

THE
POOR AND ALMS DEPARTMENT,
AND THE ALMSHOUSE,
OF NEWARK, N. J.

A SURVEY MADE FOR THE NEWARK BOARD OF CITY
COMMISSIONERS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS
AND EXHIBITS, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

BY
FRANCIS H. McLEAN



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

April 10, 1919.

To the Honorable
The Mayor and Commissioners
of the City of Newark, N. J.

Greeting:

We submit herewith the report of a survey of the Department of the Overseer of the Poor, and of the Almshouse, both in the city of Newark, provided for in a resolution adopted at the meeting of the Board of Commissioners of the city, held November 14, 1918. The resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS, in the judgment of Charles P. Gillen, Mayor, and Director of the Department of Public Affairs, it would be advantageous to have a survey made of the Almshouse, located at Ivy Hill, and also of the Department of the Overseer of the Poor; and

WHEREAS, after investigation, said Director has recommended that the Russell Sage Foundation is best qualified to conduct such survey, and that said Foundation has agreed to perform such services at an expense not to exceed the sum of fourteen hundred (\$1,400) dollars;

THEREFORE, *be it resolved* by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Newark, upon the recommendation of Mayor Charles P. Gillen, that the Russell Sage Foundation be employed for the purpose of making such survey of the Almshouse, at Ivy Hill, and the Department of the Overseer of the Poor, at a sum not to exceed fourteen hundred (\$1,400) dollars.

The Russell Sage Foundation, through its Department of Surveys and Exhibits, invited me to make the survey.

In the survey we examined not only the work of the Department of the Overseer of the Poor (also known as the Poor and Alms Department) but of other social agencies in their relationships to the Department. Our recommendations are not entirely limited, therefore, to the Department, but have to do with the whole family welfare problem of the city and the adjustments in various directions which, in our judgment, will be likely

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more adequately to meet the needs of the problem. In dealing with the human misery and family needs of this great city it would, of course, have been futile to make any suggestions regarding the Poor and Alms Department as an isolated body rather than as one co-ordinated with other social agencies.

As to the Almshouse, a more individual study, unrelated to other organizations, was possible, although even there the question of relationships and co-operation could not be entirely left out of account.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANCIS H. McLEAN,
Director of Survey.

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CHAPTER I

RÉSUMÉ OF LAWS REGARDING WORK OF OVERSEER OF THE POOR

Chapter 196 of the Laws of 1911 is still the fundamental statute with reference to public outdoor relief in New Jersey, as administered through city and township overseers of the poor. It is not necessary to quote extensively from it, but to pass in review only certain important points which have a bearing upon present and future possibilities of development in the case of the Poor and Alms Department of Newark.

The law as a whole is one of the more progressive in the country, but it plainly has serious limitations. Section 1 states that a poor person "is one unable to maintain himself." Section 2 requires that a poor person "with settlement" (five years' residence is now required although this fortunately is not rigidly adhered to) must be relieved inside or outside the almshouse by the overseers. Section 15 places reciprocal legal liability for support upon father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, children, and grandchildren unless financial inability is proved. Section 16 requires overseers to inquire as to, and endeavor to secure, voluntary support for poor persons from other relatives "able and willing to assist them," and if any are "able" they are, according to the wording of this section, to be requested to do so, whether "willing" or not.

In Section 17 we have an excellent provision with reference to co-operation with other agencies. It reads: "It shall be the duty of the overseer of the poor to ascertain what societies for relief of the poor, or other organizations incorporated under the Laws of the State of New Jersey for charitable purposes, if any, operate within the municipality of which he is overseer, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the work of such charities or organizations and those whom they are aiding in his municipality, and to obtain such information regarding the poor and needy as they may be able to give him, and to co-operate with them to the end that unnecessary duplication of relief may be avoided. The overseer shall also, if need be, seek the aid of such

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societies and organizations, or their members, in procuring employment for those who apply to him when they are found able to labor."

This section needs only the inclusion of one clause after the words "to the end that unnecessary duplication of relief may be avoided," which should read: "and that families may receive constructive help other than material" to put it abreast of the best practical methods of social work today.

So far in the statute we have observed an apparent concentration on material relief, including the securing of employment, and when we come to Section 26, we find the overseer obligated to make complaint against a husband or father who deserts his wife or children or fails to provide for them. The succeeding sections describe the procedure, which we need not here present, except to say that a man may be either committed to jail or required to pay stated amounts to his family through the office of the overseer, and may be put under bond. In thus making the man pay, but in failing to raise the question of settling the difficulties between husband and wife, the law is still confined to the essential but incomplete idea of satisfying the material needs of a family.

Section 17 of Chapter 86 of the Laws of 1911, an act concerning disorderly persons, defines as such a person a husband or father who wilfully refuses to support or who deserts; and it is under this act that the prosecution before referred to is carried on.

Chapter 14 of the Laws of 1912 fixes the period required to obtain legal settlement; namely, residence for five years without receiving public or private support. Children in the absence of parents, and married women in the absence of husbands, may obtain independent settlement.

Even in regard to bastards, the statute is strictly concerned with one point; namely, that the township or municipality may not be saddled with the support of such a child.¹ There is no apparent interest in the mother, but instead the interest is in the question as to who pays for the child. The act is thoroughgoing in that an order for support, after paternity has been judicially affirmed, may extend indefinitely during the legal infancy of the child. Indeed, in a court decision it is established that "an order may be made *at any time* after the bastard is born and before he is twenty-one years of age." (Italics are the writer's.)

¹ "Act for the Maintenance of Bastard Children," Revised Law of 1877, p. 70. Revisions of 1898 and 1912.

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The New Jersey law, in this respect, is more liberally drawn than statutes in other states, some of which make possible immediate settlements, the father losing all further responsibility upon payment of a few hundred dollars.

Nevertheless, the law does show complete indifference as to what happens to the mother of an illegitimate child, or indeed what happens to the child so long as it does not become a *dependent*. It may become a criminal without the state's being particularly concerned, so far as this law indicates concern. The mother, through untactful handling of her by relatives, or because she needs the protection due to subnormal mentality or the special friendship and planning of a social case worker, may degenerate and become a common prostitute.

Returning again to Chapter 196 of the Laws of 1911, Section 3 prescribes that overseers may commit to the almshouse children under eighteen years who cannot be supported outside, their custody at once being transferred to the State Board of Children's Guardians, who must place out or board out such children within thirty days thereafter. Section 9 of Chapter 165 of the Laws of 1899, with reference to their care by the State Board of Children's Guardians reads in part, "and in no case shall said child or children who may hereafter be committed as public charges who may be over the age of twelve months be confined in such almshouse for a longer period than thirty days and the keeper of such almshouse shall surrender such child, . . . at any time within thirty days . . . when surrender is demanded." The evident intent of this section is that no child over one year old should remain in the almshouse for more than a month.

This is a system by which overseers are immediately relieved of the guardianship of children who cannot be properly supported by relatives or guardians, the bills for their boarding-out by the State Board of Children's Guardians on certification of the board being carried on the accounts of the overseer and being a charge upon the appropriations for poor relief expenditures—an altogether admirable plan.

The above is not an attempt to discuss exhaustively the laws affecting the work of the Poor and Alms Department, but merely a brief presentation of the fundamentals upon which must be based any consideration of the present activities of the Department.

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IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE LAWS

It will be observed that, except with reference to the care of children without natural homes, the responsibility for whom is transferred to the State Board of Children's Guardians, the statutes do not *specifically* indicate any responsibility in treatment by overseers over and beyond the purely economic one of material relief or of securing non-support alimony for wife and children, or material support for a bastard child, or the finding of work as a substitute for relief.

In the section requiring co-operation with private agencies there is an implication, however. If anyone obtains "such information regarding the poor and needy as they [the poor and needy] may be able to give," such a person cannot, in carrying out the spirit of the law, help being interested at least in any plans for betterment upon which these agencies may be working, and to a certain degree becoming a partner, active or passive, in those plans.

