reviewed by a trained supervisor.

It should be borne in mind that war relief, as contrasted with calamity relief, is likely to extend over a much greater period of time, and the problems will increase in complexity.

I do not wish to minimize the place which volunteer service may fill. There are at least three important reasons why volunteers should be used. First, if they are not used under trained direction they will go ahead on their own, and the result will be disastrous. (I have referred to our multiplicity of organizations, some of which at times have deliberately thwarted the plans of the Patriotic Fund—unquestionably our best organization.) An opportunity should be given for every kind of volunteer service and people should be sorted according to qualifications. A second reason for the enlistment of volunteers is that with direction they may be of very real assistance. Many of the families are normal and require little in the way of specialized treatment; with them the volunteer with even a little direction is often a godsend. This fact gives an even larger field of usefulness to the volunteer than peace-time work presents. A third reason is that this work has given many women a new conception of social needs. Many, touched by the patriotic appeal, will face for the first time the social problems of their communities and a large number will continue to be interested and helpful after the war.

A very valuable contribution of the Patriotic Fund has been its indefatigable collection of social statistics. No small credit is due to Miss Reid and her assistants. The Montreal branch of the Canadian Patriotic Fund has convinced me that a volunteer group of women can do very effective office and statistical work.

I need not go into the committee organization; your requirements will be different from ours. One lack in the Canadian Patriotic Fund has been that of a case committee, or committees. They would be of even greater help than in ordinary C. O. S. work and would be of assistance in training volunteers. In this connection may I suggest the immediate organization of training classes for volunteers for war work? The New York School of Philanthropy has already set the example.

These classes should be as widely distributed as possible and in regions where there is no school they should be undertaken by charity organization societies in coöperation with other groups.

I want to commend the action of the Canadian Patriotic Fund in registering all cases with the Confidential Exchange. This has been a great help, not only to it but to all other agencies.

Difficult family problems have, from time to time, been referred to the C. O. S. after they had been worked on for some time by Patriotic Fund workers. This has been a useful makeshift, but less successful than the plan I have previously outlined would be.

It is not too early to consider the problems of the returned soldier, and those of families in which the soldier will never return. Care of the wounded may be left to medical authorities, but the reëntry of the soldier into civil life, the provision of vocational guidance and reëducation where necessary, and the organization of a socially, as well as economically, sound pensions system, are all matters in which the experience of social workers will be valuable. The departments concerned must be in position to act promptly and wisely, and all should have on their staff people of social experience.

While war makes peculiar demands on the social worker, the family problems that the C. O. S. exists to meet and the social problems back of them go on just the same, and we must "carry on," although the preoccupation of the public in the war makes money-raising difficult. This is equally true of other social agencies. As in ordinary times, the C. O. S. is called upon to meet any need not otherwise provided for. The problem of the returned soldier and his family is just now causing us much concern. While strongly urging the importance of maintaining all usual activities, I feel that the war work has first call. I should not hesitate to relinquish workers or equipment to it, even at the risk of crippling our own work.

In conclusion may I, as an American, express the hope that the war relief problems will be met, not only with enthusiasm and generosity, but with intelligence and a look ahead? There are two pieces of final advice that I want to give from my experience here. First, make use of volunteers as widely as possible and in accordance with their capacity. Second, use trained workers or professional volunteers in the directive capacities. In fairness to soldiers' families we should maintain the same ideals of family care that have been worked out so painstakingly in days of peace.

Attention is called to the two Russell Sage Foundation publications advertised in this number. Both will be of service to case workers responsible for the training of volunteers.

VOLUNTEERING IN BALTIMORE

ON April 9th the volunteers of the Baltimore Federated Charities were called together to hear reports from the delegates to the Inter-city Volunteer Conference and to consider how best they could do their share of war work.

Mr. Emmet White, who is chairman of the Red Cross Committee on Civilian Relief, described the work of his committee, which is the care of the dependent families of soldiers and sailors.

Miss Mary C. Goodwillie, who was presiding, then spoke as follows:

Mr. White has asked me to help him by directing the volunteer work of the committee. I can do it only if you and others will help me. It is you first of all and most of all that I rely on, because this care of families is the very work that we as volunteers in the Federated Charities are used to doing. One of our trained workers is already in charge, but a great part of the actual work will have to be done by volunteers and we want it done with the same spirit of carefulness and tenderness and skill that we have set before us as our standard.

As yet we hardly realize that we are at war. So much of the preparation going on around us is for what may happen, but I am here to tell you that the work that we can do has happened. It began to happen the day the Fourth Regiment was ordered to report at its Armory and has increased steadily day by day.

It makes me very happy to know that this definite opportunity of helpfulness is at hand and that it is especially mine by right of the experience that I have had. And it is yours by right, too, so please don't go looking far afield for new ways to serve.

There are two or three things that I want to say to you this afternoon which may help us to think clearly and act effectively. The first is —don't desert your Federated Charities districts! Don't drop the old task to pick up the new, for the work in the districts is the very foundation stone of this new work we are called upon to do. It is not fair to help one family at the expense of another. It is not genuine to enter a fight for democracy and to fail to safeguard democracy at home. At this time all social work must be steadied or otherwise war will bear heaviest on those least able to carry the burden.

What I am asking of you is your extra time and the willing spirit to meet these new demands on time and energy from your store of leisure so that there may be no dislocation anywhere—no shifting of burdens.

My second word is a plea for steadfastness of purpose. The air is full of enthusiasm and for the moment we all feel as though we could do anything, but enthusiasm without steadfastness of purpose soon becomes mere excitement, and quickly subsides. There is work for everybody, but we must get at it slowly and soberly and each one must be willing to do

what she can do best—what her training in life has fitted her to do. And how invaluable every bit of our Federated Charities training is now!

We should have a great many more volunteers who are trained case workers than we have. I am very conscious of my own shortcomings here, for a real leader would have seen to it that each district had its reservists. The case worker today is worth her weight in gold. I have "called out" eight volunteers who have had this training, asking their districts to lend them to the Red Cross for the present. They are giving generously of their time and have made it possible for us to answer promptly all calls upon us. These eight volunteers are sent on first visits with full responsibility just as though they were professionals. There are reference visits and errands and much office work still to be done and I can use all who come.

I have divided the work into three kinds—office work, outside work (including all the visiting), and motor service. This last has been a great saver of time and strength. I ask each one of you to enroll in one of these divisions for at least half a day a week. Nothing less than three hours at a time is accepted.

We have already a weekly schedule with about 12 people on duty a day. More can be used for we mean that each family shall have not only money but friendship. This simple system can be expanded and elaborated later if need arises. In order that it may work smoothly and without confusion, each volunteer must be willing to obey orders. If you find me as a Red Cross worker more stern than you have known me in our Federated Charities days, let me remind you that in war times military discipline is necessary. Already we have struck all the old snags of volunteer service—lack of promptness, failure to appear when expected, and the sudden whim to do our own way instead of what we were told to do. These must be cleared from the path.

The trained worker who has taken infinite pains to help and teach the volunteer is now looking for the fruits of her training and calling on the volunteer to help her.

We have spoken softly to the volunteer and dealt gently—taking almost too thankfully the service she has rendered, making cheerful allowance for the other claims upon her, which so often conflicted with her work. Now we are issuing orders and counting on faithful soldiers who may be relied upon to report for duty and can be found always at their posts.

It is not enough to get under way. We must do what the government is doing—take the long look ahead. We must steady ourselves to hold out and we must do more in the way of preparing people.

If any of you really want to be of great service and have the time to give to training, don't volunteer for Red Cross work now but go into a district and learn how to do case work so that we can use you for first visits later. It will mean three days a week for ten weeks, with one hour a week class work. Four districts are ready to teach and Miss Jacobs and I will help all we can.

As we think of the war and what it has meant to the countries which

have suffered so greatly these two years and more, we could almost envy them their sufferings because of the chance they have had to make sacrifices for a great cause.

Some of us feel a deep thankfulness that this country is not to miss the chance to show it has a soul above material things. Our chance has come, but with it perhaps a sense of disappointment when we find that all that is asked of us is a sacrifice of convenience. We long to do bigger things—different things.

Perhaps the chance for heroic sacrifice may never come and then we shall have missed our chance altogether unless we can begin now and answer the immediate call to do the humdrum task—so exactly like what we have always done.

* * * *

A week after this meeting was held, 78 volunteers who had had no connection with the Federated Charities had enlisted under Miss Goodwillie's committee for regular service. Ten of these had decided to take the ten-week course of district training, and the service of the others was divided between office work, visiting for those whose experience enabled them to pay follow-up visits at least, and automobile service. Those who supplied the automobile service were able greatly to increase the effectiveness of the others by furnishing, in relays, quick transportation all day and every day.

NEWS FROM THE C. O. S. FRONT

NOTE.—It has not been possible to gather all the important items of news in time for this number. Societies are urged to keep us informed of new developments that should be passed on to their fellow societies.

BOSTON

The Associated Charities and workers connected with it have been of assistance, officially and unofficially (writes the secretary), in bringing about social preparedness for war.

Officially, the society has given a brief course of instruction known as "A Course in First Aid in Emergency Relief." This course has been given to three different groups by the Assistant Secretary, Miss Holbrook. Two groups of twelve each have been composed of women enrolled by the Active Volunteer Corps, an organization interested in preparedness. The third was composed of ten students from the Department of Social Ethics in Harvard University.

The course covers a period of six weeks and comprises six lectures or class discussions, an hour or more of reading each week, and at least four hours of practical work a week in the districts. Of the six class periods, two are devoted to a consideration of resources of the city and state, public and private, for persons who are in distress; and one each to the technique of coöperation, the beginnings of investigation, some simple principles of family rehabilitation, and emergency relief at the time of great disasters.

Practice work in the districts is given with a view to placing special emphasis upon training in the consultation of records and the enlistment of cooperation of employers. These tasks have been found of special utility in preparation for problems incident to the care of dependent families of men called to the colors. Other work assigned does not differ materially from that given to any volunteer who is beginning.

So popular have been these courses that several applications have been received for admission to a fourth group, but those now applying will take the more thoroughgoing course which is to be given at the School of Social Work beginning with the week of April 23d. (For outline of course, see page 65.)

Unofficially, officers of the society have been active in the reorganization of the Metropolitan Chapter of the Red Cross. To bring about proper organization for war, a committee of three on Scope and Plan was appointed. John F. Moors, president of the society, and Mrs. W. H. Lothrop served on this committee, which has done an effective piece of work. . . . A sub-committee of the Red Cross, on which the registrar, Miss Woodberry, is serving, has secured the offer of a large amount of trained service to meet social problems in times of emergency. Already the Committee on Civilian Relief has had occasion to take advantage of this offer of help in the organization of a corps of trained visitors to help make provision for dependent families of men who have enlisted.

The board of directors of the Associated Charities on April 13th went on record as being in favor of national prohibition during the war, and effort is now being made to enlist the support of other agencies in bringing as much pressure as possible to bear in Massachusetts in favor of such a measure. The conservation of the vast amount of food material now destroyed in the manufacture of distilled liquors is the immediate basis for this plea.

The society considers the time spent and the effort put forth in the above undertakings well worth while not only as measures of preparedness for the struggle which is now upon us, but also as a means of assisting the community to face more effectively the problems of peace.

BUFFALO

The assistant secretary writes that the local Red Cross chapter has engaged for assistant to its secretary an experienced case worker recommended by the society. The C. O. S. has also offered its services for the training of volunteers and the offer has been accepted.

The only complication so far is a movement fostered by the Mayor to enroll one hundred thousand persons, each to agree to give a dollar a month for the relief of soldiers' families. No social workers are represented on the committee which will administer this fund.

CHICAGO

Mr. Lies of the United Charities goes to the American Red Cross as director of national relief work for the families of soldiers and sailors. Plans for this work will be matured as rapidly as possible. Meanwhile, the Chicago society is in close advisory relations with the local Red Cross.

CLEVELAND

The chairman of volunteers of the Cleveland A. C. assumes responsibility also for the training of volunteers in the Red Cross. A training course has been organized very similar to that in New York, the lectures of which will be given in the Red Cross rooms by A. C. workers. At the present writing, it is likely that the same plan will be followed that worked well in last summer's work for national guardsmen, when the A. C. made investigations for the Red Cross.

DENVER

A course of lectures and field work under Red Cross auspices has been arranged by the City Department of Charities and the Federated Charities jointly.

INDIANAPOLIS

The A. C. has tendered its services to the local Red Cross chapter for training and the outlook for coöperation is good.

MINNEAPOLIS

The Associated Charities has detailed its assistant secretary, Miss Bedford, to take charge of the case work of the Red Cross civilian relief, and also accepts for training the volunteers who will later serve with the Red Cross. Forty are now taking the training, and this number will probably be doubled soon.

NEWARK

From the first, the distinction has been made clear that the Bureau of Associated Charities was not functioning as a relief-giving agency for soldiers' families, but was simply offering the skilled and experienced service of its trained workers to organize the relief and to train workers. The soldiers' family relief in Newark is being undertaken by the New Jersey Soldiers' Relief League. Miss Pendleton has been detailed from the Bureau of Associated Charities to take charge of the registration, the application office, and the training class.

NEW BEDFORD

In this Massachusetts coast town relations with the civilian relief work of the Red Cross are very close. The C. O. S. does all the investigating, and a group of thirty volunteers, working under an experienced volunteer leader, do the follow-up work. A lecture course for these volunteers is now arranged for.

NEW YORK

The New York C. O. S. was one of the first societies to undertake training courses for volunteers in Red Cross civilian relief. The topics of Mr. Lee's lectures to the group of 120 enrolled are given on another page. This course is under the auspices of the New York School of Philanthropy, and 60 of the students are doing field work in the C. O. S. districts. Not more than ten students are assigned to any one district. Subject to the time limits of the course, which covers only ten weeks, the district secretaries are trying to give a careful and thorough start to each student. The aim is to avoid giving any work that would not contribute directly to practical training, and to explain fully every contact and decision, every step taken.

One secretary gives the new volunteer a clear-cut, simple record to read, preliminary to a call upon the family recorded. Before the visit is made she tests the volunteer's familiarity with the record, explains the plan proposed, draws out any doubts and objections, and is sure that the thing to be done is comprehended and that the new recruit knows how to arrive at the home to be visited. Next the volunteer writes out her own notes and submits them for criticism. Soon she progresses to following up the first statement taken by a trained worker, listing the calls to be made, suggesting what should be done first and why, etc. Before beginning to make any outside calls, she is given a chance to *see* the family about whom she must make inquiries and develop plans, by being sent to

them on some simple errand. This secretary believes that the reading of many records at first is confusing to the beginner. Usually the student needs encouragement; her successes should be dwelt upon and her strong points be recognized. Avoid professional terms in talking to her, help her to learn to consult the Directory of Charities when needed, introduce her to more experienced volunteers, and make a place for her at committee meetings. As soon as possible, let her take a first statement herself, and then devote ample time to helping her to improve this part of her work. Budgets and food questions will need emphasizing, but not to the exclusion of the other aspects of treatment.

Speaking of budgets, an Advisory Committee on Home Economics has grown out of the work of the society's dietitian. This Committee has decided to revive a method of teaching by demonstration which had fallen into disfavor with the food economists, but which seems well fitted to the present emergency. A course of three demonstrations and lectures, covering (1) meat substitutes, (2) wider use of cereals, (3) wider use of fruits and vegetables, has been planned and is now being given to eighteen different audiences in the society's district offices, in public school buildings, settlements, milk stations, and other neighborhood centers.

The society has supported for some years an Association of Tuberculosis Clinics. Under the auspices of this Association a public meeting has just been held on War Time Emergencies in the Tuberculosis Campaign. The three subtopics of the meeting were, (1) living conditions of tuberculous families as affected by war, (2) work conditions and the tuberculosis problem as affected by war, and (3) racial aspects of the tuberculosis problem.

Like most of the other large societies, New York has had to contribute workers to the Red Cross. Mr. Persons has not only planned the new Bureau of Red Cross Supply Service in its department of military relief but has become the head of that service. Mr. Devine has become the secretary of the Red Cross civilian relief committee in New York City and one of the society's district secretaries has become its executive.

PEORIA

The Red Cross chapter in this Illinois city has not been organized very long. It receives applications and refers them to the A. C. for investigation and service. When engaged upon this work, representatives of the A. C. use the name of the Red Cross, which reimburses the society for its work.

PHILADELPHIA

The societies here and in Delaware County have been able to render effective service in the first disaster relief needed since the war began.

On April 10th there was an explosion, said to have been caused by the enemy, at the Eddystone munition works near Chester, Pa. About 230 persons were killed or injured. Coöperating promptly with the local agencies of Chester were representatives of our societies in Swarthmore, Lansdowne, and Philadelphia. The head of the Swarthmore society brought with him a group of twenty students from Swarthmore College whose services proved invaluable.

Many of the families of the victims will receive compensation under the workmen's compensation law, and a large relief fund was promptly raised besides, but here are some of the other things that had to be done and were done promptly: Telling relatives how to get compensation and taking them to the office, for many were dazed and helpless foreigners; aiding them in identifying their dead and injured; helping them with plans for funerals; getting them in touch with foreign consuls, particularly where the killed had dependents in another land; advising them how to proceed when the person killed had a bank account; in cases where the bodies were never found, helping them to get witnesses to prove that the men or women were actually employed in the plant that day. One of the greatest difficulties was that the only list of those employed in the destroyed building had been burned with the building.

The day after the disaster the Philadelphia S. O. C. had visited 80 families of victims. A volunteer of the society, assisted by Swarthmore students, took efficient charge of the card index, which was most important in the early days when identifications were made with difficulty. The Swarthmore boys helped in making up a list of the injured and dead the first day, and directed people to hospitals and the morgue. One did stenographic work for a week, and one took charge of the accounts. A chauffeur who had lost several of his own household was so touched by the ready aid given him that he insisted upon helping too. He ran an automobile for a week and his local knowledge was serviceable in many different ways.

Under the auspices of the Red Cross and the Pennsylvania School for Social Service a course of training for volunteers in work for soldiers' families is just beginning in Philadelphia.

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Walter S. Ufford, chairman of the A. C. committee on district work, is now organizing relief work for the local civilian relief committee of the Red Cross. Thus far, 110 persons have volunteered for service. A course of training like the New York course and with similar field requirements has also been organized.

WILMINGTON

The A. C. of Wilmington, Del., has close relations with the local Red Cross and has organized two training classes—one for young girls, the other for a group of older women. The latter is composed almost entirely of women interested either in the Red Cross or in the Women's Defense League.

TRAINING COURSE OUTLINES

The Charity Organization Society of New York, through its School of Philanthropy, has organized a Red Cross training course for emergency social service. The lectures are being given by Mr. Porter R. Lee and the field work is shared by the C. O. S. with several other agencies. Three days a week are required for field service. A certificate will be given to those who complete the full course. The following are the topics of Mr. Lee's lectures:

1. *The Family Group.* Factors in its normal development; common problems in family welfare; special problems in war time.
2. *Relief in Disasters.* Typical problems; development of organized relief; war relief compared with relief after flood, fire, earthquake, etc.
3. *Methods of Social Work with Families.* The starting point; interviewing; the use of available sources of information; supervision of families aided; the use of records; reports; working with committees; coöperation with military authorities.
4. *Problems in the Treatment of Families.* Health; home economics; children; employment of women and children; families with low standards; the value of personal influence; relief; employment for the disabled.
5. *Community Resources.* The Charities Directory; the Social Service Exchange; regular organizations for social work in New York; special facilities for war relief; correlation of effort.
6. *The Responsibility of the Nation; of the Red Cross Worker.*

The School of Social Work in Boston offers a brief course on First Aid in Social Service. Miss Holbrook of the Associated Charities will be in charge of the class conferences and the assignments of field work. The practice work covers at least four hours a week and is supplied by leading social agencies. The topics and lecturers for the course are as follows:

Family Life in Time of War. The unusual or accentuated conditions due to increased cost of living, absence of husbands and other wage-earners, abnormal industrial conditions. MRS. WILLIAM H. LOTHROP.