Under a strict interpretation of the laws, therefore, we may say that any planning which looks toward the removal of the need of seeking aid or which looks toward permanently bettering the condition of families is not required of overseers—their responsibility has to do simply with the decision as to the giving or not of relief, and as to the employment of employable members of dependent families. Under a more liberal interpretation, however, of the section above referred to, co-operation with interested agencies and a more practical functioning on the part of overseers may be developed.

How necessary this latter is may be illustrated by the fact that a literal interpretation would simply lead to an *impassè*, to overseers being obligated to perform acts against the common weal. Thus a person in need may be leading an immoral life; or a man and woman may be poor but they may also be unlawfully living together. It would be absurd to affirm that an overseer could determine that there was only actual material need in these or any cases and that he should not attempt to deal with the other conditions behind the need. As a matter of fact, we may go further and say that in an examination, in a number of states, of court decisions bearing upon the duties and responsibilities of overseers, we have never found one yet which contravened the large discretionary powers of overseers even in the field of relief

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itself. Nowhere has the requirement been recognized that a person with legal settlement, under certain given conditions of living, as indicated by the investigation of the overseer himself, must *ipso facto*, be assisted by the overseer to a particular extent, or even at all. A mandamus to require aid from an overseer is not an encouraging or hopeful proceeding. Now the use of this commonly recognized, discretionary power implies consideration of all the attendant circumstances in a case, and this is the beginning of deliberation on what constitutes the best plan for a family.

What is clear and undisputed (apart from non-support and bastardy proceedings) is that overseers should not consider the applications of families in which there is not present need. A family, or someone on its behalf, must claim that its members are "unable to maintain" themselves. Potential inability cannot be considered. Actual destitution constitutes the most absolute limitation placed upon the work of overseers, and to that degree distinguishes their functioning from that of private agencies, which may deal with disorganized family life before it has reached a crisis and which, of course, constitutes real preventive work. It will be apparent that in cases of non-support, behind which may be all imaginable causes of family disintegration, the overseer cannot appear until the actual offense of material non-support, with or without desertion, has been committed.

In brief, then, the statutes as they stand with reference to persons in need of material aid, may, by liberal construction, allow participation by overseers in plans for improving their conditions. In some directions, as we shall see later, this common-sense, liberal construction has been accepted by the Newark Department of Poor and Alms. With regard to bastardy and non-support cases the implication is not so clear, but fortunately the letter of the law has been exceeded; otherwise the effectiveness of the department in these two branches of work would have been considerably curtailed.

The strict letter of the law having been exceeded, and wisely exceeded, it becomes pertinent to consider whether the Department should not allow itself larger interpretations of its functions, taking into consideration the needs of the city and the work of other social agencies.

CHAPTER II

THE SCOPE AND METHODS OF THE SURVEY

A brief description of the scope and methods of the survey should, perhaps, precede the presentation of our findings.

In the first place, our intensive study was limited (outside of the almshouse, which is considered separately) to the three departments:

1. Relief to the Poor
2. Non-support
3. Bastardy

We did not take up the commitment of children without homes to the guardianship of the State Board of Children's Guardians because the present number so chargeable to the account of the Department was not large for a city the size of Newark, being 209 (82 in free and 127 in boarding homes) on October 31, 1918, and because the determination of the necessity of such commitments and the duration of the guardianship are matters entirely in the hands of the staff of the State Board and not in those of the Department. In a consideration of the other work of the Department we have had in mind the question as to whether this method of disposal of children should have been carried out in cases where it was not; that is, in cases where children known to the Department were living in hopelessly inadequate homes. Beyond this question, and inasmuch as the commitment of children is only an incidental function of the Department (there being a public agency in the Juvenile Court much more intimately acquainted than the Department with the problems of neglected children), and that functioning being subject to the supervision of the State Board, we believed that we were scarcely warranted in going further.

The methods and steps taken in the survey were as follows:

1. The examination in general of the system, methods, and policies of the Poor and Alms Department.
2. The careful examination of 158 individual relief case records

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of the Department. This work required the reading and interpretation of each record, and the assembling from the books in the office the 1918 relief or alimony record (for bastardy or non-support) for each one.

3. In connection with the relief cases thus originally selected, and because, unhappily, not all the social agencies in the city register with completeness and some of them do not register at all in the Confidential Exchange, a visit was made to all the more important agencies in the family- and child-welfare field (as listed later), to supplement the information supplied by the Exchange and to learn what other agencies were also interested in the 158 selected relief families under the care of the Poor and Alms Department.

4. Complete records of these families were then summarized and attached to the copies of the Department's records.

5. In addition, the executives of all the agencies dealing with these 158 families known to the Department were personally interviewed and asked to make comment and criticism, constructive and otherwise, not only upon the possibilities and limitations of the work of the Department for these families but upon their own work and that of other agencies, having in mind the best development for the family social needs of the city.

6. After all the information from other societies had been secured, a review was made of the relief records originally secured from the Department, and at this juncture, in a few instances, certain field investigations were undertaken by a member of the survey staff to amplify our knowledge, especially where a number of agencies had been engaged and where important information seemed to be lacking.

7. There were 80 non-support records examined, also. After clearing them through the Confidential Exchange, it being found that only a very limited number were known to other agencies, the same review as the above was made together with limited, original inquiries in a few instances.

8. Further, 18 bastardy records were examined.

9. Special examination was also made of 10 tuberculosis records in the Health Department in which the Poor and Alms Department or one of the other agencies was interested. Also of 10 records of the Associated Charities wherein that organization had had relations with the Department of Poor and Alms.

10. Meantime the director of the survey and his assistant, working for considerable periods in the office of the Department, in conversations with members of the staff and in the inevitable overhearing of conversation between members of the staff or between members and applicants and others, made use of this opportunity to ascertain the "atmosphere," the point of view, the

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"tone," the "ideals" of the work as at present carried on, without any reference to what the records indicated.

II. Thus the survey staff followed two main methods—a study of individual records of the Department and of the other more important agencies, and frank and informal conferences with executives and workers in these organizations. By these methods the surveyors were able to gain an idea of the work not only of the Department but of the other organizations, and to discover some of the unfilled needs in the family field, both in the way of better working arrangements between organizations and in more positive, joint, constructive action.

In addition to the above a sufficient study of the members of families known to other agencies than the Poor and Alms Department was made to obtain a general approximation of the size of the family social work problem in Newark.

The method followed in the study of the almshouse is set forth in the chapter reporting on that institution.

CHAPTER III

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT WITH FAMILIES APPLYING FOR RELIEF

THE ROADS TO AND FROM ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

Economic dependency may arise from causes other than economic. Unemployment itself may not be involved. Even if involved it may be due not to industrial displacement or industrial inefficiency but to a physical or mental condition. Moreover, economic dependency may come while the father and husband is working, because of his intemperance, or from the fact that he is spending money on other women, or because a grown son or daughter has gone astray and no longer contributes to the family fund, or because husband or wife is an unwise manager. Or it may come because of family jars between husband and wife which lead to the man's sudden desertion, or because of prolonged illness in the family due, for example, to bad housing conditions or to an impure water supply. The root causes of it may go back even to the insufficient educational training of the husband and wife or to their poor rearing. Economic dependency indeed is but a symptom of an acute family situation. The recurrence of it in any particular family, in the present or next generation, may be prevented not only by strengthening the husband or wife or both, possibly through their physical improvement, possibly through moral influence, or possibly through awakening them to a larger appreciation of family responsibilities, but also by developing the proper physical, moral or mental equipment of the children.

It is evident that each family situation involving economic dependency requires the obtaining of a basis of fact to determine the elements of weakness or of strength in the family group, its connections by blood or marriage, together with its other relationships in the community, and the working out of plans that will increase the family's strong parts and diminish its weak ones. To use a hackneyed term, family conservation is the end to be sought. In all this, material relief may or may not play an important part, but no thinking man now imagines that mere

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material relief is a cure-all by itself. According to the intelligence with which a family situation is diagnosed and the plans for the family are made is it possible to increase the relief, if required at all, without fear of the old bugaboo of pauperization, which comes through unwise giving.