Knowledge Necessary for Helping Families in Distress. Facts necessary as basis for understanding family needs; use of available sources of information; formulating a plan with effort to maintain a decent standard of living. MISS ELIZABETH L. HOLBROOK.

Methods of Helping. Existing social service agencies, ready to help, working together on the plan, including coöperation with the military and public health authorities; the place of volunteers. MISS ELIZABETH L. HOLBROOK.

Wastage of Child Life. Effect of hunger and underfeeding; growth of infant mortality; result of juvenile overwork; increase of juvenile delinquents. MR. C. C. CARSTENS.

The Handicapped Returned Soldier. Effect of physical injury on body and mind; fitting the handicapped for industrial life; the community's attitude and responsibility toward him. MISS IDA M. CANNON.

Moral Dangers to Youth. To the girl who is bent on a good time; to the boy who is irresponsible. MISS MABELLE B. BLAKE.

Burdens of Sickness. Effect of abnormal conditions on the health of those at home; health agencies of city and state—how we can re-enforce them. MISS MARY BEARD.

Lessons Learned from Great Disasters. The organization of forces to meet great emergencies, such as war, fire, or flood; the American Red Cross; responsibility of the volunteer Red Cross worker. MRS. WILLIAM H. LOTHROP.

Exploitation of the Industrial Workers. Necessity of safeguarding them against strain of prolonged hours and industrial hazards; state supervision of factories. DR. DAVID L. EDSALL.

Community Changes Due to War. Special problems of work, recreation, and standards of living. MR. ROBERT A. WOODS.

A. A. S. O. C. MEETINGS

PITTSBURGH, JUNE 5-12, 1917

June 5. Executive Committee meets.

June 6, 10 A. M. First General Session.

The Growth of the Charity Organization Movement

(1) In Its Case Work Program. Miss Mary E. Richmond. (2) In Its Community Program. Francis H. McLean. The discussion will be opened by Joseph C. Logan.

June 6, 2 P. M. Annual Meeting.

June 7, 2.30 P. M. Second General Session.

Developments in Case Work on the Physical and Mental Side

(1) How to Study the Mentality of Our Families. E. Bosworth McCready, M.D. (2) How to Study the Physical Condition of our Families. (Speaker to be announced.) (3) How to Secure Facilities for Physical Diagnosis and Treatment in a Small City. Miss Helen P. Kempton.

June 8, 6.30 P. M. General Secretaries' Dinner.

The Relation of the Charity Organization Societies to the Present Crisis

June 9, 12.30 P. M. Charity Organization Society Luncheon.

Extra-mural Interests of the C. O. S'er

Addresses will be made by Richard C. Cabot, M.D., Edward T. Devine, and J. Byron Deacon.

June 11, 4 P. M. Special Meeting.

Problems of the Non-English-speaking Family

Meeting limited to supervisors of case work, district secretaries, and paid visitors.

June 11, 4 P. M. Small City Secretaries' Meeting.

Informal conference limited to the secretaries and other representatives of societies in cities of less than 75,000 population.

The full program of these meetings will be mailed to all the societies later.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION BULLETIN

FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL USE OF
CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES
CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
OF THE
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, 130 E. 22D ST., NEW YORK

MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR — FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

VOL. VIII. (NEW SERIES) — JUNE, 1917 — No. 7

CONTENTS

IN THE NATION'S SERVICE

TWO ideas stand out as we advance farther into the feverish preparations of these earlier war days. The first embodies a new realization of the essential democracy of the social case method. As one of our correspondents writes, there can be neither freedom nor equality without it. Rightly applied, it is the most powerful enemy of stratification at our country's command. The selective draft illustrates a first approach to the method. By contrast with the wholesale, undifferentiated plans of the '60's, it makes flexibility and an intelligent adaptation of means to ends possible.

The second idea is that of the greatly increased importance of the civilian volunteer—not of the volunteer set apart and following his

own unguided impulses, but of the volunteer who accepts service and its discipline. Wherever this obligation is loyally assumed, the volunteer becomes the nation's shield against bureaucracy and oppression. Few have realized the force of this better than Mr. Hoover, who, in accepting voluntary service as the country's food administrator, announces his determination to utilize the women's organizations and the voluntary bodies of producers and distributers as his chief aids. Thus is the stone which the builders refused become the headstone of the corner.

TRAINING PLANS

These two ideas meet in the training plans of many of our societies which are offering to volunteers, either through the Red Cross or directly, new opportunities for case work study and practice. Since the last BULLETIN was printed, a number of new courses have been announced, and we would remind our readers that further information about field work training for war relief work will be sent upon request. Outlines of the plans of various case work trainers have been duplicated for those who are especially interested in them. We would also remind those who are interested in training courses that copies of the reports of emergency relief in the Titanic Disaster and in the Washington Place Fire may be had free upon request as long as our present supply holds out.

A WORD OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Recruits in plenty have come forward to make Social Diagnosis known in the book stores, the libraries, and among the correspondents of our readers. The response to our request in May could not possibly have been more generous, and we wish to thank most heartily each one of the secretaries and volunteers rendering this service. With their help the first edition of the book was so nearly exhausted three weeks after its publication that a reprinting had to be ordered. In some of the larger societies different volunteers have provided each district office with a copy. In some of the smaller places, where the local library was not rich enough to buy a copy, workers have suggested that some charity organization director present one.

THE 1917 INSTITUTE

As this copy of the BULLETIN goes to press, the staff of the Charity Organization Department and of the American Association for Organizing Charity have just had to say a regretful good-bye to the twenty members of this year's Charity Organization Institute. Daily conferences aside, much of the Institute work has been done through seven committees to which were assigned the following topics: The division of tasks between public and private charity, the publicity plans of our societies, family work among negroes, plans for a series of books on social case work, instruction in food economies, and training for war relief work. Some of the fruits of this committee plan of study will be given to BULLETIN readers later.

INDUSTRIAL STANDARDS IN WAR TIME

By MARY VAN KLEECK
Director, Division of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation

THE effect of the war on conditions of employment may be threefold: First, new proposals, like provisions for health insurance, may be set aside by it. Second, laws already on the statute books or desirable customs and traditions long established in the shops may be forgotten or ignored. Third, the personnel, the machines, and the processes of industry itself may be changed so radically that a complete new stage of the industrial revolution may be added to the other problems of adjustment brought by the war. England's experience shows clear evidence of this threefold effect.

The first, the interruption in forward movements, must probably be regarded as the inevitable result of absorption in war, and we may accept the interruption philosophically in the hope that the task of organizing the nation for service may in itself teach new methods of cooperation so that when peace comes we may be the better prepared to take up again the temporarily abandoned work.

It is the setting aside of standards already gained and the changes in industry itself which challenge the social workers to immediate thought and action.

To the old obstacles to progress in labor legislation—inertia, self-interest, ignorance of the importance of good working conditions as a factor in success—must now be added a new and popular argument, the appeal to patriotism. State industrial commissions have asked the legislatures to give them power to suspend the labor laws for the period of the war. At least one state federation of labor, representing the trade unionists of the largest industrial state, issued a letter to its members saying:

> "To produce these munitions of war will require that the mines, mills and workshops of our State must operate at the maximum degree of capacity and production. It will in all probability, therefore, be necessary to suspend temporarily those provisions of the Labor Law which affect and restrict the employment of men and women during the pendency of this emergency condition, of men to a certain number of days each week and women to a certain number of hours each day, provided, however, that the hours that women may work be increased only under dire necessity."

The president of the United States suspended the eight-hour law in naval contracts. A large establishment manufacturing aeroplanes asked the industrial commission for permission to keep employes at work seven days in the week. Thus commissioners of labor and high officials of government, trade unionists and employers, have given consent, if

not active support, to the establishment of conditions which before the war were declared to be adverse to the best interests of the workers and of society, but now are held to be necessary to the public defense. The legislature of New York State has already passed a bill declaring that "the provisions of the labor law . . . shall not be enforced by the Industrial Commission or by a public officer during the time that war exists between the United States and a foreign country, if it shall be ascertained upon due investigation and inquiry that the enforcement of such laws will either obstruct, hamper, or interfere with the effective prosecution of such war or be opposed to public welfare and necessity," and it is only the governor's veto which can defeat it.

That this is a patriotism which fails of its purpose is easily demonstrated. It is unnecessary to cite in detail the evidence gathered by the Health of Munition Workers Committee in England, showing conclusively that maximum production can be secured only if the hours of work be limited, one day of rest in seven be assured, and good working conditions be maintained. That committee has gone further and stated with an almost naïve freshness of discovery that production in the factory is affected by home conditions and diet and by transportation facilities. None of this should be new in the United States, since in the process of defending the constitutionality of labor laws much evidence has already been brought together to prove that efficiency is conditioned by fatigue. It is significant that this evidence, dated before the war, must evidently be supplemented by actual present experience if it is to be made convincing. Perhaps the most important fact in the whole situation, however, is the willingness to provide for the suspension of labor laws in advance of any demonstration that they had proved to be in any way an interference with production. In industry, as in every other aspect of social conditions, the difficulty is not with the ideal of patriotism as a new motive, but with its wholesale application by sweeping generalization to an infinitely complex condition made up of whole series of details needing study and adjustment. England, after setting aside the labor laws in response to the wholesale demands of patriotism, found that production was insufficient and proceeded by minute study, shop by shop, and individual by individual, to establish a new and sounder method of improving output. We in the United States must inevitably learn the same lesson.

It is not only in the demand for suspending labor laws that the wholesale brand of patriotism may prove dangerous. While we are thinking in terms of loans amounting to billions, and conscription involving at least a large fraction of a million, it still remains true that individual adjustment in response to actual need is the corner-stone of the foundation upon which success must be built. From the laborious registrations of university students on blanks which give very inadequate information about individual ability, since they were devised without any clear conception of their uses, to the plea put forth in a New York committee just after the war was declared, that the wives of national guardsmen be visited and urged to go to work, as they must now be

needed in industry, we are suffering from an excess of ideas which represent excessive expenditure of energy in advance of any real knowledge of the need.

At a meeting held in New York the middle of May to consider the impending changes in women's work, two significant statements were made. An Englishman who had watched England pass through the same experiences said that "large numbers of women had registered in England under the impulse of patriotic duty and after a time the Board of Trade found that many of these women were replacing professional women workers at lower wages than those women had received."

At the same meeting the director of the New York State Public Employment Bureau reported that he had just returned from a trip through the state and found as yet no serious call for women to take men's places, in so far as this is reflected in the experience of the nine large employment offices in the state. He thought that the first step should be the employment of older men to replace the younger ones who were called to military service. He pointed out the danger in the encouragement of women to go into industry at this moment, since in his opinion employers would take advantage of the situation to give women employment at lower rates, even in advance of the withdrawal of men.

After all, a draft of 500,000 between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, scattered throughout the country, will remove only one worker in every group of 70 wage-earning men. Certain occupations and certain localities will be more seriously affected than others. In addition adjustments must be made as one trade is diminished by the war and another is increased, but the change, while intensified in degree, will not differ essentially in the beginning from the adjustments made every year with the ebb and flow of the seasons.

Obviously the agencies for adjustment must be strengthened. Family work becomes of even greater importance. Employment bureaus will have an important rôle to play, and their experience should serve as a check on rash conclusions. Trade unions must watch the changes in processes or machinery which may undo many of their past gains, and create a new set of conditions to be controlled by different methods. State industrial commissions must be more than ever alert to the provisions for safety and health in factories as a changing personnel increases ordinary occupational dangers.

Already, in New York City, the Federation of Non-commercial Employment Agencies have agreed upon a plan whereby there may be a clearing house for calls from employers, to be used by more than forty agencies in the federation. Already there exists a bureau of information to make investigations for any agency in the federation, and the work of this bureau will be extended especially to insure good working conditions for women in new types of employment.

In pointing out the possible folly of action in advance of need, I would not minimize the task ahead. It will be a new and enormous undertaking to reorganize the work of the country. Perhaps the unique contribution of the social worker will be to insist as far as possible upon

strengthening the defenses of individual welfare as the one sure basis for social efficiency.

These are typical of the standards upon which we may well insist both for the community through its laws and for the family in its voluntary action:

1. School and not wage-earning for children under fourteen.

2. For young workers over fourteen, jobs preferably in permanent industries rather than in the temporary work of the war, that their vocational training may be a real preparation for the future.

3. For women workers, the observance of the existing restrictions on hours of labor, and an effort to adjust machinery and methods in new occupations to their needs.

4. For all workers, the observance of one day of rest in seven.

These are minimum requirements, all of them approved by English experience as measures of efficiency. Possibly it will be noted that "equal pay for equal work" is not included in them. Its omission indicates no lack of conviction that the woman who becomes a substitute for a man both as worker and as breadwinner should receive the breadwinner's wages. But this end is not to be won by resolution. Shortage of labor may further it. Trade union organization will in some instances secure it. To some employers it will be a point of honor to maintain it. In general, however, we must probably accept for the present at least the lowering of rates for men's work, when it is done by women. Perhaps an experience of that kind may serve to increase interest both in trade unions for women and in minimum wage boards.

Like all social effort, then, the task of safeguarding industrial standards during the war will be twofold—to hold fast the utmost possible measure of control through labor laws, and to strengthen the resources of the community for individual adjustments.

FIGHTING THE FOOD SHORTAGE*

A CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION AND CONSERVATION IN SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

By N. JOAN OIESEN

KNOWING what factors attractive, well kept homes, and simple, well cooked foods are, not only in maintaining health but in influencing morals, those of us who have had to do with poor families this winter have longed for a visiting housekeeper who could go into these homes and painstakingly teach good management and thrift. It was in this connection that Miss Gerry of the Union Relief Association first thought of getting up a leaflet of advice regarding buying and cooking which could be enclosed with the grocery orders sent to families under the care of her office. She soon found that other social agencies like the Visiting Nurse Association, the Baby Feeding Association, the tuberculosis nurse, the school nurses, in fact all who were going into the homes of the poor, were feeling this same need. A committee was formed to draw up such advice. Miss Minnie Price of the department of household economics of the Hampden County Improvement League, who by virtue of her effective work in demonstrating household economics to the mothers and girls in our country homes is considered by us an authority, was made a member of the committee and later prepared for us a simple little folder entitled, "Food, Health, and Economy," which we have found invaluable.†

Once organized, the Federated Food Committee, as we called ourselves, saw the advantage of getting over to people, while they were still alarmed about high prices, facts about food that it would be more difficult to interest them in when prices settled down to normal again. Accordingly we began casting about for ways and means of presenting this needed information graphically to large groups. It was first planned to use a vacant store in the shopping district where demonstrations, as well as reliable information regarding food values, could be given. But we finally settled on the grade schools as the best centers for the exhibits and talks, since we could there reach groups of mothers who would seldom, if ever, go down town or out of their district to meetings.

From this point on, the school department gave the enterprise such encouragement that our efforts proved most effective in arousing a curiosity and interest among women who were dazed and helpless in the face of rising prices, yet who knew not where to turn for advice—who indeed, in many cases, failed to realize that they needed advice.

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*In part an address to the Equal Suffrage League of Springfield, Mass., who subsequently undertook to help make a census of preserving jars already in homes as a preliminary to a more intelligent ordering of cans by the carload.

† This folder is reprinted on p. 78.

The esprit de corps of our schools, the eagerness with which both principals and teachers, as well as the superintendents, seized upon this opportunity to reach these mothers, was most inspiring. Ninc schools were indicated to us as the most favorable community centers; these were distributed over the city in districts presenting striking differences, both in character and in need. With enthusiasm the teachers from the home economics department of our public schools volunteered their services and worked out, under the leadership of representatives of the home economics department of the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the Technical High School, a most illuminating outline. The itinerant exhibits and lectures began March 19th, the Union Relief Association financing the undertaking, the different members of our Food Committee, representing the Woman's Club, the College Club, the Visiting Nurse Association, etc., having charge of the meetings, and the teachers from the home economics department of the public schools giving the lectures.

The undertaking was generously advertised by the newspapers, which featured the meetings daily. Programs were distributed by the social agencies to their families, and 10,000 were given out through the schools. The kindergarten children went home with them pinned to their coats; the older children wrote invitations as a writing lesson, and took them home to their mothers. In some schools the principals even allowed us to go into the classrooms to reinforce the invitation and to arouse the children's curiosity; and in others the principals planned to make the occasion a mothers' visiting day, giving a health play, folk dance, or singing, which never failed to bring the mothers out.

The first series of talks was planned by Miss Lutes of the Technical High School, who also had one of her classes prepare an exhibit of fifty varieties of uncooked foods in 100-calorie portions so that these foods could be used as concrete illustrations in the talks, and to show their relative nutritive values. We were furthermore able to display graphic charts, loaned us, showing the food equivalent of one quart of milk; colored illustrated panels entitled National Child Welfare Exhibit, showing "what to eat and what not to eat and why; how to eat, how not to eat;" besides innumerable illustrated suggestions along the lines of detection and prevention of disease. These were interpreted to the mothers in groups by those in charge of the meeting; particularly effective work was done by the teachers and principals, who naturally acted as hosts and hostesses.

Although the food talks had a scientific basis they were made practical rather than technical. The groups of mothers listened, asked questions, exchanged information, and perhaps best of all went away wanting to know more, and sent back to the school for leaflets and recipes. In these talks emphasis was put on the needs of the body and the necessity of meeting these needs by a properly balanced diet. The question of wise and economical substitution, the value of cheaper foods, like cereals and milk, the medicinal value of vegetables and of fruits, and the necessity of plenty of water, were discussed.

The second series of talks dealt with the feeding of the school child, and a very telling discussion was illustrated by an actual sample of a wholesome lunch contrasted with one such as a child buys with his pennies at the corner store—an assortment of jellied doughnuts, tarts, colored pop-corn, and garish candies. A fresh chocolate pudding was served to the audience every day, with its recipe and cost and the nutritive value of each serving, showing what an appetizing and nutritious dish could be made of stale bread and cake.

To stimulate among neighbors further interest and talk about foods, to arouse a consciousness of the significance of a balanced diet in terms of health and happiness, and to supply a simple background to the mass of helpful material now appearing daily in the papers, was the original thought of the committee. It was most gratifying to see appear at the meetings the well-to-do mothers as well as the poor, and to hear the free exchange of experience among all kinds. A few fragments of conversation overheard at the close of an open discussion of ways and means of inducing children to eat a healthful breakfast are fairly representative: "Is cornmeal good? Sure, I've never used it. I'm surprised the lecturer thinks milk is so good, I always heard it made worms, so I give my children coffee with plenty of sugar—they like it!" "Oh, you boils oatmeal a long time and with salt, and they likes it? Well, I'll have to try it." "Dates is good in cream of wheat." "Well, they be cheap."

The presence on the table of the assortment of uncooked ingredients served as a reminder of varieties forgotten in the humdrum round of meal getting, besides showing the superior nutritive qualities of some over their neighbors in display. Four dates reposed proudly on the paper doily alongside a turnip and a large jar of tomatoes—all under the 100-calorie ticket. Two tablespoonfuls of the best rice costing $\frac{1}{2}$ cent lay eloquently on another doily side by side with a heap of puffed rice measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ cupfuls and costing $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents, showing the preposterous cost of preparation and putting up.

In the midst of our second series of talks, this country declared war, and the question of food conservation immediately became of paramount importance. The superintendent of schools straightway called a meeting of the Federated Food Committee with the school department. There a plan for mobilizing the entire school system for food conservation was presented. The scheme was to throw open the schools with their splendid culinary equipment for neighborhood work. The plan includes: first, a short course of five or six lessons in economical cooking, to be offered this spring to mothers and other women and to the older grade girls; second, a course of instruction in the cold pack method of canning by Miss Minnie Price for home economics teachers only, who can then conduct courses of instruction for those whose experience will enable them to grasp the instruction and become in turn demonstrators; third, a weekly public canning demonstration, to be given throughout the summer in all of the grade schools; fourth, the use, for all summer, of the three large high school kitchen laboratories as can-

ning centers, where the surplus fruits and vegetables can be sent from backyard gardens, wholesale green grocers in town, and market gardeners outside the city who only market their best and have to allow what they call their "seconds" to go to waste. This tremendous undertaking is to be directed by paid experts, under whom volunteer helpers from the numerous women's clubs can be effectively used.

Already the teachers are being instructed; already large numbers of women have signed up for definite schools this summer; and for the sake of efficiency and unity, we of the school movement and the Federated Food Committee are pooling our efforts with the Food Conservation Committee of the Hampden County Improvement League and are glad to lose our identity to work under the leadership of their chairman.

FOOD, HEALTH, AND ECONOMY *

MAKE A DOLLAR BUY A DOLLAR'S WORTH
CONSIDER WHAT YOUR FAMILY NEEDS

The economical housewife can feed her family very well if she selects some food from each of these groups every day:

Starchy Foods	*Body Builders*
Oatmeal	Peanut Butter
Cornmeal	Milk
Rice	Dried peas
Cornstarch	Soup bones
Whole wheat bread	Meat for stew
	Nut Meats
Mineral Substances	*Fatty Foods*
Dried prunes	Oleomargarine
Dates	Suet
Raisins	Other cooking fats
Low priced vegetables or fruits	

Go to the store yourself and see what you buy.

Buy in bulk:

One pound of cornstarch costs 10 cents in a package.

One pound of cornstarch costs 6 cents in bulk.

One pound of rice costs 10 cents in a package.

One pound of rice costs 7 cents or less in bulk.

10 cents buys only about 6 ounces of peanut butter when bought in a jar.

10 cents buys almost one-half pound of peanut butter in bulk.

Don't be attracted by a fancy package —all wrappers cost money.

Buy rice instead of potatoes at present prices.

Use oatmeal and cornmeal instead of the cereals which are already cooked. Most of us cannot afford to pay someone else to cook our cereals. Have these every day.

Cook all starchy foods thoroughly.

Use whole wheat bread instead of white bread. This whole wheat bread contains the same materials that we get from fruits and vegetables. If we *can't* buy fresh fruits and vegetables, we *can* buy whole wheat bread, cornmeal, and oatmeal.

Use peanut butter instead of high-priced meat. Peanut butter is a good food.

Buy a soup bone occasionally.

Buy the cheapest cuts of meat for stews. A little meat will go a long way toward flavoring other foods.

Use dried fruits instead of high-priced fresh fruits.

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* Prepared by Minnie Price, Homemaking Adviser, Hampden County Improvement League, Springfield, Mass.

Raisins and dates can be added to many dishes. Children, especially, need these. Use dried fruits with cereal in place of sugar. They contain valuable mineral substances which sugar lacks.

Oleomargarine costs less than butter and is a wholesome food.

Do not buy vegetables out of season.

Milk even at ten cents a quart is a cheap food.

One Quart of Milk
Is about Equal in Food Value to:

¾ lb. of round steak costing		24c
2 lbs. of chicken	"	65c
8 eggs	"	26⅔c
⅔ lb. of ham	"	21⅓c
3 lbs. of fresh codfish	"	75c
1 pint of oysters	"	25c
⅞ lb. of pork chops	"	28⅔c
⅔ lb. of lamb chops	"	24c
1 lb. of lean mutton	"	20c

Prices obtained March 14, 1917

A Suitable Food for all Ages
Easily Prepared—Easily Digested

Buy with care!
Cook carefully!
Do not throw away anything!

Suggestions

A soup bone with rice cooked in the broth will make a substantial dish for the family.

Rice cooked in milk with some raisins added is a good dish.

Make sandwiches of whole wheat bread and peanut butter. They taste good and they furnish good material for the body.

When rice is used in place of potatoes be sure to include foods from the group to supply mineral substances.

Stews are wholesome and nutritious. In making them, avoid the high-priced vegetables.

Give the family a bowl of oatmeal or cornmeal for breakfast.

Be sure to cook your cereals thoroughly. They will do the body more good.

Recipes

Indian Pudding

5 cups milk
½ cup cornmeal
½ cup molasses
1 teaspoon salt
1 teaspoon ginger

Cook milk and meal in a double boiler 20 minutes; add molasses, salt, and ginger; pour into buttered pudding dish and bake 2 hours in slow oven; serve with milk.

Molasses Corn Cake

2c yellow cornmeal	1 cup sour milk
½ cup molasses	1 cup sweet milk
½ cup sugar	1 cup wheat flour
2 tablespoons fat	1½ teaspoons soda
1 teaspoon salt	1 egg

Mix the first seven ingredients in a double boiler and cook over hot water. Cook for about 10 minutes after the mixture has become hot. After it has cooled add the wheat flour and soda, thoroughly sifted together, and the egg well beaten. Bake in a shallow tin.

Indian Meal Bread

1½ cups Graham flour
1 cup cornmeal
½ tablespoon soda
1 teaspoon salt
½ cup molasses
1⅝ cups milk

Sift the dry ingredients. Add molasses and milk. Pour mixture into buttered mold, steam 3 hours; then bake 1 hour in a moderate oven.

Cornmeal Mush

1 cup cornmeal
1 teaspoon salt
3½ cups water or
4 cups milk or milk and water

Put all the ingredients into a double boiler and cook for 4 hours.

Rice with Cheese

Steam one cup rice, allowing one tablespoon salt; cover bottom of buttered pudding-dish with rice, dot over with three-fourths tablespoon butter, sprinkle with thin shavings mild cheese and a few grains cayenne; repeat until rice and one-fourth pound cheese are used. Add milk to half the depth of contents of dish, cover with buttered cracker or bread crumbs and heat in oven until cheese melts.

Boiled Macaroni

½ cup macaroni broken in inch pieces
2 quarts boiling water
1 tablespoon salt
½ cup cream or milk

Cook macaroni in boiling salted water twenty minutes or until soft,

drain in strainer; pour over it cold water to prevent pieces from sticking together. Add the cream or milk, reheat and season with salt. The cream or milk may be thickened with one tablespoon flour if desired.

Baked Rice and Meat

Line a mold, slightly greased, with steamed rice. Fill the center with two cups cold, finely chopped, cooked meat, highly seasoned with salt, pepper, cayenne, celery salt, and onion juice, to which has been added one-fourth cup cracker or bread crumbs, one egg slightly beaten, and enough hot stock or water to moisten. Cover meat with rice, cover rice with buttered paper to keep out moisture while steaming, and steam forty-five minutes. It may be served with tomato sauce. Any cheap cut of meat may be used to make this dish.

A BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FOODS AND FEEDING*

Feeding the Family, by Mary Swartz Rose. Macmillan Co.

A comprehensive statement of food values, simply told. Gives diet for each member of the family and special needs of those with special characteristics. Gives cost per 100 calories of numerous common foods. Well illustrated.

Low Cost Cooking, by Florence Nesbitt. American School of Home Economics, Chicago.

Contains simple instructions in buying and cooking, menus for winter and summer. Special sections for mothers who work outside the home and on care and feeding of children. Contains a short bibliography. This is probably the simplest book covering the subject.

Lessons in the Proper Feeding of the Family, by Winifred S. Gibbs. New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 1911, price 25 cents.

Lessons for the poor simply told. Contains chapters on how to buy, what food should do for the body, also menus differentiated for adults, young children, and school children. Tells how to cook meats and what to use as meat substitutes.

Housekeeping Notes, by Mabel H. Kittredge. Whitcomb and Barrows, price 80 cents.

Tells how to furnish and keep house in a tenement. Gives lessons for practical housekeeping centers of New York City. Contains also Italian and Kosher recipes.

Fundamental Basis of Nutrition, by Graham Lusk. Yale University Press, 1914.

A concise, easily read book dealing with different kinds of foods and their uses, with a concluding chapter on the comparative values of various common foods.

Development of Home Economics in Social Work, by Winifred S. Gibbs, Journal of Home Economics, Vol. 8, pp. 68–74, February, 1916.

Government Bulletins, secured from Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

203 Canned Fruits, Preserves, and Jellies.
256 Preparation of Vegetables for the Table.
389 Bread and Bread Making.
391 Economical Use of Meats in the Home.
487 Cheese and Its Use in the Diet.
565 Corn Bread as a Food and Ways of Cooking It.
712 Lunches for the School Child.
717 Food for the Young Child.
808 What the Body Needs.

* Prepared by a Committee of the 1917 Charity Organization Institute.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION BULLETIN

FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL USE OF
CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES
CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
OF THE
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, 130 E. 22D ST., NEW YORK

MISS M. E. RICHMOND, DIRECTOR — FRED S. HALL, ASSO. DIRECTOR

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION COMMUNITY PROGRAM*

FRANCIS H. McLEAN
General Secretary, American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity

THE last ten years in social work history have witnessed no more remarkable development than that which has occurred in our field. In 1907 there were only between 50 and 60 societies which, by any stretch of the imagination, could be considered as representing any common ideals or purposes. Some of these even have had to undergo reorganization since that time.

At the present time there are 164 societies which have the standing

* An address delivered at the sixth annual meeting of the A. A. S. O. C., June 6, 1917.

necessary to membership in the Association, while about 50 others are somewhere near the required standard.

It is fitting, therefore, that after ten years of this very much accelerated pace we should take an account of stock.

At the beginning of the field work inaugurated by the Russell Sage Foundation and since taken over by this Association there had been little growth of the movement among cities of less than 30,000. Indeed at the start it was tacitly understood that situations in cities of less than 20,000 could not justifiably be considered as requiring actual field visits, though suggestions might be made by correspondence.

Since that time, very slowly and gradually, this standard has been pushed down. Indeed since 1911, when the Association was organized, it has been called in to make a survey of a city of less than 4,000. This led to the preparation of a social program and the engaging of a trained secretary, the work being now active and flourishing. Of the 51 societies in cities of less than 20,000 listed in the directory, over half were assisted to organize by field visits.

In the territory south of the Ohio and the Potomac and east of the Mississippi there were only three societies which could be said to have had even a reasonable standing in 1907. This year in that territory there are 17 societies which are members of the Association and 14 nonmembers listed in the directory. Of this total number 20 were assisted in organization or reorganization by field visits. The work in this section has been furthered by the splendid coöperation of Mr. Logan.

These two developments, the extension of the movement into cities smaller than 20,000 and into cities of the South, constitute the two most marked growths which have occurred since the field work began. But very noteworthy also is the growth in the Middle West, in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, particularly, as well as in the New England and Middle Atlantic States.

In the Southwest there has been a slower advance but one that is becoming more marked. Recently on the Pacific Coast the largest single step has been the reorganization of the Portland society. The reorganization of the Salt Lake society gives our first real and strong center in the intermountain country. It stands as an oasis between Omaha on the east and the Sierra Nevadas on the west. Farther north we as yet have no stronghold between Minneapolis on the east and Spokane on the west.

Altogether, however, it has been a fairly well distributed advance, with the intermountain and southwestern sections in particular need of more rapid development.

THE ROSTER OF CITIES SINCE THE ASSOCIATION BEGAN

Limiting ourselves now to the period since the Association accepted the responsibility for extension work from the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation in October 1911, in the five years (less one month) closing September 1, 1916, it had visited more than once 166 cities, and had carried on correspondence with 766

cities located in every state of the Union and in Canada, Hawaii, Japan, England, Wales, and the West Indies.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS CASE WORK AND ITS EFFECT ON COMMUNITY PROGRAM

At the beginning of the period of the first field work under the Foundation, some social workers had a more or less apologetic attitude towards family work and towards the processes in it. I need hardly say how much the pendulum has swung the other way now. I allude to this attitude here because it has had a profound influence upon our development. In the older days societies were quite likely to have long series of standing committees on all sorts of subjects. Committees were added over night, indeed. Though this tendency has by no means been changed, our observations confirm very strongly the belief that more and more our societies are building up their community program upon the basis of the revelations of their individual family work. Indeed we have applied this particular test to a number of societies and again and again have found that practically their whole programs were gradually built up this way, instead of assuming that certain activities would be required anyway and making committees to order. This method has meant much more often a genuine work, not a sham.

I recall a society in a city of about 90,000 which as a result of its family work first decided that there must be a housing survey; this was followed by an ordinance. The society then went on to the development of a proper playground system, then to a tuberculosis movement, then to the regulation of commercialized amusements, furnishing for a time a volunteer inspector of dance halls. There were other smaller matters, but the only one of them all which did not come out of the family work was a recommendation to the managers of two industrial plants to pay wages in cash rather than by check, because of the saloon trade which this latter custom had developed. That action was taken on the recommendation of a member of the board.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS IN CITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

Whatever variations occur in this program are to be found in the very small cities. It is distinctly recognized that in a city of 10,000 or less (and in some cities of between 10,000 and 20,000) our society may be the only possible active social center. For that reason titles which have no reference to the family planning as such, but which imply a program possibly big enough to cover all of the private social activities of the community, are found in the list of societies in our directory in cities of that size. May I here indicate that I believe such titles as Social Welfare Leagues, etc., may be more justifiably used when an organization is likely to be the only one in a community, or one of two agencies (the other being a public health agency), than otherwise.

To illustrate the kind of community programs which may be actually covered by one organization in small cities, in a suburban community of less than 5,000 one organization included among its activities:—

1. Agitation for reform in tax system of city, county, and state.
2. Agitation for proper school center.
3. Agitation for completion of sewer system.
4. An eventual coalescence between a very fine denominational school system and the public school system, the possibilities of which had been plainly revealed while a desire to bring it about was apparent.
5. Development of a volunteer probation system and agitation for a reform in the whole state probation system.
6. Inducing a respectable colored community to organize for its own betterment, the possible leaders being there.
7. Development of a recreational scheme.
8. Development of one ungraded school room.
9. Agitation for a more adequately financed health department.

Taking these nine major activities and omitting a number of secondary ones, it is quite apparent that all, excepting possibly the one with reference to the tax system and the one with reference to a coalescence of school forces, might easily have developed out of the family planning work itself. It is not so necessarily true that either they, or the movement for the proper organization of the negro community, or the development of a recreation scheme, could not have been the charge of different organizations in cities over 20,000. The first data might have been secured by our organizations, the first agitation might be made by them; but it might be extremely desirable that they should not continue as leaders.

TRAINED LEADERSHIP

The problem of the smaller community and the community program of the family planning society in such a community divides itself at this point into two parts. The first has to do with those activities which of necessity require trained leadership, and the second with those which may be carried on entirely by volunteers with occasional executive direction.

In one community of 12,000 the scheme of organization indicated the necessity of securing some one who had had both case work and public recreation experience to head our society. Workers with combined experience will often be in demand and will have to be the sole leaders in the combined field for some time to come at least.

We stand emphatically, however, against attempting to combine the office of a community nurse with that of case worker and leader in other social movements. We have discovered in communities of 5,000 or even less that a community nurse will find her hands filled in her own particular field, and that if she attempts to spread over and do the whole job, nothing is done well or effectively. Our movement has fully recognized the need for the community nurse and we have in a great many instances been the ones who have first urged the necessity of her presence. On the other hand, I am glad to say that it has often been the nurse, in cities large and small, who has first agitated for a family planning society when it was not present.

The case worker's knowledge of health problems and the health

worker's knowledge of case problems is going to be greater as time goes on, but this must make them only forerunners of each other, prophets for one another. It matters not which precedes so long as the right spirit prevails. What is the right spirit? It is the spirit of watchfulness and of propaganda, of impressing constantly upon the community's mind the need for the other worker, and of watching the opportunity when either through private or public action the entrée may be obtained.

Now, of course, the leaders of our smaller city societies should maintain the same attitude regarding the bringing in of other trained leaders besides the community nurse. Sometimes a larger unit must be used, the county, for example, rather than the town. Then too as years go by the growing town may increase its social activities both on the public and on the private side. If the field work has demonstrated any one thing it is the possibilities for growth in this direction within the space of five years.

As to public service, positions should not be developed until one is sure that a trained person will be secured. I recall one instance where I myself, by calling attention to the fact that state statutes permitted of the creation of the positions of county truancy officer and county probation officer, with salary, helped two political followers of the county judge to secure reasonably soft berths. What I was after was the selection of a trained worker to fill both positions, also to look after other case work, but the social sense of the county was not sufficiently developed to withstand this political raid. It does no good simply to open the way for a new position.

The second part of our relation to the community program of the city below 10,000, with some in the doubtful class between 10,000 and 20,000, has reference to activities outside our own field which may be largely carried on by volunteers with a certain amount of executive direction. These include propaganda and educational campaigns, of course, not case work. Whether we should attempt to carry on such under our own banner or attempt to build up other organizations is largely a practical consideration. No theoretical division of functioning should be accepted here which would mean an absolute multiplication of organizations without any discovery of new and fairly large groups of people outside our own clientele who have been or may be imbued with spirit and zeal for the accomplishment of the aims sought. Oftentimes all the people who possess this spirit and zeal, or almost all of them, may be already among our active clientele, and committee organization within the one organization may be the very best, and indeed only effective, means for real growth. It must be remembered that ordinarily in communities of this size the number of socially minded people (that is, convinced socially minded) will be comparatively limited.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS IN CITIES BETWEEN 20,000 AND 100,000

Always bear in mind, please, that the population figures which I am using in this paper are presented with a great deal of reluctance, because they are quite relative as between different cities and different

parts of the country. But they are offered to give more definiteness than would attach to the use of terms such as the smaller city, the intermediate city (which is the kind of city we are now considering), the moderately large, and the larger, which would describe the next two classes. Let it also be remembered that communities are quite as much individualized and as much in need of individual treatment as are our families and our supporters. Otherwise what I am presenting as conclusions would seem to be absurdly out of place for some community you know, which may be in a different class from the one indicated by its population, or which may require large adaptation.

Generally then, in cities between 20,000 and 100,000, what should be our community program and how carried out?—bearing in mind that it is to be limited first by the revelations of the day-to-day case work. Beyond that the tradition has been too often, I think, that the society itself should assume complete responsibility, through committees, for carrying out all they see the need of doing. I am sure that we are going to alter our program more and more away from this direction, and this despite the queer centralizing tendencies which have sometimes appeared. But let me not be misunderstood: I most emphatically believe that where no other active group is ready to carry out a really needed activity, the responsibility falls back upon our society. And even if the other active group is ready, I am prepared to say it is our duty to give all sorts of help, executive direction, and advice. I am not seeking to find a way out by simply letting things fall because we do not do them; but I am concerned with our fullest possible utilization of all the human resources of a community, and these are oftentimes best conserved by the development of new centers and by the deeper development of existing centers.

The civic sense which has been developed in some chambers of commerce has already been utilized by turning over certain responsibilities to them. There has been often a very active working together with the woman's clubs.