But we are not purposing at this juncture to discuss what part an agency like the Department of Poor and Alms should play in this necessary process of family conservation. Rather we shall consider what part it is actually playing and what part other agencies are playing. With no brief for any of them, we propose to discuss what is left undone and how that which is left undone may be best accomplished.

BASIS OF FACT OBTAINED BY THE DEPARTMENT

Obtaining the basis of fact is what is commonly known as investigation, a term whose use is being discouraged because it carries with it no certain implication that the process it describes is a constructive one. It is not corroboration of statements which is involved or important in investigation of family situations but the obtaining of such information as will be serviceable not only in determining the kinds and amounts of relief to be given, if any is required, but in planning other helpful action.

Statements obtained from the family alone, not buttressed by facts gathered from others who know them, are insufficient for either of the above purposes; not because the family wilfully desires to deceive but because they may be viewing affairs too intimately with eyes colored by mistaken and innocent prejudice. There is always the "other side" to be taken into account and this does not mean an antagonistic side.

When one comes to analyze the Department records, however, one is faced with a really serious difficulty. There is internal evidence that sources of information outside the family have at times been consulted, but how frequently it is impossible to state. That is because statements are often written into the record whose source is not always indicated. In a limited number of instances the records are clear on this point. But as to the others there is no way of ascertaining in how many or what instances, if any, there was any consultation with outside sources of information.

All that can be said is that relatives are apparently used to some extent, employers to a considerable extent, medical sources

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(dispensaries, hospitals, etc.) only occasionally, and schools, religious organizations, and other social agencies apparently to the least extent.

A STUDY OF FAMILIES

Let us now examine the 158 records which were taken from the relief files of the Department of Poor and Alms together with the combined summaries of whatever records were found in the other agencies.

As the Department gives them, the following were the chief outstanding disabilities (one only being here designated for each family though more than one might well have been designated) at the time of first application for aid:

CHIEF RECORDED DISABILITY AT TIME OF FIRST APPLICATION IN EACH OF 158 FAMILIES WHOSE RECORDS WERE TAKEN FROM CURRENT FILES OF NEWARK DEPARTMENT OF POOR AND ALMS IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1919

Chief recorded disability	Number of families
Temporary illness of husband	15
Chronic illness of husband	4
Tuberculosis	14
Blindness	4
Other physical incapacities	5
Old age	30
Desertion	20
Widows	37
Intemperance	1
Unemployment	9
Industrial accident	1
Husband in prison	3
Chief breadwinner in military service	6
Miscellaneous	9
Total	158

The above classification is the best possible from the records, but the paucity of the information upon which it is based may be appreciated to some extent by the fact that intemperance is apparently the chief disability in only one record. This would not be the situation with any organization or agency making thorough investigations.

These consolidated records, made up from the data obtained from the various agencies, will be supplied in confidence to the

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Commission, it being, of course, impossible to print them. In the discussion which follows we shall refer to them by the number given on the records thus submitted.

FAMILIES NOT KNOWN TO OTHER AGENCIES

Among the 158 cases let us first consider the group of families, 97 in number, of which no other agency except the Poor and Alms Department had any record.

Let it be borne in mind with reference to these families then, that whatever social attention they could receive must come either through the Department direct or because it enlisted the co-operation of others.

Among these 97, selected alphabetically from the *current* file as indicated above, 33 instances were discovered in which no relief had been granted in the year 1918. These 33 cases will be briefly reviewed after we have analyzed some of the remaining 64 which did receive care.

We shall for purposes of convenience break up this list of 64 cases into sub-groupings according to outstanding family handicaps.

TEMPORARY ILLNESS THE HANDICAP

Here, for example, is a group of four cases in which the temporary illness of the husband is the handicap.¹ In one instance it is asthma; in the second we know it is an injury to the man's eyes; in the third it may be industrial accident; in the fourth it is just "sickness." In no one case was any real medical diagnosis or prognosis obtained in order to determine the length of probable incapacity and to what extent return to work would have to be watched lest it should be too long delayed or too quickly attempted.

However, in one of these cases (28) we wish particularly to comment upon the fact that the visitor went to the extent of learning that the man's two children of school age were not attending school regularly because they were looking after a younger child. Arrangements with a nursery were made to take care of this child, and the man's employer was seen about his re-employment. This service, and the giving in two instances of money amounting to \$2.00 and \$8.00 respectively, are the only recorded bits of planning or treatment among the four cases beyond the granting of limited amounts of bread and coal. In

¹ Nos. 84, 86, 64, 28.

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all of the cases there should have been a clear prognosis obtained from medical sources as to the probable length of incapacity of the breadwinner, so that the necessary period of even pure relief could have been ascertained and also just how the family could manage during the period.

In the case (64) in which, according to the facts, \$8.00 was given, there was a husband and wife with six children under fourteen; the youngest a nursing babe. At time of application the husband had been incapacitated for seven weeks. Besides the \$8.00, the family was given 135 five-cent bread orders and one coal order. The record also states in a very indefinite way that the husband had received \$10 a week for three weeks, apparently from his place of employment. It is not clear whether this was salary or compensation or why it was for only three weeks. There is no statement as to how heavily the family had run into debt, how much farther it could and should extend its credit, taking into account the fact that the man's wages were said to be ordinarily \$22.

PERMANENT DISABILITY

There were 11 cases of these 64 in which the head of the family was either permanently incapacitated or was liable to be so burdened for a considerable period. In six of the 11 cases tuberculosis¹ is the handicap. Among these we find the case of a deserted wife (26), fortunately with no children, so afflicted. Though the disease is indicated, its progress is not, nor whether the woman should, considering her condition, do the two days' work a week upon which she is engaged or be given sanatorium care. In another case (57), consisting of a family of seven children and wife, the husband is afflicted. There was no attempt to learn what diagnoses, if any, has been made of the other members of the family, which is a necessary preliminary to any planning for a family of this kind. Neither was there any determination of the physical condition or educational advancement of a fourteen-year-old girl, nor how soon she might be financially helpful. After a very brief contact with the family we learn that the man is working again; how many hours or at what occupation and whether he should be at work does not, however, appear.

In cases of tuberculosis, particularly where the head of the family is a victim, plans must depend upon accurate diagnosis

¹ Nos. 20, 63, 57, 41, 94, 26.

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of the physical condition of each member of the family; upon housing conditions; upon the abilities, mental, social, and physical, of those who must take some of the responsibilities of the head member; upon what help, material or otherwise may come from relatives, old employers, or others.

It cannot be said that there is much trace of this basis of fact in the records of these families, not even enough upon which to build an idea of the amount of relief that should be furnished from outside. There are references to the time when the head of the family stopped work, occasional indirect references to stages of the disease, a few very vague ones to the fact that relatives may be helping or are not able to do so, one to payments from a Polish society, the pregnancy of one wife, and the temporary incapacity of one breadwinner.

In one of the cases (94) a Negro girl eighteen years old is indicated as the second wife of a man suffering, the Department record claims, from spinal arthritis. There are two boys, aged thirteen and twelve years, presumably from a former marriage of the man. As the husband had gone to the hospital for extended treatment we were naturally concerned as to whether the young stepmother could manage the two growing boys but a few years younger than herself. An original investigation on our part, however, revealed that these were her own brothers and that she had looked after them for several years in the South since the death of her parents. Our immediate concern was settled, but there was still need to obtain the friendly attention of the Negro Welfare League to counsel the sister as to the boys growing up in a very different environment from that in which they were born. The children were behind in their school work. Incidentally the hospital reported that the man had a tubercular infection (not pulmonary), not arthritis.

In cases of tuberculosis, relief expenditures are likely to figure largely, and the lack of proper planning with reference to these particular families was accompanied by relief that was apparently inadequate. One case (63), for instance, comprised a family of seven, including the father and husband, who had just been sent to a sanatorium, and a fifteen-year-old girl who was working. Her wages were not indicated and no other source of income was stated. During the last three months of 1918 the family received 87 five-cent bread orders, \$27 in cash, and a quarter of a ton of coal. Milk was also being received for the baby, probably

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from the Board of Health. This case is typical of the lack of any clear relief plan.

BLINDNESS

There were three instances in which blindness was the handicap.¹ In one case (65) a young man in his thirties, with a wife and three young children, had been blind for four and a half years. There is no indication of any inquiry as to whether he is learning some useful occupation or the way in which he fills in his time. The wife had been working, but the family was peculiarly in need of friendly and intelligent service. The husband's incapacity, especially if he were idle, and his inability even to look after the children while his wife was at work, was placing burdens on the woman that might be too heavy for her.

In one case (73) there appeared to be a paralytic father, a mother a little over sixty years of age, two sons, one over twenty, the other over twenty-five, and one daughter. The first application, in 1915, had been made, we are informed, because the son over twenty was out of work. In April, 1917, we are told in so many words that the son over twenty-five is blind. Early in 1918 we learn that his brother and sister are both dead. There is no indication whatever of a relief policy for 1918, at which time assistance was given, or what the blind son (reckoned the head of the family) could or might be trained to do. Aid amounted to 624 five-cent bread tickets, \$6.00 in cash, and four coal orders.

The third case (89) was that of an old woman partly supported by others. As in the other two cases there is no indication of any plan or clear basis upon which to estimate the amount of relief that should have been given. Apparently, however, the most adequate provision was made for this old woman, who received \$12, four orders of coal, and 180 five-cent bread orders. In the other two cases any relevancy which the relief had to the family situation is difficult to perceive.

We shall pass over the cases of two men² in which other physical incapacity besides blindness was involved, and which are included in the 11 before mentioned.

OLD AGE THE HANDICAP

Five aged couples (husbands and wives), one aged brother and his sister, and 13 other aged men and women compose another

¹ Nos. 65, 73, 89.

² Nos. 6 and 44.

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group which we may look at.¹ These being old people, mostly alone and without family responsibilities, the question of treatment largely centers around the economic problem of support.

It is often a question whether an old man or woman of independent spirit, who is able to do something for his or her support or who receives some aid from a church or relatives, may not with a little additional help be infinitely happier outside an institution than in one. We believe that an allowance system, where intelligence is used, is an excellent means of preventing continued suffering in the cases of certain of the aged who have a strong aversion to an almshouse. Others who, because of helplessness, really need its protection should be reconciled, however, to entering one. On the other hand, too, viciousness and depravity, which may have a hateful influence upon the young in certain neighborhoods, must not be encouraged by this out-door relief.

We feel satisfied that intelligence and care were used in obtaining the proper basis of fact for the relief given to this old-age group. What each old man or woman was working at, the other help besides that afforded by the Department, the ability of relatives, the conditions under which the group was living were all inquired into.

There were two cases, however, in which younger people were also involved, the old people being aided outside the almshouse. In one (2) a "sick" daughter about forty years of age was with her old mother. This statement is not satisfactory because we are told nothing definite about the condition of the daughter. In the second case (51) a fourteen-year-old grandchild was helping to support her grandmother. In 1918 this girl was earning \$12 a week. She was also taking night courses in a commercial school. One is not informed as to whether this fourteen-year-old child (in 1918) was physically fitted for her double duty, even though in spirit she might have been. Neither do we know what her daily occupation was, nor how well fitted she was for it.

DESERTION

There were seven desertion cases,² all being instances in which apparently no follow-up of the husbands was possible, they having left the city, leaving no clues. Unless a wife has refused to cooperate in following up any possible clues or there is proof that

¹ Nos. 2, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 34, 37, 46, 48, 51, 54, 66, 69, 81, 92, 96.

² Nos. 33, 58, 67, 72, 71, 68, 80.

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she is in connivance with her husband and knows where he is, the Department must or should assume responsibility for the welfare of the family. Where there is long-continued absence the treatment in the main may sometimes follow that in the case of widows. Nevertheless, we find in one case (33) a mother with four children aged ten, nine, eight, and four receiving during the twelve months of 1918, 624 five-cent bread tickets and four coal orders. The mother was earning \$12 weekly at a task not stated. There was nothing to show how the children were looked after while the mother was away, nor how heavy a load her physical condition would permit her to carry without undermining her health. On the other hand (in case 72), a deserted wife was living with her married daughter and one child. The daughter's husband had been drafted and she was receiving \$15 a month as an allotment. Of course, if any further care or relief was necessary the matter should have been taken up with the Red Cross Home Service, yet the city gave 60 five-cent bread orders and a half ton of coal.

In another case (58) only very meager facts are given. The family, recorded in 1912 as consisting of a deserted wife, a son of sixteen, and a married daughter of twenty-one, in 1918 received 510 five-cent bread orders, \$12 in cash, and four coal orders. There is absolutely no further information regarding this family in the record except that the mother was unable to work.

In all of these desertion cases there was not the slightest evidence that any data regarding the circumstances which led up to the desertions were sought, even when the husbands had abandoned their families within a comparatively short period, nor was it indicated even whether there had been previous desertions. Thus the records contained no useful information upon which to frame a policy in case of a return of the husband. Instead of trying to determine any removable cause of family friction or to improve its morale, the idea appeared to be to accept the offender should he return and promptly to forget the family until trouble should begin again.

WIDOWS

We were surprised to find the records of as many as 19 widows¹ in this group, some of whom had received extended relief in 1918 and before. A little later in the report the problem of widows,

¹ Nos. 14, 40, 83, 22, 77, 79, 91, 32, 49, 55, 60, 3, 29, 36, 38, 45, 70, 85, 97.

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the state scheme of pensions, and the responsibilities of the Department to them will be considered.

MISCELLANEOUS

There is also a miscellaneous group of four (1, 4, 90, 95) which have nothing to offer that is pertinent to our discussion. These complete the total of 64 cases which received some form of care.

As to the group of 33 cases in which no relief was given during 1918,¹ it is not necessary for us to dwell on them long; for our chief matter of concern is to point out that, if anything, the records in these cases are even more fragmentary than in those already discussed. Here, for example, is all that is recorded of a case begun in 1912, the history of a husband who afterward died, and of his wife and small children:

Nov. 29, 1912—Husband sick and unable to work.
Wife cannot go out on account of small children.
Man died two years ago, moved to
September, 1914.

Here is another, the first application in this instance having been received in 1917:

July 6, 1917—Husband deserted family last Saturday, this being the second time.
He had been on probation for three months for non-support. Woman pregnant three months.
First application. "Worthy."

While we learn nothing to speak of about the family problem, we at least know that the man had deserted once before.

RESPONSIBILITY OF DEPARTMENT IN FAMILIES NOT KNOWN TO OTHER AGENCIES

It will be remembered that all of the 97 families we have been considering were unknown to any other social agencies, except for a few which it was discovered were known to health agencies. Whether the Department was fitted or not to obtain larger bases of fact than they obtained and to make and carry out constructive plans for improvement, may be one question. It is clear, however, that a totally different question is involved as to whether

¹ Nos. 56, 53, 59, 62, 74, 75, 76, 82, 87, 88, 78, 61, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 25, 27, 93, 30, 31, 35, 39, 42, 43, 47, 50, 52.

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the Department should have requested the services of other societies in undertaking what it was not able for various reasons to accomplish. In our later study of families known both to the Department and to other agencies, we shall have occasion to speak of certain inadequacies in the work of these other agencies. It may be claimed, therefore, that the Department, knowing of these inadequacies, doubted the usefulness of referring families to them. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that this knowledge entirely exonerates the Department from blame in not utilizing their services.