Recently the Association has become responsible for suggesting directly or indirectly the organization, with the help of our local members, of city clubs in four cities of this size, one in Michigan (Lansing), two in Oklahoma (Oklahoma City and Muskogee), one in Illinois (Springfield).

In each one of these communities, whose populations run from 30,000 to 60,000, there was an associated charities, a business men's organization, and one or more women's clubs, but no other real center of activity of any size, excepting that one had an energetic playground association.

The lack was an organization which would bring together the people interested in the city as such, without the special viewpoint of the chamber of commerce or the woman's club or the associated charities. Each of these, jointly or severally, might seek its support and more or less suggest its program. In only one city, Springfield, is it proposed for the present to have a paid secretary; but Springfield, since its Survey,

has been doing all things in a big city way. The need of a city club, as a successor to the Survey Committee, was particularly felt in that community because many of the recommendations of the Survey had not been taken hold of—this because there was no influential body particularly responsible for taking hold of them, while the Survey Committee itself was influential but not numerous in personnel. In that city the associated charities, very strongly reorganized, has found its hands full in serving as the chief agency in carrying out the recommendations of the charities division and to a less degree a few recommendations in the delinquency survey, in all of which it has been strongly supported by women's organizations. But neither it nor the women's organizations nor the chamber of commerce could possibly have undertaken to carry out all of the recommendations of all the divisions of the Survey, nor would any one of these bodies have been strategically in a position to do so.

The developments in three of the cities convince me that it would have been unwise and impracticable to endeavor to have the chamber of commerce serve as a city club. The business organizations had plenty of commercial and general civic improvement problems to confront, and did not contain certain elements which should be represented in the membership of a city club—labor unions, for example. On the other hand the programs of the associated charities in intensive study of problems for the use of all agencies, in very well defined plans for dealing with straight dependency problems, in the proper development of public health agencies, were sufficiently large.

CITIES OF OVER 100,000

The principal change which has occurred in the period mentioned in cities of this size is the undoubted swing towards a recognition that in the social field there cannot be one organization, ours, which is a sort of leader for the others. Instead there must be a confederation in the shape of Central Councils of Social Agencies. An article published in the Survey of June 2d, 1917, sufficiently describes what such councils have actually performed and what they are for. While the number of active ones is not large, as indicated by that article, there is no doubt in my mind that the council is going to be one of the inevitable developments of the future.

Excepting in the case of Milwaukee, where the associated charities was reorganized by the central council, our societies have been influential leaders in their original development.

While our societies have had their very important part to play I feel sure that that part has become in central council cities one more formally coördinated than ever before with the program of the other social agencies of the communities. We have retired from our self-assumed leadership, and very fortunately too. The first charge of our societies in these cities is better case work and still better case work; their second is participation in the programs of others, experimentally, sometimes carrying on propaganda not undertaken by others or case

work which belongs to another group, but obviously watching the opportunity to place an activity in the hands of a special group.

CONSERVATION OF SOCIAL RESOURCES

In brief then, the development of our community program, with suitable adaptations to communities of different sizes, has not been in the direction of too great concentration, the assumption of too great responsibilities. It is not and certainly will not be in the direction of a pouring everything into one boiling pot. We are getting away from that ideal (though not in all cities), because it is being slowly realized that we lose force and efficiency by trying to move along on a program which is a social hash because it does come from one pot. Our present program calls for the utilization of as many groups as one may find in a community, giving effective form to as many independent organizations as will be effectively manned, and using the committee plan for other activities. It means a distinct recognition that while ineffective unnecessary organization is to be discouraged, that does not mean one grand concentration. It is false economy, it is not making use of all the spiritual resources of a community to compel people into new grooves. I have invariably suggested to societies in problems of coöperation with other agencies to consider whether there is a spark of life in them and a loyalty which may be utilized for useful purposes. If there is, it is idle to propose that they shall be swallowed up by something else or withdraw entirely. We are not here indorsing any duplication of effort, but so often what appears to be duplication means two kinds of work which may be easily even more differentiated to the advantage of the community.

To repeat what we have said before, the community is an individual in need of individual treatment. But it is a vast composite individual, and the effort must always be to have not fewer and fewer, but more and more, of the individuals composing the composite assuming direct responsibility in the social field. Whatever works for intelligent coördination we must further of course. But in itself a scheme of concentration into one organization instead of four contains not the seeds of growth but very possibly the seeds of death or decay. There may be good and valid reasons for certain concentrations, but there is no value in concentration as an ideal in itself.

We have seen one great European national scheme fail just because too few moulds, too few channels, were provided for the growth of a great people. Of all things this is going to have the least appeal in this dynamic country of ours, when it is recognized just what the tendency is veering towards.

Let us clarify our thinking and realize that a very complex sphere of community activity cannot be forced into too few moulds, cannot be too much simplified. Otherwise we are liable also to find our individual communities trying to thrive on one lung or too few nerves or half a brain. Otherwise we are liable to find that the stream of personal effort in the social field is not so great as it might have been because certain individual streams have been dried up. Let us treat our communities

as growing, living, marvelously complex organisms with constant tendencies towards greater and greater differentiation of function, which differentiation does require conscious relation and the elimination of vicious functioning, but not an attempt to reduce the differentiation. That's getting back to the small-feet-at-all-hazards fetich of the Chinese woman. Of course, we are going to lose some small minded people when we more and more take this stand, but progress has always been at the expense of losing the support of the small minded. It's far harder work to develop new centers or encourage old ones than it is to roll all our activities into one grand grab bag, but this harder work we must tackle because then we are removing the impediments to the finest possible flow of the spiritual forces of a community.

AVOCATIONAL GUIDANCE*

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ
Secretary, Committee on Coöperation and District Work, Charity Organization Society, New York

EVERY now and then during the last six weeks this letter has been mailed from the office of the New York School of Philanthropy to some one of the students in a special course for volunteers:

"My dear Miss ———:

"We are following the field work of each student very closely and if we find a student's practical work is not likely to reach the standard required for our certificate, in the short period of training we are able to give, we are asking the student to resign from the course.

"We are doing this in a number of cases, and among several others we think that you are not specially fitted for this kind of work, and that it would be more profitable for you to devote your efforts to some other form of work. On this account we are asking you to return your card."

That is a significant letter. It marks the closing of one epoch in social work and the opening of another. It is the emancipation proclamation of the volunteer.

For years the people who have been making social work their avocation have been struggling for just the sort of recognition that this letter implies. That same atmosphere of prevarication which has been used to content women with being merely objects of chivalrous solicitude in masculine leisure has, intentionally or unintentionally, been permitted to pervade the world of avocational service, tempting its wayfarers to become lotus eaters, dabblers, dilettanti, and to be satisfied therewith. We have been sentimental about volunteers. We have given them

* An address delivered at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, June 7, 1917.

credit where credit was not due. We have told them that we could not work without them and then in the next instant we have asked ourselves with a fear of showing unsophistication in the face of an assured negative "do you really believe in volunteers?"

Just as women have been under the necessity of demonstrating their fitness for admission to business and politics on an even footing with men so have volunteers been obliged to prove their capacity for assuming all the rights and privileges of social work.

This letter is the measure of their success. It is a letter of dismissal. In employment there may be opportunity for favoritism but in discharge all men are equal. Moreover, this notice comes in a time of war to people who wish to offer their services to their country. Instead of being allowed to do this immediately, they have been told that they must enter a training class for volunteers, that they must attend twenty lectures, that they must complete three days of field work a week for ten weeks, and that they must do this to the satisfaction of their instructors.

Dismissal under such circumstances would not have been possible a few years ago. It is one thing to allow a volunteer gradually to lose her interest and to fade away slowly from social work like a Cheshire cat in a leisurely mood; it is quite a different thing to discharge a volunteer because he or she is not making good. This has become possible only because social workers have learned through experience with volunteers what high standards can be expected of those who wish to make social work their avocation—standards that often are higher than those which many agencies require of their professional staff.

It is now antiquated and irrelevant to contrast the professional with the volunteer worker. We are all social workers, each striving to do the thing for which we are best fitted. Likewise is it shortsighted to speak about obtaining a large staff of volunteers as if that were an end in itself. The end is the job.

I wish, indeed, that we could abolish the words, professional and volunteer. They are not accurate terms. Salary has nothing to do with the quality and quantity of an individual's contribution to social work. A certain associated charities, for example, includes upon its list of volunteers the name of a man who has always been a professional social worker and excludes a woman who during all of her long connection with the society has not been on salary for even a day.

What counts in social work as in anything else is the amount of time, thought, and ability that an individual expends upon the job. Those who know most about social work and who can do social work best, who regard social work as their vocation, will, whether professional or volunteer, form the nucleus of every social agency. Obviously, the men and women whose energies are not exclusively applied to social work, who consider it rather as an avocation, will expect direction and leadership from those who are devoting themselves wholly to the task. Vocational and avocational explains this relationship more nearly accurately than does professional and volunteer.

Now that avocational workers have shown themselves willing to submit to the possibility of discharge, now that they have emancipated themselves from coddling and have proved themselves capable of taking a definite part in the organization of social work, they are entitled to the same measure of guidance in the choosing of their tasks that is afforded the vocational worker. Why not avocational guidance? The avocational workers are demanding that we consider not their convenience and their feelings but the job. They recognize that the important thing is not who does the work but that the work is done. Why not, therefore, assign them to service upon the basis of what the task requires and what they are able and prepared to give?

Case work uses more avocational workers than any other form of social work. Where, for example, does the charity organization society as a typical case working agency find them essential? Where does it find them to be, if not essential, at least of great importance?

The friendly visitor is necessary to family work—in fact to almost all case work. But experience has shown that the friendly visitor is most successful when she has not made the investigation and when she does not give relief. Her relationship with the family must be a personal not a professional one, that of the neighbor running in from across the street, not that of the doctor calling to diagnose and cure. Inherently, friendly visiting is an avocational service.

The case conference is an inevitable part of charity organization. Case work is the most intimate of all professions. So vitally does it affect the human beings with whom it deals, and through them all society, that its practice becomes possible only with the support of an intelligent and ardently interested body of citizens. The case conference, therefore, must have avocational workers upon its membership—and not for this reason alone. They are needed also to represent to the vocational workers the attitude of the lay public. This is a function that transcends the decision of the individual family problem. The great contribution of avocational workers as members of case conferences is the subtle influence which their point of view expressed week after week has upon the work of the district visitors.

A certain organization has a committee on home economics. The home economists upon this committee might be called the vocational workers and the case workers the avocational workers. Recently the committee discussed ways of educating the women of a tenement neighborhood in the preparation of budgets. The home economists were inclined to talk in terms of calories and proteids until the avocational workers (in this instance the case workers), being themselves unable to think in this language, pointed out that technicalities would have to be abandoned for the common ground of what the average person knows about the things he eats.

In much the same way the avocational members of case committees interpret the public to the vocational workers, just as also they interpret the vocational workers to the public. Moreover, as soon as they appreciate what good case work is they insist upon securing the sort of voca-

tional workers who are able to achieve the standards they desire to see maintained.

Lack of money will doubtless always prevent the employment of as many case workers as ideally would be desirable. The use of avocational workers, therefore, makes possible on occasion an intensive case work which otherwise would not be achieved. In many other ways they supplement the activities of the vocational workers.

While when organizations are being started or when they are being reorganized avocational clerical work has been imperative, it is not, in charity organization societies at least, likely to develop into a long continued service. The clerical tasks done by avocational workers are more often a matter of convenience than of necessity for the district visitor. Clerical work should rather be considered as introductory to the various forms of avocational work just discussed.

To recapitulate, avocational workers are essential as friendly visitors and as case conference members. In case work, particularly in intensive case work, they are important, while clerical work is for them largely a means of education preparatory to other activities. With an understanding, then, of the relation of the avocational worker to the various tasks involved in helping families, avocational guidance now becomes possible.

Avocational guidance, however, is at present so haphazard as frequently to be non-existent. John Jones after hearing a talk upon social work by Thomas Brown, of the charity organization society, greets the speaker at the platform after the lecture and asks whether there is any way in which he can be of use. "Oh yes, Mr. Jones," replies Mr. Brown, "wouldn't you like to come to our case conference tomorrow?"

Of all places in social work the case conference should almost always be the last to which to introduce a prospective avocational worker. To him the case conference will mean nothing. It may discourage him altogether. The avocational worker is supposed to be an intelligent representative of the lay public. Unless he has some foundation of experience in case work he will have neither the courage nor the background to interpret the public to the vocational worker, for an interpreter must know two languages, the language of the speaker and that of the auditor.

What Mr. Brown ought to say to Mr. Jones, prospective avocational worker, is, "Miss White, our superintendent of case work, will be glad to see you tomorrow afternoon."

And when Mr. Jones calls to see Miss White she should remember that he deserves as much consideration as would a vocational worker and that he must be placed where he will be most useful even if that means in some other organization than her own.

She should bear in mind, also, that from the point of view of social work the world has two kinds of people—those who are interested in dealing with things and people in the mass and those who are interested in dealing with individuals. The former will not find in case work their niche. They will be happier with some organization devoted

solely to the passage of legislation or the education of people in groups. It is useless to attempt to employ either as an avocational or vocational worker any one who does not like to deal with people one by one and who does not feel that that is the way in which he or she can be of greatest service.

Attention must also be paid to the experience, to the ability, and to the interest of the prospective avocational worker. Thus a person of action who cannot appreciate the value of time spent in discussion should not be assigned to a committee engaged in a statistical study. Again there come to social agencies people without any appropriate experience who at the same time are anxious to do something that in their opinion is definite and practical. Do not attempt to train such persons surreptitiously by placing them upon case committees. This is particularly true in dealing with a certain type of young woman who has been attending lectures and classes until she yearns for something that means work, not education. Assign her to the simpler kinds of visiting—carrying allowances, taking children to dispensaries, or if there is clerical work to be done let her do that. But do not manufacture work for avocational workers. If you have nothing for them to do perhaps somebody else has. No longer do we tolerate such employment for vagrants as carrying bricks from one pile to another and back again. Why, then, should we practice such a subterfuge upon an avocational worker? Yet I suspect that this is not infrequently done. I wonder whether in the desire to establish a record for avocational service district visitors are not tempted to develop more avocational tasks than the work really demands. In doing so are we not perhaps keeping many people from useful work either elsewhere in our own agency or with some other organization?

On the other hand, there are certain office tasks which if not performed by avocational workers would not be performed at all, with a resultant loss in the efficiency of the district visitor. I have been told, for example, of one avocational worker whose criticisms of case records have greatly stimulated the case work of a certain district visitor.

We are handicapped in the making of any pronouncement upon avocational guidance by the lack of collected experience. There is need for material upon which we can base plans both for placing and for training avocational workers. Mr. Porter R. Lee has suggested that the experiment of keeping a case record of an avocational worker be attempted. This case record would have an appropriate face card, showing the background, experience, and affiliations of the worker. The record itself would begin with the first interview, telling the impression made upon the district visitor by the avocational worker, what task was assigned to her and why; then it would show the history of their subsequent relations.

Of course there are difficulties in this. Yet beginnings are being made. Only a few weeks ago in a certain agency, not the C. O. S. by the way, I saw an admirable method of keeping record of the characteristics and assigned activities of avocational workers. We have had,

moreover, enough experience to know that training is essential for the avocational worker. Even the young woman who has had a surfeit of education will be reconciled to a certain amount of class work or individual tutoring if it is plainly supplementary to practical work.

Certainly before avocational workers engage extensively in case work they should understand its philosophy. Once they have grasped the outlines of this philosophy they will be able to work more intelligently; they will understand the reason for the method that they are asked to follow. It is not fair to expect the avocational worker, solely through the visiting of two or three homes, to attain a point of view that is the development of the experience of many case workers with the problems of many thousands of families.

Give her some inkling of the philosophy of case work. If it does not answer the questions that arise in her mind, if it does not meet the test of actual conditions, then let her abandon it. But start her out at least with a working formula.

Training in method and introduction to our point of view is important for every avocational worker. There are, however, doubtless many who need it in less degree than do the majority of those who enter service with us. I think, for example, of one type of woman who requires little training, for already she understands our ideals. She is seldom to be found in our large cities. Her home is likely to be in a town. Her children are now grown and she is past middle age. Although in comfortable circumstances she has for a large part of her life done her own housework. She has been a good practical mother. When she visits her married daughter she is likely to busy herself darning the curtains or upholstering the davenport. Her common sense prevents her from giving advice about the care of the children but their sweaters and mittens are evidence of where the product of her needle goes.

She is the true democrat. To her the butcher and baker are not tradespeople but Mr. Brown and Mr. Smith. She is genuinely interested in the snatch of conversation she has with them as they serve her before her door. Of course she does her own buying. Doubtless she has traveled widely. Probably she has been across both the Atlantic and this continent. Yet whereas such experience has given to the aristocrats of the town a veneer and mannerism which mark them as apart from their neighbors she, having more real culture perhaps than they, is still one with the people of the town.

Because she is welcome in every household she is unconscious of class distinction. Knowing the humble origin of even the wealthiest family in town she is not impressed by any show which they may make and is, therefore, the more respected by them. She has kept the common touch. Instinctively the family which she may visit feels this. In one conversation her simple, friendly interest has frequently learned more about the household, its past, it relationships, its troubles, its hopes, its prospects, than we with all our method.

Her self, the product of years spent in the daily performance of household tasks and of acquaintance with many kinds of people in whom

she has always seen the good, tells the family that here is a woman whom they can receive as an equal and with whom they can talk as to an intimate acquaintance. Such a woman is, I think, the ideal friendly visitor, the true democrat of whom there are few indeed for they do not develop in our segregated city and suburban life.

If it is of women that I have largely spoken that is because more women than men are engaged in avocational service. The proportion is probably as two-thirds to one-third. Considering the engrossing demands of business, perhaps this is not a serious disproportion. We need more men for avocational work, however, and I believe that more can be secured.

Why not, for instance, take advantage of the movement for home defense? Home defense not only demands military preparedness but also requires the strengthening of the sinews of citizenship. Fundamentally, Germany's power has been her people. She has been able to accomplish what she has done largely because she has successfully nursed their stamina and physique. What would happen to us if we limited our home defense to drill and the manual of arms? Is it not essential that every family which is in danger of losing its moral or physical vitality be saved from this disaster? What work can a man do that would be more important than home defense of this kind?

Moreover, such work is not without its own reward. In a speech upon "The Personal Relation in Industry" John D. Rockefeller, Jr. said: "Heretofore the chief executives of important industrial corporations have been selected largely because of their capacity as organizers or financiers. The time is rapidly coming, however, when the important qualification for such positions will be a man's ability to deal successfully and amicably with labor." The appreciation and understanding of the point of view of the families with which case work brings one into contact is precisely what is required for the development of the ability to which Mr. Rockefeller refers.

Furthermore, case work is an opportunity to get out of the rut of one's own routine, the rut of acquaintance with the same kind of people. It means an introduction to a new part of the world, a world that is always interesting and which always challenges.

An appeal of some such sort as this contains the four elements that are needed to cause a man to engage in avocational work—the element of fear, the element of importance (the importance of the work), the element of self-interest, and the element of adventure. One element that should be omitted from every effort to attract men to avocational work is the element of sentimentality. Sentimentality, for that matter, will not attract any greatly desirable avocational worker.

A friend of mine who spent several weeks in a hospital had during his stay twenty-five different nurses. All but one were efficient, capable young women. He asked them why they had chosen their vocation. All but one told him that it was the kind of work they liked and that it was an interesting way of earning a living. Only one had entered the hospital in order to cool fevered brows and to smooth the pillows

of the sick. She was the only one who did not make good. The kind of person who is likely to be most successful in social work is so well balanced and has such a fund of common sense and innate sympathy that the least departure from what is true sentiment will make her distrustful of the real value of the work that is being done. Beware, therefore, of too emotional an appeal.