Indeed, if for no other reason, because the Department had demands made upon it by other agencies a return of the compliment would have been appropriate. Certainly it had opportunities to do so. We are not interested, however, in a tit-for-tat campaign instituted by the Department for the sake of the campaign. A responsibility really rests upon it to call in other agencies, because from what we know of the mental caliber of the staff of the Department we may confidently say that its members must have realized there were things left undone and that other agencies would at times have been of service. We also know enough of the policy of the Department regretfully to state that its work is not naturally co-operative, though we have run across occasional cases referred by it to other agencies.

FAILURE OF DEPARTMENT TO USE CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE

Of the 158 families selected there were 61 known to other agencies besides the Department.¹ This fact was ascertained only through the laborious task of clearing each case through the Confidential Exchange, maintained by the Bureau of Associated Charities, and then obtaining the records from the different agencies mentioned. In fewer than 10 instances was there any indication that the Department was acquainted with the fact that other agencies had been or were interested. It does not systematically inquire of the Exchange, though it is willing, upon request, to give information to other societies interested in families under its care. This is not co-operative registration, but permitting others to be informed as to what the Department is doing. As a rule the Department appears to want to go its way alone and it does not get a considerable distance.

It has been claimed that a public department should itself

¹ Nos. 98 to 158 inclusive.

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be the center for such inquiry regarding families applying for assistance, permitting private agencies to come to it. The fallacy in this is that there is nothing more confidential than a confidential exchange. It is stipulated that no one outside its trusted workers shall have access to the records and that, when two or more societies have registered the name of a given family, these workers shall simply notify each of the fact of such registering, so that there may be a legitimate exchange of information to prevent subjecting the family to duplicated questioning on matters of fact already clear, and thus to bring about a common understanding of purpose and plans in order that the greater good of the family may be furthered. Because all the records of a public department are public property it would be impossible to conceive of a confidential exchange in such an office. Moreover, the 1911 New Jersey statute requires overseers to obtain information from other agencies regarding families applying to it, and the only systematic way in which this can be done is for the Department to register in the Confidential Exchange and intelligently to use the other agencies referred to who know the particular families.

THE DEPARTMENT GOING IT ALONE

It is impossible to read over these composite records without being compelled to conclude that the Department was not usually inclined to call in other social agencies. There are, for example, five instances (113, 134, 136, 107, 112) of relatives of soldiers. In all but one of these relief was given in 1918 by the Department. That family was referred directly to Home Service by the overseer. As already stated, the whole responsibility in these instances for relief beyond military allotments should have been placed upon Home Service. In one of these (136), that involving the truancy of children and the marriage of a widow to the father of her illegitimate child, it is true we find a very difficult and complicated problem. Home Service could have been held responsible for the children only during the last four months of the year, but if the case as a whole were too complicated for the volunteers of the Service to handle there was the Children's Aid Society to call upon, which is currently interested in truancy as well as in the marriage of parents of illegitimate children. So by two counts the Department had no business in here. As in many instances these families were known to other agencies before they were known to the Department, and there was thus even

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greater reason for the Department's endeavoring to work in co-operation with others.

"PROBLEM" FAMILIES

There were 10 families¹ which we have classed as "problem" families. They formed a group in which unusually serious and internal family weaknesses were found, requiring the most careful, skilled, co-operative, and prolonged treatment. Let us examine one case (131) for example. Here the Roman Catholic Children's Aid Society had an extended record running from 1905 to 1916, showing the intemperance of both husband and wife, court action, the placement of their four children, and at times their physical care. It appears that during an interval in 1915, when this society had apparently lost contact with them, the family, while the man was in a hospital and the mother, with several of the children, was staying with a friend, received 100 five-cent bread orders from the Department. In December, 1915, the father had again been arrested, and during the following May the mother had been picked up on the street in an intoxicated condition. There is nothing to indicate that the Department considered this a problem family, or to show whether at this period it contemplated any other plan with reference to the care of the children than that of "aiding" them in the house of a friend.

What shall one say also of the kind of aid given (case 116) which consisted of 20 five-cent bread tickets, when but a few months later the visitor of the Bureau of Associated Charities on taking up the case found it necessary to send two unmanageable boys to an institution for the feeble-minded. Feeble-mindedness does not grow overnight, and this problem had been simply unobserved by the Department.

The same sort of policy seems to be revealed in another case (151), where a husband, two months earlier, had deserted a wife and four children. Evidently the man had been traced, because through another society he was giving \$5.00 weekly toward the support of the family, apparently on a court order. We learn from the Bureau of Associated Charities record of the same period that, whether wisely or not, encouragement was given to the placing-out, through a church, of one child, and the care of another in a day nursery so that the mother could work. We made

¹ Nos. 131, 104, 108, 114, 116, 119, 144, 98, 99, 151.

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our own investigation but could not find the mother's present address. Meantime, the participation of the Department in the case consisted solely in automatic relief.

Several things are illustrated by another family (119) in which the overseer was requested by the court which had committed the man for non-support to increase a \$2.00 weekly allowance to \$5.00. Eight children and the mother were involved. The Children's Aid Society, the Roman Catholic Children's Aid Society, and the Bureau of Associated Charities had been interested previous to the time when the family was referred to the Department. Offer of employment to the man by the Bureau had been refused. The information from all these sources is by no means conclusive as to what was the right policy to pursue, or whether the mother was able to rear capably all the children. The Department was inclined to believe that she should work, but if that seemed to be desirable, temporary provision for some of the children certainly required consideration. Even on the weekly \$5.00 basis, with bread and coal in addition, if the whole family was to be kept with the mother no adequate financial plan had been established. No one had grasped the somewhat complicated problem, but it seems to be clear that a sagacious move on the part of the Department would have been, in default of its being done by others, to have called all the interested agencies together instead of "going it alone" on its own theory. In conference, it would have had a perfect right to advance its own theory and plan along with those advanced by others, and the decision of what should be done would not then have been left to the court that had sentenced the man, which was practically what happened.

WHERE THERE WAS CO-OPERATION

On the other hand, we wish to state that sometimes the Department did co-operate. This fact is illustrated by the evident understanding in the case of an old lady (110), between the Department, which in 1918 gave 240 bread tickets, and the Ladies' Benevolent Society which in the same year arranged for sewing and relief that amounted to about \$27. The Department also sent the old lady to a possible place for sewing.

We find unusually good follow-up work by the Department in the case of a man (135) temporarily incapacitated by heart trouble. He had a wife and seven children. The Department

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obtained medical attention, a proper diagnosis, and learned of the relief being given by the Bureau of Associated Charities, which supplemented its own, consisting for two months of bread and \$3.00 weekly. There was excellent understanding of the plan which, however, it must be said, involved only easily recognizable health and economic features.

Through an accidental meeting of the visitors of the Department and those of the Bureau of Associated Charities, the attention of both agencies was called at the same time to the same case (117), one involving a man and his wife. The Department by agreement assumed the whole responsibility of finding employment for the husband and of giving a little aid until he was first paid.

For the temporary care of a widow with children (123) the Department arranged an allowance, while the Bureau of Associated Charities followed up certain relatives who could be helpful in other than material ways, advised a daughter who had just completed school where to obtain employment, and secured medical attention, all pending a transfer of entire responsibility to the State Board of Children's Guardians as soon as a hearing for a pension should be obtained. It also facilitated the preparation of the necessary papers.

These examples show that the co-operative spirit has not been entirely absent and that there have been common understandings with other agencies, but it is still true that the Department does not think primarily in co-operative terms. The fault is not entirely on its side, however, and we shall have occasion to discuss aspects of this question later.

WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED BY BOTH THE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER AGENCIES, AND WHAT WAS LACKING

This is, of course, primarily a study of the work of the Poor and Alms Department, that of other agencies only incidentally being brought in when they were working with the same families as the Department. Naturally, therefore, the study presents a more detailed criticism of the latter, case by case. Careful inquiry of what was done for each family in view of its real need affords the best test of the value of its social work. Lest, however, the pointing out of inadequate plans from the standpoint of the actual welfare of the families and the lack of grasp of the problems involved in their welfare would seem to slur over any strong points in the work of the Department, in a later section an

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estimate of the service of the Department as a whole in the field of family social work will be presented. The Department's family social work is not without its strong points in comparison with that of other public relief departments.