Let us remember, also, that social work has not a corner in altruism. No profession has. Altruism, like religion, should be a part of everyone's life. No matter what one's job, whether it be the collection of ashes or the instruction of the young, it should always be selected because it offers a means for the expression of one's ideals. Altruism should not be the determining factor in the selection of social work as an avocation any more than it should be the determining factor in every act of one's life. The real reason for making social work one's avocation is interest in social work and the liking of the details of the job. The person who enters social work from this point of view, who makes social work his hobby, will be the most permanent social worker.

And is it not true that social work is the most fascinating job in the world? Is there anything more gripping than the problem of human relationships? Is there anything more interesting than human beings? Who, indeed, would exchange for the responsibilities of a halo the pleasure of doing the thing one likes?

DANGER SIGNALS FOR THE AMATEUR STATISTICIAN

A recently issued pamphlet, Methods of Investigation in Social and Health Problems,* contains warnings for the amateur statistician in public health work, many of which may well be taken to heart by his fellows in charity organization work. Of the health worker who lacks statistical training, Dr. Armstrong says, "though his intentions may be of the best, he occasionally blunders into errors in his efforts to collect and present research data largely because he doesn't always know to what extent his subject is adaptable for a statistical analysis or because he is not familiar with the methods and limitations of accurate mathematical presentation." And Mr. Schneider pleads "that we carry on our investigations in the scientific spirit rather than that of propagandism, or if on occasion we do carry on propaganda that we be frank about it, and not try to pass it off on an unsuspecting public as science."

Among the special pitfalls of method which are pointed out by Mr. Schneider and Dr. Dublin are "the mistaking of association for causation," and the "ascribing to one single cause what is undoubtedly the result of the action of many causes." We are warned too against the use of classifications "presenting categories which overlap," against "averaging averages," and against "drawing conclusions from relative statistical numbers based upon too few cases." Again, "serious errors arise from the comparison of tabulations that are essentially incomparable." These and other points are clarified by illustrations from the public health field which the charity organization worker will have little difficulty in matching in his own field.

* Methods of Investigation in Social and Health Problems. Armstrong, Schneider, Dublin. 24 pages. 20 cents. Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22d Street, New York.

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CASE MONOGRAPH SERIES

I. SOUTH ITALIANS

CONTENTS

CASE MONOGRAPHS OF SOUTH ITALIANS

INTRODUCTION

It is with an especial pleasure, which BULLETIN readers will understand and share, that we find ourselves able to introduce to them the first three of what we hope will become a series of Case Monographs. This is a new form devised to supplement Case Histories. To devote so large a share of our scant space to teaching material in war time, when many new problems are pressing upon the charity organization societies for discussion, may seem to some to need apology; but as a matter of fact there has never been a time when case teaching was so much in demand or when its advancement was a more urgent duty. If the particular experiment here described is to be developed at all, moreover, it must be developed coöperatively—our readers must take an interest in it and lend a hand.

Before doing so, they should stop long enough to realize once more our reasons for not giving these interesting case stories a wider circulation. Quite aside from the fact that their author would not have permitted it, we believe we are right in thinking that the originals would be even more identifiable in this new form than in that of the Case History. The new form has more atmosphere; it has a deeper reality. We have come to this conclusion reluctantly, because we have been eager to share these insights into old world ways of thinking and behaving with everybody. Some could have been shared by tampering with the others, but the faithfulness of these portraits, their directness and utter truthfulness, were qualities of too great teaching value to be sacrificed. Only proper names have been altered, therefore. Every reader is urged to keep these stories out of circulation and to reveal to no one, should he know it, the identity of the originals. Social workers in the city of C—— are especially enjoined to keep what they know about any of these three families to themselves.

Thus much made clear, our readers can help in this experiment by letting us know what use, if any, they find themselves able to make of these Monographs. All three seem to us to suggest the value of the old country background in getting better acquainted; they demonstrate the marked individuality behind the general type; they should be of assistance in helping to rid less experienced case workers of some of their stereotyped ideas about foreigners. How far, we wonder, will the same form enable us to deepen our understanding of other social disabilities besides those peculiar to the alien? It is here that readers who are case workers can help most, by making experimental Monographs bearing upon desertion, widowhood, child neglect, and so on. Who will try this for his own enlightenment, first of all, and later for ours?

The actual case record, or its transcript, will hold its own, we believe, as the prime means of instruction in the technique of case treatment. Its chronological, bit by bit construction makes its very

irrelevancies revealing. But, unless we are misled by their novelty, these first examples of Case Monographs show some marked advantages over case records in certain directions. Of course, case stories of sorts are not new things—we are always writing them to illustrate some technical point, or to prove some thesis such as the position that immigrants should not be kept out of our country or should not be admitted into it. The district secretary who knew the Di Libros, however, held no brief. She sought to understand and she tried to share her understanding—that is all. It almost seems to be with a gesture of self-effacement that she places in our hands a key—*the* key, as it proves, to better understanding of our foreign neighbors through sympathetic study of their social relationships.

Necessarily, the social case record is without perspective; necessarily, it chronicles the operations of social workers and of social agencies with a detail which distracts attention, for the time, from the theme which must become for each one of us the supreme theme; namely, that of the personality of our subject, our client. The Monograph, on the contrary, gives our subject in the round, sinking the social practitioner and all his works well into the background. The one is full of detached facts and only half explained contradictions; the other is saturated with atmosphere and with a sense of origins.

Our readers may be interested to know how the district secretary who prepared these studies went to work. In the first place, she selected families with whom, months before, she had established the most cordial relations—relations which had been continuous ever since. For this form of study such a good personal understanding is the essential basis. She began her task by examining in detail three of the questionnaires in Social Diagnosis—those relating to "any family," to the "immigrant group," and to the "immigrant family." Filling out for these questions the answers that were already known to her about the Di Libros, she next made a list of questions remaining unanswered. Many of these related to the background in Southern Italy. As the secretary knew the family very well, and spoke their language "after a fashion" (to give her own evaluation of her command of the dialect), she was able to fill many of these gaps in their story in a few interviews. The answers thus had also were written out opposite each question. Then came the final and difficult stage of dictating the story. All these data were at hand and were useful, but the questionnaire sequence could not have been followed slavishly without destroying the picture. The author has shown rare skill here, making the questionnaires a starting point but not a goal. Her story develops so naturally and yet so fully that we seem to know the family almost as well as she knows them.

Who will help us to insights equally revealing, equally needed by our case work agencies, in a group of Polish families, for example? Or who will make some one or more of the other questionnaires in Social Diagnosis the basis of two or more Monographs? Of one thing

we feel sure, that any good results of these experiments will depend far more upon the interest and the insight of the case worker than upon the questionnaires that are used.

1. THE DI LIBROS

X—— is a little town in the heart of the mountains of Southern Italy. It is east of Naples, situated near the northern boundary of the province called Y——, in rough mountainous country. What contact the inhabitants had with the outside world, thirty years ago, was through a market town twenty-five miles away, which traces its history back to the time when Southern Italy was colonized by the Greeks about 700 B. C. Many other nearby towns have a similar history, but whether or not X—— dates from this period the natives now living in the United States do not know. They agree that it is very old, and that their families have lived there for so many generations that they do not know just how long.

Like hundreds of other country towns in Italy, it is built right on top of a hill where the approaches to the town are easily guarded and no one need be lonely. The congestion is almost as great as that in a crowded section in a modern city. The families live in one or two rooms in houses several stories high. The streets are narrow and crooked. The water supply is excellent, thanks to a good spring in an open space at the top of the hill, where the water is collected in two troughs; the upper one the fountain to which the women go and from which they get all the water to use in their households; the lower and larger one, the town laundry pool. The sewer is the brook running away from the troughs and through the town to the open country below.

Two classes of people live in the town. Those whom the peasants call galantuomini, or gentle people, include—to the peasant mind at least—the various landowners, business and professional people, and tradesmen, in fact all those whose business is in the town and who do not go out to cultivate the fields. The other and larger class is the peasants or country people, who may or may not own the farms on which they work, and who all go out to the fields and work with their hands in cultivating them. Everyone goes back to the town to sleep, except in the busiest days of planting and harvest, when they sometimes stay for short periods in rude stone huts in the open country. This habit seems to have arisen because of the need of mutual protection. In this the inhabitants of X—— are not unusual. Practically all South Italian country people live the same way. Means for communicating with the outside world and for travel are conspicuous by their absence, especially in the mountainous country such as Y——, and the inhabitants do not move about much. This applies especially to the peasants, who live in the same place for generation after generation. Living so close together for so long a time, the inhabitants of a town acquire the most intimate knowledge of one another's affairs. They call them-

selves paesani, that is, "fellow countrymen of the same paese," or town; while all the rest of the inhabitants of the world, whether they live ten or ten thousand miles away, are forestieri, or foreigners.

In this town of X——, Giovanni Di Libro was born in 1853 of a respectable peasant family. Even for peasants they appear to have been very poor. They owned no land in town or country, but rented two rooms for their town home and did farming on shares for a rich man, whose name Di Libro does not remember, but who lived far away, probably in Naples. The two room home was on the lower floor of a stone house. The floor was stone or cement, the windows small. For heating and cooking they built a fire on the floor in an open fire place. For some reason these fireplaces always smoked. Both parents worked in the field together taking the children with them until they were old enough to work too, which was when they were about ten or eleven. There were only two children, Giovanni and Angelo, six years older. There was only about one month in the year that they could not work on the farm. As the town was situated high in the mountains, they often had snow, but the frost does not appear to have gone in the ground; there was cultivating to do even with the snow on the ground. This particular family raised corn and wheat, beans, peas, and other green vegetables, potatoes, and some root vegetables which are not known in this country. The owner of the land took a fixed amount of the harvest, what was left went to the farmer, and when there did not happen to be any left, or when the harvest was small, they were reduced to petty thieving, or as they described it, "taking" a little here and a little there from their neighbors' farms.

Giovanni Di Libro began to work for his father when he was eleven, and continued until he was nineteen. He never did his army duty because of a slight deformity which disqualified him.

There were many holidays, religious ones of course, the most important being Christmas, Easter, and the day of S. Pancrazio, the patron saint of the town, which fell on the twenty-first of August. On this day everyone took a holiday. The children strewed the street, approaching the church, with flowers, everybody went to mass, and after that ceremony was over they danced in their own homes.

Another holiday time was the vintage season for the making of wine, which is one of the principal industries; and in November when the new wine was ready, it was sold very cheaply and even given away if it happened to be particularly plentiful. In spite of this there seems to have been little drunkenness. A small daily allowance of wine was part of the farm laborer's pay, but the general impression is that this was well watered and not very intoxicating. They knew of no liquor other than the home grown wine, and in other ways the town was almost independent economically. They ate the food which was raised in their own fields, spun and wove the material for their own clothes, made their shoes, or had them made by the town cobbler, and were generally sufficient to themselves.

In the Di Libro household they were vegetarians of necessity, except on the three holidays mentioned, when they had meat. Macaroni was a dish to be looked forward to on Sunday. The principal article of diet was a vegetable soup or stew, coarse bread made of corn meal and coarse wheat flour, cheap olive oil, and chestnuts. The only meat they knew was the flesh of sheep or goats or pigs, all of which were raised nearby.

Teresa Russo was born in the same town in 1855. She too belongs to a poor peasant family. Her father died when she was a baby of eighteen months; when she was five, her mother died, leaving Teresa and a sister two years younger absolutely destitute. The town seems to have made no provision for orphans or dependents of any kind; there was not even a convent to which to send them. The younger one was taken to the home of an aunt. Teresa was taken into the home of Vincenzo Romano, who was not a relative but "a kind and rich" man, and who had no children of his own. Romano and his wife belonged to the upper social class, or gentlefolk, and had no intention of adopting a peasant girl. She lived with the servants in the house, and became herself a servant as soon as she was old enough to be of any use. Because she was a peasant child, she was not sent to school or given any literary education; and because she was an orphan, she was never paid for the work she did in the household or in the fields of her guardian. But there was always plenty of food, comfortable beds and clothes, and she was kindly treated. She grew up quite content with her surroundings and splendidly healthy. The younger sister was brought up by the aunt, married from the aunt's house, and died in childbirth with her first child. Teresa did not know of what her parents had died, but had been told that both died after brief illnesses. Like the Di Libros, they were humble poeple, hardworking, very poor, without any special abilities or defects which are remembered.

Giovanni Di Libro going out to work in his father's field met Teresa Russo going down to a similar occupation. They knew each other in a rather free and intimate way as all young people of the town knew one another, both at play and at work. She was two years younger than he; both were of the same social class, and of course of the same religion, as nothing but the Catholic Church was allowed or even known in X—— in those days. Their own description of the arrangements which led up to their marriage is this: Giovanni made love to her for several months, then one day he went to Romano's house and asked her to marry him. Teresa went then to Romano—whom she considered her guardian—and asked him what to do. She considered it a proof of his extreme kindness that he consulted her wishes in the matter before giving his consent to the match. He seemed to be satisfied with the statement that she liked Giovanni. Giovanni's parents had nothing to do with the matter. As Teresa was an orphan and there was no one to make elaborate preparation for her wedding, she was married about two months after Romano had agreed to the match. Romano provided her with a generous

supply of clothes and household linen, besides the simple furniture needed for a one room home. There was no other dowry given, and, apparently, none expected. They were married in 1874, when Teresa was nineteen and Giovanni twenty-two. After he was married, Giovanni worked independently of his father, but under a similar arrangement with the owner of the farm. Teresa worked with him, and their standards were about like those in his father's home. For five years they lived this way. One child was born and died in its second year of diphtheria. In spite of hard work they could not always make ends meet and often had to go to Romano's house for food, a thing they were always welcome to do.

While these two were growing up and getting married, great things were happening to the country at large. They were both born during the last years of the reign of Ferdinand the Second, a degenerate Bourbon who reigned over the kingdom known as the Two Sicilies, which included Southern Italy and Sicily. The government was unspeakably bad and corrupt, so bad in fact, that some of the more democratic of the European nations criticized it openly, though they dared not go further for fear of upsetting the international situation and precipitating a general war. In spite of these protests from outside and the hatred of the government by the king's own subjects, he was kept on his throne by the powerful backing of Austria, and his son Francis II, who succeeded him in 1859, continued to reign until the successful revolution led by Garibaldi. Garibaldi crossed the Straits of Messina in 1860, and on his way to Naples passed through a corner of the province of Y——. The country welcomed him with open arms, and from the towns of Y—— he received a substantial sum of money and a number of recruits. This took place when the Di Libros were five and seven years old respectively. They remember hearing the older people talk about it, and know that Garibaldi was a great hero, but that is about all.

The town had been sufficiently isolated to escape much of the contamination and corruption which so demoralized the more accessible communities under the old régime, but of course it suffered with the others from the complete paralysis of progress of any kind. This paralysis was slow to yield to the better conditions established under the new régime. The landowners still took most of the profit. It was almost impossible for a peasant to secure title to a farm. The taxes were enormous. Thanks to a short-sighted policy in allowing the forests to be wasted, the rainfall became more and more uncertain, and every year the droughts in summer were more serious.

In 1881 the Di Libros decided to emigrate to better their condition. Giovanni saved up for a year, borrowed some money from a friend, and sailed from Naples. He landed in this country with about three dollars in his pocket. Somehow he managed to get to A——, where he found work almost immediately, for which he was paid from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day. He boarded in the Italian colony with some people from a town near X——, as there were none of his own paesani who could take him. Three

months later, his older brother Angelo also emigrated and went to A——, but the two worked separately and saw little of each other. The venture was not altogether a success. Work was not steady, and after eighteen months, discouragement and homesickness overcame Giovanni and he returned to X——. Again he and his wife tried to make a success of the farm under the same old conditions.

After eighteen months of this he came back to A——, leaving Teresa with a six-months-old baby, Philomena. This time he was more successful. He sent her money regularly, though in small quantities, paid up his debts to his friend, and finally sent her the forty dollars needed to follow him here. He was fortunate in having borrowed his own passage money from a friend, who was so much interested that he charged no interest.

While her husband was in America, Teresa lived on alone in her own one-room home, working in the fields for a living, going to Romano when she did not have food her herself, but with no other protection than the friendliness of her neighbors and her own good character. She saw nothing unusual in the arrangement. When she finally came to this country she had full instructions which her husband had sent to one of the paesani, who was a banker, letter writer, and general medium for communication between those fellow townsmen who were in America and those in the old country. Teresa arrived in 1887. Both were prepared to stay in this country, and in spite of the difficulties which followed they do not seem ever to have considered going back to the old country to live.

The couple had nine children in all. The first one, which died of diphtheria in the old country, was born before the first emigration—they are not sure of the date. Philomena, born in X—— in 1885, was named for her father's mother. Then came two children born in A—— during the first three years of the parents' residence in this country. Both died in infancy; one of summer complaint, the other of some illness which lasted only a very short time, probably diphtheria. Concetta was born in B—— in 1891 and named for her mother's mother. She was baptized in the Church of S. Dominico. Then came Angelina, born in 1893, and Maria, born in 1895; then another baby that died of summer complaint; then the youngest, Guiseppi, the only boy living, the pride of the family, was born in 1902, and named for his paternal grandfather. The three younger children were baptized in C——, the girls in S. Paolo's Church, and Pepino in the Church of S. Chiaro. Besides these nine babies, Mrs. Di Libro had at least five miscarriages, caused, she thinks, by the very heavy work which she did, especially in carrying wood on her head during the periods of extremest poverty in this country.

In A—— the couple found very few of their paesani and were to live among the Italians of other towns to whom they were comparative strangers, though all South Italians. Giovanni worked for one contractor after another and had more and more difficulty in finding jobs. They were in A—— three years altogether. During

the last year he tried peddling vegetables with a push cart, but this enterprise failed. Between 1890 and 1891 they lived for six months in B—— where a paesano had told him that he could find good work. The work was not much better and Teresa was most unwilling to stay there. In her opinion, the air in B—— is far inferior to that of A—— and C——, and the living expenses high out of all proportion to those in the nearby towns. Six months later, in 1891 or 1892, they moved to C——, where they have lived ever since. In C—— there were no paesani except Giovanni's older brother, with whom he was not on good terms on account of the brother's wife. The Italian colony was small, however, and the people of different paesi were thrown together and forced to become acquainted. He was pleased to find natives of towns which were near X——, and of which he knew because they used the same market town in the old country, but the greatest consideration was work, and this he did not find. They were reduced to great need. The mother went out and picked up the firewood, carrying it home on her head. The father picked up or stole what food he could from the market, once bringing home a piece of meat which he had found in the gutter, which gave them a feast that day. Another find, of a dozen fresh eggs, was a cause for rejoicing, though the exact place where they were "found" he does not mention. Finally he purchased, on credit, a hand-organ, and went about the country with Philomena, the oldest child, who collected the money from his hearers. Mr. Di Libro is a little indefinite about the length of the period that he did this. It was probably about four years, as it began when Philomena was about seven or eight, and when she was eleven she began to work in the cigar factory. Although Philomena came to this country when she was only one year old, she never went to school a single day.