In the interest of fairness the same method will be followed in the study of what was accomplished or attempted by other agencies interested in the same families as the Department. After going over the consolidated records, our conclusion is that there are as big gaps in the work of the other agencies as in those of the Department. Only by a straightforward realization of this fact will it be possible to determine how the situation of family welfare may be met, and what part both the Department and the other agencies can play.

INADEQUATE STUDY OF PROBLEM

Let us illustrate the kind of work revealed. We turn to one instance (121) in which a mother had deserted her two young children and the husband was said to be suffering from lead poisoning. The Department gave a limited amount of relief. It was informed that the Bureau of Associated Charities was also giving relief. This amounted, according to the record, to one order of groceries. On two different occasions the Bureau referred the family to another agency, each time the family receiving \$1.00. Now, neither to the Bureau nor to the Department, apparently, did any problem appear in connection with the proper rearing of these children, nor whether the mother was the sort of person to be brought back to care for them, nor indeed what was behind the desertion which would throw light upon the conduct of either the father or the mother in the solution of this very vital problem.

A few years ago a family (111) was referred to the Department and to the Bureau of Associated Charities within the space of a few weeks. What the Department did was to offer a little relief, reporting that neither husband nor wife was working. What the Bureau did was to help in placing the wife, as an advanced case, in a tuberculosis sanatorium. Under a date seven months later, on the Department record there appear the words "Replaced on books. Sickly [probably referring to man] and no work." In neither record was any plan worked out as to the future care of the children in the case.

In another instance (143) there is a Children's Aid Society and a Female Benevolent Society record for a family who applied to

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the Department when the husband deserted. Six children were involved. The application to the Children's Aid Society had been made eleven months earlier, and that to the Benevolent Society thirteen months earlier. Both father and mother were presumed to be shiftless and irresponsible, the wife being evidently disposed to shield her husband (who was a drinker) and not inclined at the start to agree to non-support proceedings. The Benevolent Society paid rent once and gave food and sewing to the mother on several occasions. At the time of the desertion, when the Department first came in, the making of a complaint by the mother for non-support was insisted upon. Neither of the private agencies apparently had any definite program. In the absence of a plan there should have been no relief offered by the Benevolent Society except upon the basis of a complaint made by the mother. The Department gave \$19 in cash, 110 bread orders, and coal; but even though the man may have returned, regarding which no one of the records informs us, the problem has not yet been touched. There were evidences of family degeneration, and a pretty careful analysis should be made as to what sort of parental care the children are receiving; also the kind of continuous oversight, and by whom, that should be provided to develop a larger parental responsibility.

In the case of another deserted wife (98) with four children, the oldest of whom had reached fifteen years, there was certainly nothing to indicate that the \$2.00 monthly, plus one ton of coal and 12 bread tickets given weekly in 1918 by the Department, had settled the problem of family welfare. There was a Bureau of Associated Charities report for an earlier date which indicated that the children were becoming unmanageable when the mother went out to work, and that the man was a chronic deserter. There were court orders against him but no regular payment of alimony. Either there should have been a plan evolved with the idea of an absolute separation and provision made for the care of the children if the mother was obliged to go out to work, together with the amount of work she was able to do carefully gauged, or a determination arrived at as to what was to be considered a final trial for the man, and a plan made for explaining it to him when he next turned up. With these points agreed on, the time the mother should have for the home, what work she could best do should then have been determined, and what supplementary relief would be required.

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It was found in a widow's case (101) where action for a pension was delayed, apparently due to the fact that over \$1,000 had been received from lodges at the time of the husband's death, that neither the Department, beyond giving bread and coal, nor the Bureau which was interested at the start, had assumed any advisory care, although three young children were involved.

In another family (137) in which the father was going to a sanatorium for treatment for tuberculosis, there seems to have been no attention paid to the latent tuberculosis revealed by a department of health diagnosis of one of the children, nor to the fact that the mother had had some kidney trouble, for which no diagnosis was obtained, and which had compelled her to go to the hospital several times. In 1918 the Department was helping regularly with \$4.00 monthly, 48 bread orders a month, and coal (one ton). The Bureau of Associated Charities had its attention called to the family at about the same time, but its contact was limited. There seems to have been no plan of any sort considered to meet the situation, no determination of what the mother could actually do, or whether the child referred to was prospering physically.

CO-OPERATIVE WORK OF AGENCIES

We may turn aside for a moment to illustrate more satisfactory results when the agencies worked together, and refer, for example, to the record of another tuberculous family (130) in which the Bureau of Associated Charities, very wisely we think, provided for the placing of some of the seven children with relatives in another city while the man was in a sanatorium. Planning has so often been absent in the dealings with tuberculous families that it is a pleasure to cite this instance of constructive effort.

In still another instance (150) almost every member of the family was physically affected. It is interesting to note that in this very trying family situation one of the children affected with a nervous complaint was placed with relatives. There is by no means a completely clear plan revealed, but it is evident that attention, long and continued, was being given by an organization called in by the Bureau of Associated Charities and that discrimination and care were being employed.

Attention might also be called here to the data of treatment given in some of the instances cited which showed fairly good co-operation between the Department and other agencies.

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On the whole, however, it should be said in connection with this group of families known both to the Department and to other agencies that there was a disappointing lack of comprehensive grasp of all the problems involved, though many partial plans were well worked out.

While this study, as has been pointed out, is concerned chiefly with the Poor and Alms Department, and is in no sense a real survey of the other agencies which are mentioned frequently throughout these pages, it cannot be said that accidental weaknesses only in them are here revealed. On the contrary, the information secured on the agencies was sufficient to show conclusively the great need of better co-ordination between them than now exists and of more intensive development of the family social work of the city, considered from the standpoint alone of the welfare of the families.

Before coming, however, to this larger subject which is the most important of those dealt with in the survey, we wish to consider a little more at length certain special aspects of the work of the Department and to evaluate it as a whole; and, in addition, to further discuss two of the largest problems of family relief planning in Newark.

MATERIAL RELIEF SYSTEM OF THE DEPARTMENT

The basis of the relief system of the city Poor and Alms Department is so archaic that there are few who utter even faint praise regarding it. The standard unit, as it were, is 12 five-cent bread tickets a week for as long a time as seems necessary and a quarter-ton coal order issuable only in the months of December, January, February, and March. There are variations from the 12 ticket rule, but we have neither the time nor would it be profitably used in attempting an analysis of the reasons why in four weeks 60 tickets or 32 or 40 are given instead of 48. When it is remembered that someone from the family must travel down to the City Hall on a certain day each week, and on only that certain day and no other, in order to obtain the tickets, one can appreciate the remark of the local jester who exclaimed, "Why, that's the Department's work test!"

We believe that this sort of relief is granted because it involves only limited expenditures (though no one presumes to know whether it is what the family needs), and is thus a sort of artificial check to prevent the bankruptcy of the funds of the Department.

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These have been limited, it is true, but no survey or study is required to establish the quite apparent fact that it is the small, unnoticed leaks which run the longest and mount the highest. One is liable to be strict in granting an \$8.00 or \$10 allowance, payable monthly, while no grown man will watch very closely the changing circumstances of a family which is receiving a six-inch strip of five-cent bread orders every week (which will buy four or five loaves) in order not to waste a few strips. However, the bread strip was doomed before this survey was decided upon, and there is no need for us to consume further time discussing it.

There has also been developing in the Department for some years a weekly cash relief plan, which we gather has been slowly growing, due to pressure both inside and outside the Department. In 1918, 279 families received cash relief for longer or shorter periods. According to the figures in the annual report of the Department for 1918, the total number of families receiving relief during that year was, as near as we could approximate it, 1,092. The exact figure was not obtained, owing to an abominably complicated kind of bookkeeping used. It would have cost us a week's tedious work to secure this single figure. The 1,092 includes 390 applications received during the year (unduplicated) for which relief was granted, plus 702 "on the books" at the beginning of the year. Of this last total, relief was discontinued in 572 instances. When it is remembered that only 279 out of a possible 1,000 or more received relief in a form, i. e., cash, which could be legally turned into rent, provisions, or anything except bread, we realize the exceedingly cramping handicap of the strip-ticket system which though doomed is still employed. Bread and coal (for four months) are still the standard props. This is a rather extreme as well as unfortunate practical affirmation of the aphorism that "Bread is the staff of life."

The 279 monthly cash grants for one month or more, with or without the accompaniment of the bread and coal order previously referred to, may be classified as follows:

Number receiving less than \$1.00 monthly	1
Number receiving from \$1.00 to \$2.99 monthly	127
Number receiving from \$3.00 to \$4.99 monthly	41
Number receiving from \$5.00 to \$7.99 monthly	6
Number receiving from \$8.00 to \$10.00 monthly	104
	<hr/>
	279

The largest sum granted which came to our notice was not to

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one of the 279 families dealt with in 1918, but to a family dealt with in 1919. The allowance was for \$5.00 a week or something over \$20 a month, and was made at the request of the court which had committed the man. But this sum was exceptional.

As we have already said, relief giving in itself has no particular virtue. Without a plan behind it, made either by the family or the social agency which has won the agreement of the family to the plan, relief giving may go on indefinitely with conditions growing worse instead of better. This, it is true, sometimes happens even with the best made plans.

It is of course obvious that with only 279 families out of over 1,000 receiving any relief beyond coal four times during the year and 40 to 60 five-cent bread tickets a month, it being remembered that bread now costs from 10 to 15 cents a loaf, and with the great majority of the 279 receiving not over \$2.00 weekly, and more than half of these less than \$2.00, we are confronting a situation which is nothing less than planless, extended dole giving.

By no possibility could any discriminative relief policy be adopted under such a system. In dealing with a large number of families of varying sizes, often with great difficulties and problems confronting them, this stretched-out relief has followed a few rather well and commonly used grooves. The whole policy of the Poor and Alms Department is apparently based on the idea that by giving an inch you will have to yield a yard. The pressure in a public department handling relief is terrific, not only from families in difficulties but from citizens, from other public departments, and from private agencies. However, one gains neither results nor popularity by simply spreading out relief in kind rather thinly; by, in a limited number of instances, giving cash grants on a more or less stereotyped basis with no consideration of exact individual family need; and by being pressed into doing these things because certain people have seen other influential people, or because some pestiferous individuals are so everlastingly persistent in urging such grants that finally one gives way.

The effect of this situation, as we have observed in our frequent contact with the office, is reflected in the attitude of the Department toward families themselves. There it is a triumph to persuade an applicant that he does not need anything rather than to find out with certainty what he lacks.

This hold-back system is reflected also in the whole method of

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relief giving. If one is receiving bread, one has to come every week generally or send someone. You are listed, for instance, for "Monday" or "Tuesday" or "Wednesday," and you apparently commit the unpardonable sin if you come on some other day. If your ticket is numbered "Tuesday No. 78," how dare you come on Monday or Wednesday? You may not be refused but you are sternly warned that "it is the last time"; it must be Tuesday or nothing.

If you are in the select group, receiving one of the monthly cash allowances, you may still be receiving bread weekly, and on the fourth Tuesday you will, in addition, receive your allowance. Most of the "larger" allowances, however, those over \$3.00, are paid weekly. The responsibility for giving the bread tickets, or the cash, or the coal order, once the amount of relief, after investigation, has been indicated by the visitor, or by the overseer himself in cases of cash relief, rests not with the visitors but with a member of the office staff. The proceeding is largely automatic, though of course names of applicants are being constantly taken off the list as visitors in their rounds observe changed conditions. Sometimes visitors arrange that an order due on a certain day of the week shall not be honored until they have interviewed the applicant again; but this does not mean that each weekly payment is approved by a visitor, though we presume that was one of the objects in view.

The system of office application is burdensome to the families themselves and, moreover, directly opens up the way for the stream of small wastes always inherent in any dole-giving plan. An applicant stays on the list until he is put off, and the putting off is not dependent upon the weekly or monthly information supplied by the visitor who recommended the original grant, say \$8.00 for a number of succeeding months, but upon conditions observed when he happens to be making the rounds of the applicant's neighborhood. Where relief is continued over a series of months, there is no reason why it should not be placed on the one-payment-a-month basis, and this be made at the residence by the visitor or by a volunteer who will obtain the necessary receipts.

Relief giving at the office could not be entirely discontinued, but most of that which is regular and agreed upon should be given in the home by the responsible visitor or his representative; in this way the question of continuance or discontinuance would

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be settled each time. Sometimes this would require extended consideration, sometimes not. It should be said, moreover, that continuance or discontinuance is not the only question; but increases or decreases due to changing circumstances must be considered. Some of the records have indicated changes of this sort, but to no marked degree. There has been a rigidity about the cash payments; once established, after much travail in each instance, to increase them was a strenuous task indeed.

THE DEPARTMENT AT ITS WORST AND BEST

There has been no lack of criticism of the relief work of the Poor and Alms Department of Newark. Some of the criticism appears to be well founded; some does not.

Our information inclines us to conclude that the Department in its relief work has supplied material for a far worse case against itself than the truth would substantiate, simply because of certain unfortunate attitudes it has taken. One of these attitudes is that of recurrent irritation when some other agency in the field of family welfare "bothers" about one of its families unless, indeed, the Department has made one of its own infrequent attempts to refer the family to another agency. This is especially true if the agency has a plan which involves the Department's increasing its amount of relief. If the Department were doing an all-round comprehensive family planning job—following up helpful sources of information, considering the rounded well-being of each individual and of the group as a whole—one might sympathize with this attitude. Why, if that were the case, should others interfere? But it is not; and the very fact that its staff does not, as a rule, consult other agencies is itself a reflection upon the scope of its work. Because it does not, it should welcome the co-operation of other agencies which may be interested in the same family.

It is true, as we have pointed out, that there are grave inadequacies in the work of those other agencies. Indeed, we do not hesitate to say that some of them show records just as poor as any in the Department, and that its best records equal the average of some of the societies. Nevertheless, the enlistment of their support or the attempt to supplement their work would greatly increase the thoroughness of the Department's service. On the other hand we are disposed to believe that the various agencies have been inclined to push the Department into the

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position of being considered a pocket from which to draw relief. Wherever a public department is approached in this spirit, particularly if it has an active, energetic field force, friction is bound to be the result.

The Department in its attitude toward families is not inherently unkindly, but it has too great an inclination to speak dictatorially, to "lay down the law," sometimes even to bluster. Enough hard problems are presented to it and it has need, of course, of firmness and determination, but firmness and determination do not require loud talking and fiercely spoken ultimatums. There may have to be ultimatums, but they should never be couched in such terms as would not leave the latch-string hanging on the outside of the door for anyone and everyone in this kind of work.

Furthermore, a family once off the Department's relief list is no longer considered a concern of the Department, even though the seeds of future economic crises remain or a new crop is actually being developed. As before indicated, during the year 1918 relief was discontinued in 572 instances.

The reasons for this discontinuance, some of them still indicating the presence of problems—for example, the husbands returned from jail—are shown in the table on page 33.

The Department in 1918 did not list for relief 135 applications (no duplications among them), 16 of which it referred to other agencies.

What anybody may say about the Department's relief policy—and that is the most generously assailed objective in the whole field of social work in Newark today both inside and outside the City Hall—will have to be very bad to be untrue. As we have already indicated, the policy is an anachronism which is trying to wriggle into active life by putting on a few modern clothes.