Mr. Di Libro says it never occurred to him that his skill as a farmer would be worth anything in this country or that the conditions would be enough better than the conditions for farmers in Italy to make it worth while for him to try for such a position. He had never heard that free land was to be had under any condition. His ambition does not seem to have gone much beyond that of having steady work as a day laborer, and he was principally concerned with his inability to get such steady work. Mrs. Di Libro never worked outside her own home even in the days of greatest distress. She is still quite sure that it would have been impossible for her to do so because of the number of children. After the hurdy-gurdy period things took an upward turn, he found more work as a day laborer, and finally gave up the hand-organ. About the time Pepino was born in 1902 he secured work in Lincoln Park working on roads, and although he is sixty-four years old he is still holding the position. The pay was a dollar and a half a day in good weather all the year around. During the last year it has been raised to two dollars a day. His duty is to keep the roads clean, to rake up all obstructions and carry them away. He is not and never has been a member of a union and thinks he is too old to join now. To his knowledge he has

never been deliberately exploited in connection with his work, or in any other way.

The children's education suffered greatly because of the poverty of the parents. Philomena, who could not go to school because she had to go around with her father and the hand-organ, worked in Smith's cigar factory when she was eleven, and at fourteen she was married. Concetta, or Jennie as she prefers to be called, went to school until she was almost twelve, but on account of poor physical health she never finished the fourth grade. From school she went directly into the same factory where Philomena had worked, and stayed there until she was fourteen, when she was married.

Angelina, two years younger than Jennie, had a few months more education, and went to the sixth grade, thanks to her better health, and a little extra time. At twelve she too went to the cigar factory, and at thirteen she was married. Maria, the youngest of the girls, was even more delicate than Jennie. She stayed in school until she was fourteen and finished the seventh grade. Then her mother took her home to help in the household, and because of her health she did not go to the inevitable cigar factory until she was seventeen. She is now twenty-two and still working in the cigar factory at six dollars a week, nine hours a day. She is in the packing room, sitting sideways all day so that her hips and shoulders are growing quite uneven. She is thin, white, and sick looking. In spite of the obviously bad conditions in the cigar factory, she is unwilling to try to get anything better. She doubts whether another job would be any better and says she might lose time between the two jobs and she is used to the cigar factory. Angelina works there with her and some other friends, so she does not think it worth while to change.

Pepino, or Joe, the baby, younger by seven years than Maria, is now fifteen and in first year high school, thanks to the insistance of his older sisters and some social workers who have become interested in him. His father is skeptical as to the advantage of this course. He himself went to work when he was eleven and has gotten along without being able to read and write, or even to speak English, but the father's authority to control his children's actions absolutely has been considerably modified for Joe and the boy talks openly about going to college. One thing his father has insisted on. He must learn a trade. When he was twelve the school attendance officer discovered that Joe was spending all his waking hours, when he was not in school, squatting in a tailor shop. This was against the law, and of course it had to stop, but Mr. Di Libro protested vigorously, saying that the only way for the boy to get along was to have a trade, that it was much better for him to be in the tailor shop than running the streets with the bad boys whom he would meet there. The moment he was fourteen he went back to the tailor shop openly, and there is some reason to think that he spent a good deal of time there before he was fourteen in spite of the attendance officer. He is still in the tailor shop after school hours, though he stops early enough

to do his lessons. His wages are quite insignificant, only a dollar and a half a week; the main object is to learn the trade. What schooling the children have had has all been in English in the public schools.

Ever since they came to C——, the family have lived in one Italian colony; they have moved only three times, and for the last eight years have lived in the same house. There are over sixty thousand Italians in C—— and about a third live in this colony. They have their own dealers in necessities and luxuries and rarely go outside the district, though they might often save money by doing this. There are two weekly newspapers and a daily. Conservative among the conservatives, the older Di Libros seem never to have attempted to get to know their English-speaking neighbors or to have any intercourse with them other than is necessary to their work. Jennie, who was born in this country, speaks Italian far more fluently than English, indeed her English is remarkably inadequate and inaccurate. The children are not allowed to go out at night; even the grown ones must stay in, though their neighbors spend a large part of their time on the street. The colony as a whole is thoroughly and characteristically Italian. There is not much friction between it and the English-speaking community; both sides seem to take it for granted that they are different, and the English-speaking one, at least, feels decidedly superior. All the young men are or should be wage earners, as well as many of the single women and those without children. The women with children, especially the more conservative and respectable among them, are most unwilling to work; in fact, a woman's respectability is often measured by the proportion of time she spends in her own home. It is quite common to hear a woman boast that she has not been off of her own block for years. This is probably an exaggeration, for of course she goes to weddings, funerals, and baptismal festivities, but it appears to be true in so far as going for her own work or pleasure is concerned. All the women who work insist on going home at night; even the well-to-do people living in the colony itself find it almost impossible to secure servants. In this the Italian women feel themselves distinctly superior to the women of other nationalities in the city. As a rule the members of the colony envy their American neighbors as being better off financially and able to live more comfortably. They are sometimes shocked at the blunt manners or lack of manners, particularly in the children, and try to protect their children from what they regard as a contaminating influence. Quite often this results in cutting the children off from many opportunities for innocent recreation.

In the Di Libro family especially this attitude is marked. During the past three years Philomena and Jennie, with their families of eleven children in all, have lived with the old people a large part of the time. The grandparents always oppose the children's going to the playgrounds, and if they had their way, would keep the little girls in the house all the time except when they are in school. Even Maria and Joe, who are much more Americanized than the other

members of the family, have not been allowed to go to the carefully supervised dances which are given by the social organizations of the Italian colony in the school building and supervised by one of the school authorities. None of the family has had, or tried to have, contact with Americans except in those places where they could not help themselves—while at work or in school. Of the three married ones, Philomena is by far the most Americanized. Thanks to her experience in following her father's hand-organ, she speaks English rather fluently. It seems reasonable to suppose that her extraordinary skill in saying things which will be agreeable to her listeners and in house-to-house begging is the result of this training. She is quite different from the others who consider her "bold" and "fresh." Jennie speaks less English than any of the others and is less Americanized in every way. As her history forms the basis of the second study, it will be unnecessary to go into further details about her here. Angelina has been married eleven years and has no children. She and Maria work together in the cigar factory where they are thrown with some Americans and both speak English with very little accent, though their vocabulary is small and they use the words inaccurately. Joe is now thrown almost entirely with English-speaking people in high school and shows the effect plainly in speech and dress, but he is still respectful and obedient to his parents to a degree almost inconceivable in an American boy.

The most noticeable difference between their life in this country and in the old country is in the intellectual opportunities and the way they have taken advantage of them. The parents are still absolutely illiterate; they have never been able to take the time to go to night school and apparently have made little effort to take advantage of opportunities in this line. The three older children are keenly aware of their own shortcomings in the matter of education, and have brought considerable successful pressure to bear on the parents to continue Joe's education even at great sacrifices. In the matter of housing, the improvement is not so obvious. Doubtless a spigot in the hall is more convenient than a fountain from which one carries water on one's head, and any plumbing looks luxurious after no plumbing at all, though the plumbing and toilet arrangements in the house in which they live are in such bad repair most of the time that they sometimes appear worse than nothing. The stone house in X—— was undoubtedly better built than the rickety old frame tenement in which they live, but the two rooms on the third floor here are probably drier, warmer, and more comfortable than those they occupied there. Mrs. Di Libro still covers her eyes at the thought of the smoke in her old home and groans at the difficulty of cooking over a charcoal fire in a little brazier. The stove is easier. On the other hand, the fire hazard here is very great. The iron fire escape is attached to a rickety old wooden porch which would surely collapse in short order in a fire. The family still occupy only two rooms, one of them a kitchen which is shared by Concetta and her six children who live in a similar apartment adjoining. They

themselves think the food here is better, though they never cease to bewail its cost. They have a curious way of attributing great food values to some things, such as imported macaroni, cheese, and oil, just because they knew them and valued them in the old country. But corn bread, and their old stand-by, vegetable stew, they think are not much good simply because they were their staple article of diet in the old country. The diet is still almost entirely vegetarian with the addition of milk and possibly meat a little more than formerly. The old people have been greatly handicapped by having two daughters' families thrust upon them just at the time when they thought they might allow themselves a little more ease and comfort. They have shouldered this unexpected burden with unusual willingness, compared to the attitude of their neighbors toward married children who get in financial difficulties. They have been unwisely economical in the matter of rooms—at one time there were seventeen people in four rooms—but on the other hand they did not think it extravagant for their daughters to stay at home and nurse their babies until the children were a year old, and even after that they did not urge the daughters to work outside their own homes more than a day or two a week.

Mr. Di Libro took out citizen's papers as soon as he was fairly established in this country. He has forgotten the exact date and mislaid the papers along with marriage and birth certificates. Apparently he had no difficulty in getting them. He is quite an enthusiastic Republican and causes Joe great amusement by his heated arguments in defense of his party at election time. He is a member of S. Anna's Benefit Society, a small association of workingmen not affiliated with any grand lodge or church. Like all the lodges in the colony it undoubtedly has a strong political interest, though the members are not usually willing to admit this.

The family's church connection has become steadily weaker during their residence in this country. At first they went to church regularly on Sundays and saints' days, but now they have excellent excuses for staying away on Sundays and all other times except Christmas and Easter and S. Pancrazio's day, the patron saint of X——. They claim that they have always been too poor to contribute to the support of the church, at any rate they never have done it in this country except to pay for such ceremonies as baptism, funerals, and weddings, and even the church wedding was omitted at Jennie's marriage, the parents acquiescing easily in her husband's decision that it was an unnecessary expense.

Of special opportunities for education they have made no use at all, except Joe's course in high school. Books are an almost unknown luxury in the house and they do not know the way to the library.

The relation between parents and children and grandchildren is very pleasant. They visit back and forth in each other's houses and are particularly affectionate and devoted to each other. The father's rather patriarchal attitude is greatly modified by his devo-

tion to the children, who in turn are respectful and thoughtful of him and the mother. Both are welcome in the homes of the married children and their appearance is always a signal for a good deal of good natured joking and teasing. This relationship exists among all the married children except Philomena, who is now married a second time. The family did not approve of the match and took most strenuous measures to prevent it. Although she was twenty-nine years old and had five children, her father did not hesitate to beat her in his efforts to prevent the match. Mrs. Di Libro almost did succeed in breaking it up by a different method. She went out on the back porch and in full view of about twenty families, and with Jennie to help, she mimicked Philomena's actions in running after her lover and embracing him in the street. In spite of their protests and those of all the social workers who knew them, Philomena married the man and so made the first break in the family circle. When she and her two sisters were first married they picked out their own husbands, in spite of their extreme youth. The parents did not attempt to interfere and approved of all three matches. That they felt they had a perfect right to interfere was proved by the way they treated Philomena, who took their disapproval so seriously that she tried to commit suicide before she finally settled the thing by eloping. The match has turned out quite as badly as the parents predicted; her husband beats and neglects her, but she sticks to him through thick and thin and even claims that she doesn't mind the beatings. Mrs. Di Libro is so tender-hearted that she has forgiven Philomena for her unfilial conduct. She is the only member of the family who speaks to her. The others think it is the natural consequence of her boldness, particularly with men. It does not occur to any of them that this boldness has anything to do with her early training in the hand-organ days.

About the only innovation which the children have introduced is in regard to Joe's education. He and Maria are generally better dressed than the others, but this is really necessary because of their associations in the places where they work and study. Angelina is the most prosperous, since she is married and has no children. Both she and her husband are working in the cigar factory, but they live most economically and contributed pretty regularly to the support of Philomena and Jennie during their period of dependence. Jennie's husband is now a fugitive from justice and she makes her permanent home with the old people. Nominally, she occupies separate rooms. The landlord has cut a door between and the two families have finally arranged to share the kitchen, though they do not like the arrangement and still cook and eat their food separately.

Their amusements are extremely simple and almost entirely confined to the home circle. At Christmas time Mr. Di Libro dressed up as Santa Claus and distributed to the children the gifts which a benevolent individual had smuggled into the house together with a small Christmas tree. The children recognized him, to his great disappointment, but the occasion was a most festive one. On Sun-

days and holidays they walk out into the country. Angelina's husband, Pietro Sabilio, is particularly kind in taking Maria and the children, who otherwise would not be allowed to go alone, and recently he has arranged to chaperone them, or rather the older ones, to school dances.

The only deterioration that is evident is a slight one in physical stamina. Mr. and Mrs. Di Libro are never sick except—what they do not include in sickness—the inevitable rheumatism and toothache. Mr. Di Libro lost several months' work a year ago last winter with rheumatism, and Mrs. Di Libro is now suffering from toothache, but scorns the idea of a dentist until the thing gets so unbearable that it is ready to be pulled. Her teeth are in remarkably good condition considering her age and the fact that she has never given them any particular care at all.

Compared to their other homes in this country, their housing at present does not offer any great contrast; in some ways it is a little worse, and is getting still worse, as the house grows older and more rickety all the time. The Di Libros are unwilling to have any complaints put in about it for fear they will lose the rooms. The old people are attached to it after living there so long. The landlord has been considerate in waiting for his rent and Di Libro says he fears that someone else would not be willing to do so. The landlord is a lawyer, a self-educated and self-made man, and he is said to own the house outright. It is almost impossible to find out whether or not this is so; certainly he is most unwilling to put in repairs, though he did cut a door between the two flats.

The Di Libros' standard in regard to housing is extremely low. They do not seem worried by the unsanitary old toilet in the yard three flights below their home, or the single faucet in the hall, from which they must get all their water—there is none in the rooms. Every now and then a floor-board gives way somewhere, leaving a hole which is not repaired for a long time, and so-called conveniences, such as stationary tubs, are conspicuous by their absence. On the other hand, the place is airy and gets a good deal of sun. The old wooden porch is available as a cool place to sleep in the summer time. Their main reason for staying there is the landlord's willingness to wait for the rent and the fact that they have lived there a good while and are among friends. The landlord is not a fellow townsman nor are there any other paesani nearby except Mr. Di Libro's brother, with whom they will not associate on account of his wife. Mr. and Mrs. Di Libro have one bedroom to themselves. Joe and Jennie's oldest boy sleep in the kitchen, Jennie, Maria, and Jennie's baby in another bedroom, and the four other Melanga children in the fourth room. As the children are small and well behaved the moral danger does not seem to be great. For physical health the arrangement leaves much to be desired, but it is not worse than the conditions under which they have lived all their lives, both here and in X——.

Of lodgers or roomers they have none, apparently never have had any.

The children and grandchildren naturally do most of the interpreting for the old people. It is particularly difficult to get an accurate statement from them about any one thing. They appear to think inaccurately and their command of English is inadequate to express their thoughts with much intelligence. Jennie says frankly it gives her a headache to think. The old people are generally willing enough to talk about their experiences, but they are uncertain as to dates and the sequence of events. When they do not happen to remember clearly they are more than likely to tell something which they think may have happened and they never explain the difference between statements of this kind and those of which they are sure. Philomena is an accomplished liar and does it deliberately to produce the effects she wants. The others are not always strictly truthful but most of their wrong statements seem to be the result of combined carelessness of thought and speech. Maria and Joe are far more accurate than Jennie as interpreters. As they are all on excellent friendly terms with the writer, there is no particular reason why they should misrepresent the story.

The Di Libros will not admit to ever having applied for relief until Philomena's husband died. Then they did not apply for themselves but for her and through her, and what relief has been given them has always been with the understanding that it made it more possible for them to provide for the grandchildren.

The only lodge or benefit society is Mr. Di Libro's lodge. The dues are 50 cents a month; the lodge provides a doctor and sick benefit of seven dollars a week in case of illness. The president is acquainted with Mr. Di Libro and works in the parks also. The members are all laborers so far as is known. They are not his paesani but acquaintances made in this country. The only aid he has ever received from them is the doctor's services and sick benefit when he was laid up with rheumatism in 1915 to 1916, when they paid him the sick benefit during the several weeks of his illness. The nature of the lodge is a secret and the meetings also. The rules are rather strict about the non-payment of dues and the members are not willing to state whether they make voluntary collections in addition to the regular rates. Mr. Di Libro evidently wished to give the impression that they never did such a thing, but most of the other Italian lodges do make such collections from time to time. What benefits are paid are made through the financial secretary who keeps the accounts. The lodge pays a death benefit to all members in good standing, but whether these are fixed or in proportion to the length of time they have been members, they are unable or unwilling to say. The sick benefit is good for six months.

The Di Libros' period of greatest prosperity was just before Philomena's husband died in October, 1913. As she spent all his death benefit on his funeral and had her fifth baby a month later, she had to turn to her father for help. He moved her and her family to two rooms in the tenement where he was living. He paid her rent and helped her in every way until he was deeply in debt and about

at the end of his credit. Six months later Jennie was left destitute with five little children and she too went to her parents for help. She had to give up her own house and share Philomena's crowded quarters, and it was share and share alike in everything except food. This each family continued to buy and cook separately, the daughters using the relief that was given them for this purpose. Jennie had a sixth child seven months after her husband's disappearance. By that time Philomena's baby was a year old and it was arranged that Jennie and the mother should care for the children while Philomena went out to work. For the rest of the year it was one long fight between the sisters. Jennie did neglect Philomena's children to a certain extent, but she could not discipline them without being scolded by Philomena who considered it an interference. Philomena on the other hand refused to add her wages to the Di Libro budget until her own children were fully provided for. She deliberately misrepresented things until it was arranged that she should get half the wages and the other half would be paid directly to Jennie. The following summer when Philomena was talking of her proposed marriage with the undesirable suitor, she said she was tired of working for Jennie. At that time Jennie was really fulfilling her share of the bargain, but in Philomena's mind this was more than offset by Jennie's outspoken criticism of Philomena's actions.

Since Philomena's second marriage things have been considerably more peaceful. The Di Libros probably would never have come to the attention of a social agency if it had not been for Philomena and Jennie.

2. THE MELANGAS

When Jennie Di Libro, whose family history is given in the preceding pages, was thirteen years old, she began keeping company with a man twenty-two, named Carmino Nottafrancisco, a native of the town of S—— of the province of M——. A year later she married him with her parents' consent. He was known to her as Carmen Melanga and to this day she insists that that is his correct name, but the official record from the old country gives the name as Nottafrancisco.

S—— lies about twenty-five miles northeast of X—— and the natives of the two towns are slightly acquainted, as they both use the same market town. There is a railroad running through the town now, but up to the time when Carmen came to this country it was almost as isolated as X——. It is well up in the mountains and its history dates back to the days of the Greek colony. The population is given as about four thousand. The town is situated on a plain and the houses are crowded together so that it covers a very small area. The two main social classes are the same as in X——: the gentlefolk, who own property and live in the town all the time, and the peasants, who only sleep in the town and work in the fields during the day. They raise grain, green and root vegetables, grapes

for wine, and chestnuts, besides most of the other material things which they use, so the town is to a large extent an independent unit economically as well as socially. As in X——, and in fact all over Southern Italy and Sicily, the distinction is clearly drawn between paesani and the rest of the world.

Carmen's grandparents were peasants in fairly comfortable circumstances. They owned their own farm, which included a chestnut grove which yielded quite a comfortable income. The grandparents died while his father was a child and the property was lost. His own parents were extremely poor; they are known to have received alms from the mayor of the town, and they eked out their income by going out at night and stealing wood which they carried into the town and sold, a proceeding at which the authorities seemed to wink. Both parents worked in the fields and helped with the wood gathering, and the two children, Carmen and his younger sister, went with them and worked too as soon as they were able. Neither one had any education in the old country, although Carmen was born as late as 1883.

In 1888 his father emigrated to America, going first to Chicago and later to some other part of Illinois. His fellow townsmen were emigrating in great numbers for reasons which seem to have been almost entirely economic. During a large part of Carmen's childhood his father was in America, and his care and training were left to his mother. It is quite possible that the time when they stole the wood was when the father was in this country, which would account for the indifference of the authorities. When Carmen was about twelve his mother apprenticed him to a cobbler in town and for four years he worked at learning the trade. As a cobbler worked in town, he was then considered slightly above the peasant socially. When quite young Carmen secured a guitar and quickly learned to play it so well that he was in demand for the simple festivities among his paesani.

All during his apprenticeship he continued to live with his mother and sister in their little one room home on the ground floor of a house belonging to an artisan who was in pretty good circumstances. Like the Di Libros they lived almost entirely on vegetables and quite often had to be helped by the neighbors.

In this same town there lived a family named Aiello who were about at the top of the ladder socially. They too had lived in S—— for many generations, but they were well educated; among them was a doctor, a professor, a priest, a druggist, and twice during the lifetime of two generations a member of this family was appointed mayor of the town. Still another relative was judge of the district court which was located in P——. Dr. Aiello was particularly skilful and well beloved by his pæsani, but one of his sons was the black sheep of the family. Paolo Aiello, or Paul, was seven years older than Carmen. He was given all the education he would take the trouble to acquire and had money and social position, but even as a child he was known for his bad manners and his wildness. He began to drink

quite young and was finally sent to Naples to learn the trade of apothecary. Growing tired of this he decided to become a maker of fancy cakes and learned this trade, to his father's satisfaction. When he was about twenty-three he came back to S—— and then the trouble began.

It is the custom of the young men of S—— to serenade the girls to whom they are making love, and of course Carmen was in demand as an accompanist. Serenading seems to have been done by groups of young fellows. From here on the stories of the relations between the two begin to show differences. Paul was a gentleman and probably a snob; he liked to boast and was too stupid to accomplish much or to command respect. He wanted Carmen to accompany him and was probably annoyed that the son of a peasant should dare to refuse such a request, particularly when Carmen's mother had accepted alms from Paul's father. Three different times they quarrelled and each time Carmen's precious guitar was broken. Twice he stole money from his mother to replace the instrument and his mother said nothing about it. When the third guitar was broken, Carmen's patience gave way and he tried to shoot Paul, or at least the shot was fired, whether or not he intended to hit him.

The people of S—— have emigrated in great numbers to C—— and the vicinity, and there are representatives here of both classes of people. The peasant group consistently uphold Carmen and say that Paul's family knew so well what he was that they never prosecuted Carmen for the shooting; but one person at least says that Carmen was four months in prison. The peasants say that Paul had a criminal record, that he was in prison several times for rape, and they even think that he murdered a girl. But the gentlefolk, among whom are two of his own near relatives, say that he was never in prison and that the stories about him arise from prejudice and ignorance and Paul's admitted tendency to brag and boast, especially when he was drunk. The peasants' story is the only one which can be verified. Carmen's uncle has papers from a court official in P——, bearing the official stamp of the court, which show conclusively that Carmen had a clear record, while Paul was seven different times before the court. The writing on the report is very illegible but the details of the various trials are given. The charges seem to have been for such things as assault and battery, threatened assaults, and carrying weapons. The last sentence was for two years. Carmen's friends say that Paul never served this sentence, but was smuggled to this country by his family, and as there were relatives and paesani in C——, he came here and began to work at his trade.

In 1900, at the time of the first serious quarrel between the two, when Carmen had fired the shot, his father was in S—— with his family. He immediately packed up and brought his son to America, coming straight to C——, where he had been before and where there were so many paesani as well as his wife's half-brother. This was some time before Paul arrived. Father and son are supposed to have lived together, lodging with one of the paesani and part of the

time with the brother-in-law who had already established a home here. Carmen went to work at his trade, first working for a cobbler, then in a shop of his own. He was not satisfied with the living he made; still he was a steady workman and had an excellent reputation. His musical ability made him welcome everywhere.

The financial arrangements which made it possible for Carmen and his father to come to America are not very clear; at any rate they were made by the father who took the responsibility. As soon as the boy was well established in this country working at his trade, his father left him with his uncle and went back to the old country, where he and his wife are still living. Carmen's only sister also came to America, but just how and when the family do not make clear. It appears that she was married in the old country and she is not on good terms with Carmen's family.

Carmen and the little Jennie Di Libro kept company for a year without her parents realizing that there was anything serious in their friendship. Then when he was twenty-three years old and she just fourteen they were married in the City Hall. Carmen had been a good Catholic in the old country, but at the time he married he had developed a strong dislike for his church and the restraints it imposed, and a personal dislike for the priest of the parish in which he lived. He was as poor as the proverbial musician and so persuaded Jennie that it would be an unnecessary extravagance to be married in church. This was in 1905. The certificate is lost; it was so very insignificant compared to those which her acquaintances secured when married in church that Jennie did not think it was particularly valuable.

The couple had six children in all: Antonio, born in 1906 and named for his paternal grandfather; Giovanni, born in 1908 and named for his maternal grandfather; Teresina, born in 1909, named for her maternal grandmother; Felice, born in 1911; Annunziata, born in 1912; and Rosina, born in 1914. All these children were born in C——. Because of their father's aversion to the church they were not baptized until their mother had an opportunity to take them to the church without his knowledge. The three older ones were baptized at one time, secretly and without ceremony, and the three younger ones in a similar fashion as they came along. When the father learned about it he merely laughed, saying he did not care if Jennie wanted it.

The family was a singularly happy one. Jennie adored her clever, charming husband and was enormously proud of his achievements. He had begun going to night school when he first came to this country, had learned to speak English quite fluently, and was also studying music at night, buying books and picking the notes out by himself with a little assistance from some musical friends. She was especially proud of this. And he in turn was a most devoted and considerate husband.

They lived in two very simple rooms in a wretched back alley for economy's sake, for Carmen never could keep money by him and

Jennie often had hard times to make ends meet because of his generosity, but the only difficulty was the generosity.

Carmen's wages are a matter of doubt. Most of the time that he worked as a cobbler he was in business for himself and did not keep strict account. He was greatly disappointed that he was not able to make a better living at his trade. He was not a union man.

After his marriage he had several periods of unemployment and finally went to work for a metal novelty company just a few blocks from his home, where he earned good wages and established an excellent reputation for intelligence and industry and the ability to take responsibility. He worked in this place for about three years. What debts he contracted were temporary and always paid off, and no exploitation is known of except that by the drunkards and loafers of the neighborhood who usually found him an easy prey. He does not seem to have sent money home to the old country, at least he did not do this after his marriage. During his last year he earned $13 to $15 a week. Mrs. Melanga worked outside her home twice, each time because he was out of work temporarily. She only continued to do it as long as he was idle, and each time he stayed home and took care of the children while she was working. He never returned to the old country and his ties with the relatives there seem to have been extremely slight.

On the other hand, the family were on most intimate terms with Jennie's father and mother and brother and sisters. Pietro Sabilio, the husband of Jennie's sister Angelina, moved into the same house with the Melangas for the fun of being near Carmen, just because he was such good company and in spite of the very unsanitary conditions of the house and street.

Carmen did not wish the children to go to school young, and Jennie, who accepted his word as law, kept Tony home until he was eight. The father would usually study in the evening, especially his music, and he undertook to give Tony music lessons, teaching him the notes and intervals. By this time Carmen had purchased a violin for $7 from a little local dealer. It was his ambition to make Tony into a professional violinist, and he succeeded in firing the boy's imagination so that he has dreamed of this ever since.

The Melangas lived in the same Italian colony as the Di Libros, but unlike the Di Libros, Carmen was among his own paesani and of a very sociable nature. Mrs. Melanga is one of those women with whom it is a matter of pride to spend all her time in her own home and never to go off the block unless she has to. But Carmen mingled freely with his paesani and was always in demand for their festivities because of his music. He joined the little local orchestra and was sometimes paid as much as four dollars an evening for his services. Besides this he continued to attend night school and showed a decided desire to become Americanized. His wife was as conservative as he was progressive but she was extremely proud of his progress. He never succeeded in getting enough money together to take out his naturalization papers, though he always intended to do so and talked

of it constantly. Not being a citizen he was not particularly concerned with politics and he was not a member of any clubs or lodges.

The family standards remained about the same while the husband and wife were together. Mrs. Melanga finally protested against her husband's extreme hospitality to those whom she describes as "bums and drunks" of the neighborhood. Anyone who said he had no place to sleep was likely to be brought home by the hospitable Melanga and given a bed in the crowded little home. Over and over they had these unexpected guests at meals; besides that, he could never pass a beggar without giving money. He finally agreed to stop bringing people into the home, as Jennie said that they would bring disease or vermin which would injure her children. He carried his generosity to such an extreme that he sometimes would buy shoes for a tramp when his own children were barefoot. This is possibly the reason why some of his social superiors among the paesani now accuse him of having neglected his family. The family itself has no complaint to make.

The church seems to have had no hold at all on him or on the children, whom he would not send to parochial school or Sunday school. But Jennie attended mass furtively, especially on the saints' days. His attitude did not appear to worry her much.

Meanwhile Paul Aiello had come to C—— about 1911 and the quarrel between the two broke out again. The friends of both men are sure that much malicious gossip helped to make it worse. A barber on Eighth Street was particularly active in exaggerating the threats which Paul made about Melanga when the latter was not present and vice versa. Mrs. Melanga says that they were not always quarreling. Several times when Aiello was drunk or out of work, Melanga helped him out. In the winter of 1913 to 1914 Mrs. Melanga had to go to the hospital for an operation for some trouble following the birth of her last child. She was still weak from this in April, 1914, when Carmen came in one night and asked her to give him five cents to go to the movies. She always handled all the money, giving him what he needed as he asked for it.

From that time on she never saw him again. The neighbors say that he went to the barber shop on Eighth Street, where he met Aiello who was drunk. The barber, who had deliberately started the quarrel between them for the fun of hearing them fight, put them out of his shop when the quarrel grew serious. A moment later two shots were fired and Paul was found dead in the street. A crowd gathered. A few minutes later Carmen was seen in a fire house nearby where the firemen attempted to hold him, supposing that he was the murderer. The crowd which followed shouted that he was only one of themselves looking for the murderer, so he slipped away and has never been found since.

The police have written to S—— and to various towns in Illinois and in South America, where the immigrants from S—— have settled, but have never found the slightest trace. Jennie says frankly she wishes that she had him in the penitentiary so that she could go

to see him, and there is no reason to believe that she has ever heard even a hint as to where he is.

About the quarrel which terminated in a murder, there are no two stories alike. Jennie and Carmen's uncle and the other peasants fully believe that Paul boasted that he was going to kill Carmen, that he had tried to waylay him in the park a few days before that, and that on this particular occasion he told Carmen that he was going to his home when Jennie was alone. The Melangas say that even then Carmen did not take any serious offense, knowing that Paul was drunk; but that when the barber threw them out on the street, Paul attacked him and began to draw his gun, and that Carmen took it from him and shot him in self-defense. Paul's relatives admit that he was a drunkard and "had too big a mouth," but they do not think that he meant any harm or really did any other thing than brag, and they feel it a terrible disgrace and shame that Carmen did not let him alone but actually shot his own paesano.

There is an undertaker from a nearby town, who knew both men pretty well and who took charge of Aiello's body after the murder. He feels strongly that Carmen was to blame because he was sober while Aiello was drunk. This undertaker was in the old country two years ago and saw the parents of both men all of whom are living together in the same town. All four were greatly distressed at the tragedy, but there is no further quarrel between the families. This undertaker, who says he is intimately acquainted with the affairs of S——, can hardly have failed to know about Aiello's criminal record, yet he insisted that Paul had never been before the court in the old country; so there is some reason to doubt the truth of his other statements.

After this tragedy Jennie and her children went back to live with the Di Libros, where for over a year they were packed in like sardines with Philomena's family. Now that Philomena and her children are gone there is a little more room. Jennie is making her permanent home with her parents and the two families seem to be quite happy together.

Seven months after Melanga's disappearance the sixth baby was born and Mrs. Melanga would not go to the hospital. Her experience at the time of her operation was such that she said she "shook" every time she even thought of the hospital, and the doctor did not dare to urge her in spite of the fearful overcrowding in the home. For a year after the baby's birth she did not do any work. Since then she has done a little. She is now working four half days a week cleaning and washing, and as all her customers are English-speaking, her English shows a slight improvement.

The oldest boy, Antonio, is now almost eleven. His grandfather thinks he should begin to learn a trade but is willing to compromise on violin lessons. He has been studying only a few months but his teacher reports that his ear is unusually good, he has an excellent sense of rhythm and unbounded ambition.

Giovanni, the second boy, who is eight and a half, now says he

wishes he could learn the piano. He too has a good ear and sense of rhythm, and can play Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star with one finger on the school piano! A new and enthusiastic friendly visitor is hoping to give him some lessons next winter and to get permission for him to practice on the school piano. These two boys are going to the public school and both are doing well.

Teresina, Felice, and Annunziata attend the Italian parochial school, since their father is not here to object. The principal advantage to their mother's mind is that the Sisters who have charge of the school also have a day nursery and they are willing to keep the children all day long. There is a big open playground attached to the school, fenced in all around with a high fence, so the children are very safe there. Mrs. Melanga made this arrangement with the Sisters only after giving up hope of persuading her mother that the little girls ought to be allowed to play outdoors. Not that she herself laid much emphasis on this until urged on by the social workers and nurses who have taken a hand in her affairs during the last three years.

Physically they are all in pretty good shape now. Mrs. Melanga's old weakness and sort of halfway invalidism proved to be caused by a slight displacement of the organs in her abdomen and a surgical belt has so far corrected the condition that she is now in better health than she has been for years. Except for minor ailments, the children are remarkably well.

There is little prospect that the family will be self-supporting in the near future unless Mrs. Melanga decides to become the breadwinner and goes out to work full time. Even so, she could hardly support them all, and at present her time seems to be better spent in caring for the children at home—especially as her mother's rheumatism and old-fashioned ideas make her an unsatisfactory caretaker for the children.

Mrs. Melanga's mental processes are curiously slow. She does not like to think about anything abstract or not directly associated with her daily life. One can almost hear the wheels creak when she makes an unusual mental effort of the sort which she claims makes her head ache. She has few headaches. Her whole-souled devotion to the children and her ambition to have them grow up to be as clever as their father go a long way toward making up for her intellectual limitations.

3. THE BUCCOLOS

Calogero Buccolo and his wife Carmela Di Pasquale were born and brought up in T——, a town of about twelve thousand inhabitants, situated in the hill country in the central part of Sicily, near the center of the sulphur mining industry. The sulphur country is mostly very unattractive, gray and desolate, but T—— lies across the river and up the hill and is surrounded by orange groves and fertile fields. Like the South Italian towns, it is built very compactly and the peasants go back to the town at night to sleep. Although

they have more contact with the rest of the world than the inhabitants of X—— and S—— where the Di Libros and Melangas lived, the people here too call one another paesani and speak of all the rest of the world as foreigners.

Sicily was colonized by the Greeks about 600 B. C. and from that time until 1860, when it became part of the Italian kingdom, it was the battle ground of many nations. Saracens, Spaniards, Romans, and Normans took it in turn and left their mark. Many of the customs which differ so sharply from those of their Italian neighbors are said to be due to one or the other of these influences.

Carmela Di Pasquale was the daughter of a well-to-do cabinet maker, a master of his trade. He owned the house in which he lived, besides three others in the town, and farm land, and orchards of orange and nut trees. He and his wife belonged to a rather exalted class socially. They had servants and other luxuries. One of the mother's brothers was a senator representing the district in the chamber at Palermo.

Carmela was an only child, born in 1880 when her mother was about thirty-seven years old. Because of her social position the mother did not nurse the baby, but put her in the care of a wet nurse who was a servant in the house. When Carmela was about eighteen months old her mother suddenly died of heart failure and from then until she was eighteen she was cared for almost entirely by her old nurse. Unfortunately the nurse was so impressed with the fact that the child was to be a lady that she did not allow her to do any housework with her own hands. Everything was brought to her. She went to a non-sectarian school run by the city until she was thirteen, and well advanced, able to read and write easily and to speak pure Tuscan Italian as well as the Sicilian dialect of the district. She also learned to embroider and make lace. Her father may have paid something for her schooling but she thinks not. She was always taken to school and home again by her nurse and had little intercourse with other children, being kept in her home most of the time. From the time she was thirteen until her father died, when she was eighteen, she never went out except to go to church accompanied by an eagle-eyed chaperon; at least this is her story.

After the mother's death the father took less and less interest in his affairs and they got into such bad condition that when he died his property had vanished and although he left no debts, he did not even leave enough to give Carmela a proper dowry. For some reason he was not on good terms with his wife's numerous sisters, all living in the same town, and Carmela saw them seldom until he died. Then one of the aunts, who was in comfortable circumstances herself, took the girl in.

Carmela's relation with her father seems to have been a very close one. He would not let her go away from home to a convent, as her aunts advised, although he would probably have done this if there had been a convent in T——. The cause of his death is not known. His daughter now blames herself for not having taken the

management of the household into her own hands. She says she had no idea that things were going so badly with him, as she was never allowed to talk of such things or to mingle with anyone except the members of the household.

Shortly before the father's death, a well-to-do young carpenter who had worked for her father asked for her hand in marriage, but her father ordered her to shut the window in the face of this lover because he was not sufficiently wealthy. About six months after her father's death there was another suitor; Buccolo's mother approached the aunt with whom Carmela was living about a possible match between the two young people. The Buccolos also belonged to the artisan class. The father was a master blacksmith and owned the house he lived in, but he was not so wealthy nor so exalted socially as the Di Pasquales. Calogero was the youngest of seven children, four daughters and three boys. He was born in 1871 and sent to school until he was twelve, when he was apprenticed to a barber in the town, where he learned his trade thoroughly, living at home meanwhile and absolutely subject to his father's authority. He was twenty-seven when his mother asked Carmela's aunt for permission for him to marry her. Until his marriage he had never been away from home, being exempt from military duty because his older brothers had served their time.

Buccolo's parents knew of Carmela's reduced circumstances and so ventured to suggest the match. The girl's social standing was to them a satisfactory substitute for a dowry. As she was an orphan without brothers, the girl had to be consulted. She had never even seen the man, but her aunt approved of him, so she decided to marry him. Both families were highly respected and there was no history of physical or mental defects in either.

Carmela's aunt agreed to provide her with clothes and linen, the Buccolos to see that the young couple were supported and to provide the furnishings for the home. After this Calogero was allowed to look at Carmela from the street below her window, but they were never allowed to speak to each other. They were married very quietly at night. Only the relatives were present at the ceremony, which was performed both in the townhall and in the church. The reason for this was that Carmela was still in mourning for her father who had died less than a year previously. At this time she was nineteen and Calogero twenty-seven. They went immediately to live in his father's house, where there were already several of the older married children.

The newly married pair were given a room by themselves and although they used the family kitchen, they were expected to buy and cook and eat separately from the rest of the household. Carmela knew nothing of the art of cooking, so her mother-in-law undertook to teach her, and during the two years that she lived there she learned to cook, sew, spin, and weave, and to care for her baby. The standard of living was about the same as that to which the husband had been used, but rather lower than that to which Carmela had been

accustomed. She took to the new life kindly and was very happy in her new home. She was still guarded almost as strictly as she had been as a young girl; not under any circumstances could she venture into the street without an older woman. Her husband did all the purchasing of food and clothing, or else it was done by his mother. The women of the family went to church in a body. No religion was known to them except the Roman Catholic, and the women, at least, lived up quite strictly to their church duty.

The couple were married in December, 1899. The following summer she had a baby born dead and prematurely at seven months. The following June Francisco was born and named for his paternal grandfather. By this time Buccolo had worked up a pretty good trade; he had steady customers who paid him by the year, many of the payments being made in kind, such as food stuffs, flour, corn meal, and other staple articles. He was in business for himself and, as the father's home was becoming rather crowded, the couple took two rooms for themselves and set up housekeeping independently. They both had excellent health and Buccolo was ambitious. He heard golden tales of America. Two of his paesani had already emigrated and had written most glowing accounts of the wages they earned; one of them in particular was a friend of his.

In March, 1903, Calogero was born and named for his maternal grandfather. Shortly after his birth Buccolo began to save up money for the trip to America. Maria was born in 1905 and shortly after her birth Buccolo borrowed two hundred and fifty lire (i. e., fifty dollars) and with this and his own savings he went to Palermo and took the steamer. He had written his friend that he was coming. Without any difficulty he was admitted by the immigration officers and went straight to C——, where his friend found him a job with a barber, also a Sicilian but a stranger to Buccolo, as he came from a town near Palermo.

Buccolo worked right up to the time of his emigration and he borrowed the money from one of his rich customers. He is quite sure that he paid no interest on it. He says he was influenced in a general way by the advertisement of steamship agents, but his particular decision to come to C—— was made because his friend was here.

His employer in C—— was an old man intent on making money. He paid Buccolo $4.00 a week and boarded him free, of course allowing him to keep his own tips, which were quite generous. After the first month he sent a hundred lire home every month and seven months later he had paid up his debts to the old customer who had financed the venture and had saved up enough money to send for his wife and children.

During the seven months' residence in C—— without his family, he was once thrown from a trolley car and one arm was badly cut. Knowing nothing of the American laws or the English language, he made no attempt to get damages from the company—an omission which he has never ceased to regret.

Carmela meanwhile was not left to her own devices in T——. Before he sailed Buccolo arranged for her to move into rooms in the same house with his older sister, where she would be protected by her brother-in-law. As in Buccolo's parents' home, she was expected to do her own work and to eat apart from the rest of the household, but the brother-in-law took the responsibility of buying the food for her and it was through him that she had intercourse with the outside world. When the time came for her to sail, this brother-in-law accompanied her and the three babies to Palermo. There she was put into the hands of her own mother's sister whose home was in Palermo. This aunt, who was quite comfortably off financially and well known socially, arranged to have Carmela with her for two weeks before she sailed. And this is the only time that she ever had a glimpse of the gay social life in Sicily. She danced and went to the theater—of course always chaperoned by the aunt—and drove in a carriage down the Corso—a luxury in which all Palermitans indulge who have any pretensions to social position. For the voyage the aunt carried out a plan which Buccolo had already outlined. Carmela and the children were put in the care of a young fellow and his sister, not paesani but well known to Buccolo. There were a number of other women in the party, all in the care of the same man.

She arrived without mishap and was met by Buccolo who brought her to C——, where he already had a little two room home ready. Carmela brought with her only what clothes she could put in a couple of trunks and boxes. Buccolo had written that they could buy furniture in this country more cheaply than they could move what little they had across the ocean. A short time before his family arrived Buccolo had changed jobs, working for a man named Martino who was a friend of his old boss, but who did not hesitate to tell the young man that he was a fool to work for such small wages. Martino also tried to arrange to get him some compensation for the accident, and took such an interest in Buccolo that he was glad to go to work for him. Just what wages he got is a bit indefinite. He either does not remember exactly or prefers not to tell; at any rate they included tips and were enough to keep the family fairly comfortable, though in humbler circumstances than they had been used to in the old country.

There were only two of their paesani here at the time, so they were rather isolated socially; besides this, Carmela was not accustomed to much intercourse with her neighbors. She took excellent care of the home and children. Her husband made all the important decisions, apparently without consulting her, and she did not think it was her place to question him. If he said they would move, they moved; if he decided to take a new position or to borrow money to set up a shop for himself, that was his business to decide. On the other hand, he never expected her to work outside her own home and treated her with courtesy and consideration.

The couple had come to this country intending to stay. It was Buccolo's plan to take out citizenship papers, but he has never felt sufficiently well off financially to do this.

As they were both able to write, they kept up the correspondence with the relatives in the old country, and although this has grown less and less as time has gone on, they are still in communication with them at long intervals. Besides the three children whom Mrs. Buccolo brought with her and who were born in T——, five more have been born in this country: Letitia, born in 1907; Lucia, born in 1909; Guiliamo or Willy, born in 1910; Antonina, born in 1912; and Mario, born in November, 1913. At the present date Mrs. Buccolo is expecting to be confined within two weeks' time. All the children were baptized promptly in the Italian church and the three older ones have already made their first communion. The family's church connection is not particularly strong; they go to mass fairly regularly. The children have always attended the public schools.

Francisco, who prefers to be called Frank, and Calogero, called Charlie, are now of working age, but both are still in school. Frank, who is almost sixteen, is learning a carpenter's trade in the vocational school. He is a steady, serious minded youngster, not very strong, or rather not very muscular. Charlie is a quick-witted, jolly little fellow, very lovable, and quite a pet with his teachers, who find him unusually bright. He is just fourteen and already in the Eight B grade; he is hoping to graduate the middle of next year.

The family has always lived in the Italian colony and most of the time almost exclusively amongst the Sicilians. The colony in which they live is not as large or as well defined as that in which the Di Libros and Melangas live.

In 1911 the family moved to Jasmine Street, where Buccolo set up a business as a barber by himself. To this end he had saved up fifty dollars and bought some second-hand equipment. Two living rooms in back of the shop were wretched, damp, and inconvenient, but they put up with them in the hope that he would make more money in business for himself. Jasmine Street is on the edge of the Sicilian colony. By the time they had moved there a few more paesani had come to this country. There were also some people from a neighboring town with whom they were on excellent terms.

This colony maintains its own shops for food and a few clothing dealers. They read weekly newspapers published in another part of town and a daily from a nearby city. Some friction between them and the English-speaking neighbors has been caused by a Presbyterian Mission, which is turning out converts at a great rate to the wrath of the priest and the more conservative part of the community. The Buccolos never attended the Mission and paid little attention to it.

Mrs. and Mrs. Buccolo personally have had little contact with Americans. Their children never went to the Mission School and they have now moved away from that particular section. They hold themselves a little aloof from their neighbors who were peasants in the old country, but are on intimate terms with the few paesani here.

It is a matter of great regret to Buccolo that he cannot provide a washwoman for his wife, but in spite of her upbringing she quickly

adapted herself to conditions here and cheerfully does all the housework for ten people on an almost unbelievably small income. The children go to school so neat, and have such beautiful manners, that it is always difficult to persuade the teachers that they can be very poor. The parents are anxious to have the children become good American citizens, and have no particular desire to cling to the ways of the old country except that they do insist on more obedience and respect than their American neighbors. On this particular point they feel distinctly superior. The children speak English fluently and rather better Italian than most of their schoolmates, thanks to the education of their parents in the old country.

The parents have never been to night school or made any serious attempt to learn English. Mrs. Buccolo has no knowledge of it, her husband only what little he has picked up from a few English-speaking customers. Both feel that they are too old to learn it now, but are anxious for the children to take advantage of every opportunity. The older children are already acquainted with the resources of the public library, and Charlie and Maria have given their mother cause to worry because of their habit of keeping their noses in a book instead of going out to play. The mother has shown a good deal of wisdom in the way she urged these two to drop the books and go to the playgrounds and in encouraging Frank, who is not so studious, to study his lessons better. She keeps quite close track of their school reports and is enormously proud of their progress.

So far the children have not shown any desire to break away from the parental control. They have most unusually good manners even for Italians—never speak unless they are spoken to and always rise when their parents or any other adult comes into the room. The mother is giving the little girls regular lessons in sewing, cooking, washing, and lace making, and only regrets that she cannot teach them to weave linen because she has no loom.

The father would like the boys to follow the barber's trade but has not insisted when both Frank and Charlie showed a decided preference for something else. Both boys sell papers after school and have done this for the last two years while the father has been ill, but any tendency to cigarette smoking or bad language is vigorously combatted.

The family's opportunities for recreation are meagre. The children enjoy the public playground, which is well supervised. Their family life is very happy, and, as there are such a lot of them, they get a good deal of fun out of games at home. The father is now a semi-invalid who cannot go beyond his own door without assistance; for this reason they spend their Sunday evenings and holidays at home to a large extent.

The father's illness dates back to November, 1913. Up to this time they had all been remarkably well. Only once had they been given any assistance and that at Thanksgiving time, when one of the schools asked for a dinner the week before the father was taken ill. At that time he reported that his business was very poor but he did

not ask or want any relief. The dinner was sent, however, and the visitor reported that, although their home was tiny and bare, it was exquisitely neat.

Just after Thanksgiving the father was taken suddenly ill. He was at that time a member of the lodge "Garibaldi," to which he paid fifty cents a month dues and was entitled in return to a dollar a day sick benefit during any illness lasting less than three months, and in case of an illness lasting over three months, he was entitled to fifty cents a day during another period of three months. He also had a doctor's services free from an Italian physician named Di Filipo. The doctor's services included the wife and children also. In case of death he was entitled to a death benefit large enough to cover funeral expenses—probably about three hundred dollars. The lodge members are most unwilling to give the exact amount.

From the end of November until the middle of January the lodge doctor and another Italian physician who was called in treated Buccolo for rheumatism; then they got him into a hospital. By the end of January the family was quite deeply in debt, owing at least fifty-five dollars to the American Paper Box Company, who owned the house. The company was greatly interested and liked the family and so did not press them for the rent, though they knew there was little prospect of getting it. The few paesani and the friends they had made in this country rallied round them. One family particularly, the Ventolas, continued to send in eggs and fruit and little delicacies for the table, although they themselves were far from rich. Martino, the former employer, gave them money several times, apparently with the understanding that it was to be paid back if Buccolo got well, as everyone expected that he would at that time.

In January, 1914, the doctor who had been called in in consultation asked for relief for the family, and this was given intermittently at first, then in larger and larger amounts, and finally in regular weekly installments. Meanwhile Buccolo went obediently to one doctor after another. One leg was almost entirely paralyzed, the other so weak that he could not depend on it. His shoulder also seemed to be slightly affected. Five different physicians gave five different diagnoses. The last one called in was a young Italian doctor who had known the family previously. He discovered that the trouble was syphilis, and he gave it as his opinion that there were lesions in the spinal cord resulting from an old infection which had started long before the man was married. The man was never conscious of having been infected and had never been treated. No visible symptoms had appeared until the mysterious illness developed.

This doctor made careful inquiries into the health of the wife and children. Mrs. Buccolo was at that time troubled with a good deal of pain which he decided was appendicitis. She was unable to nurse the baby, Mario. Guiliamo, who was then four, had a paralyzed arm and for a long time it was supposed that this was the result of the syphilis, and that the mother had it also. Aside from these

two, all the children were very healthy. Mrs. Buccolo had had no miscarriages and had not lost any children except the first.

Buccolo was put under the care of a competent clinic physician who treated him for a year with salvarsan, with very excellent results. The Italian doctor who had made the correct diagnosis kept in touch with him and reported progress. Since then, he has been in touch with them more or less all the time, as many of his patients are their neighbors and friends and he is particularly interested in Buccolo. He is more than ever convinced that the man has lived a perfectly moral life since he was married and was probably quite as good as the other boys in the town before his marriage.

Mrs. Buccolo has entirely recovered, and the appendicitis, if it was that, seems to have been cured without an operation.

Willy's paralyzed arm is now thought to be the result of infantile paralysis. The mother insists that he was born, like all her other children, in perfect condition. When he was only a few months old he was ill for just a few days. This was in 1911, during an epidemic of poliomyelitis. After that his arm was queer. She noticed it immediately, took him to two different specialists, and had him treated for months by an excellent physician in an orthopedic clinic. The arm did not improve and she finally gave it up. This same physician diagnosed the case in 1914 as a congenital injury. Since the epidemic last summer he has decided that it was poliomyelitis. It is now the opinion of the Italian doctor who has done so much for them that the syphilis has never been communicated to Mrs. Buccolo or any of the children, and that the disease is now arrested; and although Buccolo will never be able to walk easily, some of the paralyzed muscles are being educated so that he appears to be better. His shoulders do not trouble him any more and he walks fairly well with a cane.

Mario, who was born when his father was first taken ill, almost died of rickets, for his mother was unable to nurse him and she had no idea how to bring him up on the bottle. After some months of disastrous attempts with condensed milk, he was put on modified milk by a babies' specialist, but never recovered his strength and at the age of two and a half was just beginning to learn to walk. In June, 1916, he was taken ill with pneumonia and sent to the Babies' Hospital. Then the poliomyelitis epidemic began to rage and centered near the Buccolos' home. Although Mario was well, the hospital consented to keep him so that he need not be exposed, but in spite of all precautions he developed the disease in August and was taken to the City Hospital and put in the isolation ward, which was so crowded that they put three and four children in a bed. He was left with weakened back and legs and an almost complete paralysis of the muscles on one side of his face. The City Hospital kept him in their orthopedic ward until the early part of October; then he went home for a few days but was almost immediately sent again to the Babies' Hospital for special treatment. His legs and back are almost well, but the facial paralysis is still painfully evident. The hospital

authorities think that he will be able to go home as soon as his mother is over her approaching confinement. By that time he will have completed a year away from home. The father has not seen him for six months and begs most pitifully to have his child brought back no matter how he is. Mrs. Buccolo too often pleads to have the child sent home, but is always willing to listen to the argument that it is for Mario's own good to stay away.

In October, when the doctor decided that Mario should go back to the Babies' Hospital, Mrs. Buccolo and Maria were almost afraid to go home and tell the father. They walked with the visitor, who took them almost a mile out of their way, crying silently all the time.

Since June, 1914, the Buccolos have been receiving a regular allowance for their support. Mrs. Buccolo does not work outside of her own home. She once tried it for half a day at a time for a few days, but it was very evident that her health would not stand it. For a short time she tried to earn a little extra by making lace at home, but gave this up, as she really did not have the time to devote to it. With the aid of a machine she makes almost all the children's clothes and does it so cleverly that, though they almost never have new things, they appear better dressed than most of their schoolmates.

In November, 1916, there occurred a change in their condition which would appear to answer the question as to their growing dependence. Buccolo was feeling distinctly better and was most anxious to get some work; but as he was unable to go beyond his own door without someone on whom to lean, there seemed to be little chance of getting anything but carding buttons. Such sweatshop work did not appeal to him. He was rather uncomfortable about being so long dependent, especially since Frank, who might have gone to work, was being taught a trade in the vocational school and so earned nothing except what he made by selling papers. Then his "old boss," Martino, who had always been on intimate terms with him, offered him a position as manager of a barber shop which Martino was opening. The shop had three living rooms behind it, all on the first floor, which is of course necessary for Buccolo, who cannot go up and down stairs. The rent was fifteen dollars in all. Buccolo was to pay ten of this, was to be at all times ready to serve customers when he was physically able to do what they wanted, and Frank was to help Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Martino on his part provided all the equipment, pays five dollars of the rent and four dollars a week for Buccolo's services. Both Martino and Buccolo say that the arrangement was made purely as a matter of friendship and because Buccolo wanted so badly to be doing something.

With great delight Mrs. Buccolo announced to the visitor that this four dollars would take the place of a similar amount which was given in cash every week by the charity organization society. She thought it was better to save their money than a similar amount which she was receiving from the overseer of the poor, towards whom she had no kindly feelings at all. In the middle of November the

family moved to the new quarters, where they are still living. The arrangement seems to be most satisfactory both to them and to the employer, who admits that they don't do more than pay expenses, as there is not a great deal of trade in the neighborhood, but he is glad enough to do it for an old friend. They are still receiving a slightly reduced allowance and Frank, who will be sixteen in June, expects to go to work as soon as school closes.

The rooms they now occupy are better than any others that they have lived in in this country. They are light, dry, and airy, and the barber shop gives a little extra room to spread out in. Martino had one of the rooms repapered for them and often brings little gifts for the household. As the other landlord receives the rent from Martino, the family see nothing of him.

Frank, Charlie, and Willy sleep in one very small bedroom. The other seven members of the family who are at home at present sleep in the other, which is really a very large room and equipped with three large beds and a cradle. Mrs. Buccolo expects to be confined at home; she is satisfied with the equipment there, as is her doctor.

Buccolo, who is not and never has been a union man, works short hours, but as he is really a good barber, his customers appear to be increasing. The doctor is sure that there is absolutely no danger in his following this occupation. He is still a member of the lodge and will receive a death benefit if he dies, but he is no longer entitled to a sick benefit, as he has drawn all that was coming to him and no longer pays dues. Another lodge member once explained that in 1915 that lodge became bankrupt because such a large amount of sick benefit had to be given to the sick barber on Jasmine Street. The man did not know at the time that Buccolo was known to his hearer. Martino, however, who seems to be intimately acquainted with the lodge affairs, says that Buccolo did not cause this bankruptcy; the trouble was that during the financial depression of 1914 and 1915 a great many men were out of work and pretended they were sick and drew a sick benefit. Whatever the cause, the society did fail financially, and now the members are paying dues for three years with the understanding that they will not receive any benefit during that time.

The paesani and neighbors still aid to a slight extent, but not nearly as generously as they did when Buccolo first became ill. One particularly kindly one has died and the others are not now living near the family.

The only prospect of economic independence for the Buccolos appears to be the earnings of the boys, particularly Frank, who is almost ready to go to work. Mrs. Buccolo is quite frankly distressed over the prospect of another baby, and used a drug in an effort to get rid of it last fall. She made herself quite ill, but since this effort was not successful and the doctor gave her a fearful scolding, she has been resigned to the coming of the child. On the whole they seem to be on the up-grade both economically and in other ways.

In a trunk, carefully preserved, Mrs. Buccolo has a few of the faded embroidered clothes which belonged to her mother and a few

pieces of old jewelry. One set, consisting of brooch and earrings, Buccolo gave her when they were married; the other set is a brooch and ring to match, which were her mother's wedding presents from her father. These are her only visible links with her more prosperous past.

It is not generally known that her upbringing was different from that of her neighbors of peasant stock, but she makes a better impression on Americans than do most Italians. Even the overseer of the poor has noticed how attractive she is. To a slightly less extent her husband has attracted favorable attention, and everyone who knows them loves the children. Socially and intellectually she is decidedly superior to the South Italian families described earlier. The children are still too young to make any comparison of the effect of this difference in background on the way they react to the life in this country.

In addition to its Manual of Home Service, issued in July, and its reprint of Porter R. Lee's lectures on Home Service (A. R. C. 201 and 200 respectively), the American Red Cross has prepared a tentative list of books and pamphlets which it recommends to volunteers intending to engage in home service work. The list is as follows:

Social Service and the Art of Healing. Richard C. Cabot. New York, Moffat, Yard, and Co.

Social Diagnosis. Mary E. Richmond. New York, Russell Sage Foundation. (Recommended to those with some previous experience of social case work.)

The Family and Social Work. Edward T. Devine. New York, Survey Associates.

How to Help. Mary Conyngton. New York, the Ronald Press Co.

What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities. Margaret F. Byington. New York, Russell Sage Foundation. (Pamphlet, price 10 cents.)

The Good Neighbor. Mary E. Richmond. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co.

Low Cost Cooking. Florence Nesbitt. Chicago, American School of Home Economics.

Relief. Frederic Almy. New York, Russell Sage Foundation. (Pamphlet, price 5 cents.)

Treatment. Porter R. Lee. New York, Russell Sage Foundation. (Pamphlet, price 3 cents.)

Social Work with Families and Individuals. Porter R. Lee. New York School of Philanthropy. (Pamphlet.)

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