Compared with many public departments with which the writer is acquainted, as has also been stated, the incursions of the Poor and Alms Department into the field of planning and treatment, partial as they are, place its work ahead of that of some of these other public agencies. Nevertheless, it must be said that the Department rarely sees a need beyond the economic, except as health factors may be directly and seriously affecting the income of the family. And even then it does not act with full comprehension of those factors. When the income problem is settled, at least for the time being, it appears to conclude that

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RECORDED REASONS FOR DISCONTINUING RELIEF IN THE 572 INSTANCES OF THE YEAR 1918, NEWARK POOR AND ALMS DEPARTMENT

Reasons	Number of instances
Increased earnings	201
Recovered from illness, working	76
Received widow's pension	52
Husband working	49
Husband returned and working	32
Sufficient income	28
Died	27
Able to work	19
Husband out of jail	16
Left city, whereabouts not known	13
Allotment from relatives in army	10
Widows remarried	9
Living with relatives, working	9
Living with relatives, able to assist	7
Moved, did not call again	6
Sent to almshouse	5
Sent to hospital	5
Parents own property	3
Sufficiently assisted by Bureau of Charities	2
Recovered damages for husband's death by aid of visitor from this office	1
Mother in jail, child sent to State Board of Children's Guardians	1
Child's board paid by State Board	1
Total	572

everything is settled, despite the fact that there are other factors present which may bring about another financial shipwreck in the near future to the families in question.

What the Department is capable of doing may best be illustrated by a current record, which the writer has talked over with the visitor. It is one of the best records we ran across in the Department. A husband was arrested for murderously assaulting his wife. The wife claimed that he worked steadily but at times drank to excess. They came from a small town in a far-away state. The man was visited in the jail and told the visitor about wages due him and spoke also of a small sum of money having been received from a church. The wife was doing a little work. The visitor spoke to the probation officer about interceding to place the man on probation, as he seemed not to be a desperate

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character. A child of working age was sent to a place advertised in the newspaper, where she obtained work. Relief in money and a big bread strip were given. Two days after the application was received the man was sentenced to a short term in prison, the probation officer explaining to the visitor that the court felt that the offense was so serious, it not being an ordinary assault but one with a deadly weapon, that the man should not be released at once on probation, though this might be considered a little later. The working child was found a better position. The warden of the penitentiary was telephoned to and he promised to find some work for the man which would yield an income to the family. Meantime the visitor was finally able to convince the man's old employers that they held a balance due him of about \$25; and this was turned over to the family.

As it happens, good as this record is, it serves to illustrate one of the great weaknesses in the work of the Department—its tendency to limit the basis of fact to the immediate family and to employers. There was no attempt made to find out who knew the family in the distant town from which they came, nor by correspondence to learn something of the history of husband and wife. Knowledge of their previous life was particularly necessary in deciding how the man should be treated, for the evidence of both husband and wife is biased, and it was upon the wife's statements that the visitor based his suggestion that the man immediately be released on probation. Probation should depend upon a person's previous record. It may be noted that while correspondence with other places is not unknown in the Department office, it seldom is made use of, and in this respect the general practice of the Department is distinctly behind that of many public offices. However, time, thought, real work, and real sympathy were put into the planning and execution.

Another current case was one handled by both the Bureau of Associated Charities and the Department, and for which the Bureau made arrangements to send back a rather helpless family to relatives, obtaining money directly from the relatives for the purpose, while the Department simply began to "help." One chronic attitude of the Department is that it too often assumes that "to aid or not to aid" is the question, although there may be other ways out, even on the "aid" side. But to return to the illustration: There were 10 children in this family, five of whom were of school age. The family came from a state in which edu-

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cation is backward. This is one reason why it should have been accurately determined whether all were in school and in what grades; and that none was absent, possibly looking after the younger children in order that the mother might go out to work. But should the mother work? Possibly she should, possibly not. If she is obliged to do so for a few days and that seems best, it nevertheless should not be at the risk of keeping any of the children out of school, with the resultant educational handicaps later on.

VISITORS

We have had occasion to observe some of the results of the follow-up work of the visitors and have no reason to doubt their conscientiousness in such activities. They are a hard-working group and are at it continuously. We know that evening and Sunday visits are not infrequent. Unfortunately, the lamentable office system, dreadfully elaborate in some things, has no plan of recording the visits made day by day both to new applicants and to those already receiving relief. There is no daily record and this should be installed. Unfortunately, too, owing to the absence of proper stenographic service, these visits are by no means all recorded on the individual records of families. There is undoubtedly a considerable amount of information which never gets into the records at all. So far as the Department is concerned it does not exist, and so far as this survey is concerned it does not exist. The property of the city is what is in the records, not what is being carried around in the brains of people who may not always be in the Department.

It should be said finally that the visiting work is extremely uneven, and that there are no established standards as between the different visiting districts. There is practically no plan of general supervision in operation beyond the fact that recommendations for cash relief have to be approved by the overseer, and he generally meets trouble first in the form of complaints from families themselves, and from irate citizens who have referred families to this Department. There is also consultation over problems which the visitors may wish to take up with the overseer, covering current families, but there is no following-up of these consultations by any supervision of records, which is the method used in other agencies of the same character.

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WIDOWHOOD AND THE DEPARTMENT

We were astonished to find in the 158 instances examined in our study, that out of 37 widows, 33 of whom had children under sixteen years, all but six were receiving relief in 1918 from the Department.¹

We say "astonished" because of the widows' pension scheme operative in New Jersey, established by Chapter 281 of the Laws of 1913. It will be recalled that that law requires proof of five years' residence in a county, but that naturalization is not required. In addition there must of course be evidence of good character on the part of the widow, of ability to properly rear the children for whom allowances (the so-called pensions are not pensions) are made, and proof that if the allowances are not made the children for whom the application is entered will become public charges.

When allowances are granted, the families are placed in charge of visitors of the State Board of Children's Guardians, who must visit them at least six times a year, see that the children are properly cared for and reared, are sufficiently clothed, are attending school regularly, their religious training provided for, etc. Thus the implication of the law is that these families shall be the particular charge of the State Board, though it must be confessed that no adequate attention to the problems of widows' families can be provided through six visits a year; especially as we are reliably informed that different visitors visit individual families even during the course of one year.

The problems of widowhood are among the most involved of all family problems, requiring more delicate and continuous adjustments than any others in the field of family work. The husband may, of course, have been a dissolute, worthless individual who never supported his family, and whose presence lowered the moral tone of the whole family group. On the other hand, he may not only have been a provider but also have been playing a distinct part in the rearing of the children. He may have brought much of the outside world into the home; have been able, perhaps, to impart practical wisdom to the plans of a scatter-brained youngster who was just feeling his oats. He might have had a

¹ The numbers are: 101, 103, 49, 125, 127, 146, 147, 77, 79, 83, 154, 97, 3, 14, 22, 115, 32, 36, 38, 40, 45, 123, 55, 126, 60, 70, 150, 129, 85, 91, 29, 158, 56, 10, 149, 156, 155.

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good business sense, which his wife lacked. His absence may distinctly have affected every single factor in the home life, not alone the economic.

To illustrate some of the delicate adjustments which may be required: An ambitious widow may be working too hard because she must have some income beyond the allowances, and the undermining of her strength may be so insidious that before one knows it incipient tuberculosis may have developed. If it does develop through an error of this kind, it makes considerable difference whether it is discovered in January, say, or a month later. Another woman may have cycles of illness, and there should be constant observations to see that she does not overwork at such times and that, if necessary, relief giving is then increased. Or the older boy, missing the father's guidance, may be getting unruly and it may be necessary to secure the interest of a male relative of discretion to take an unobtrusive hand in his upbringing. Or the widow may be trying to eke out her income with home work, washing or what not, when for her own sake and that of her children she should be employed away from home, thus escaping from the cramping limitations of a purely neighborhood or house environment, in a world bounded by gossip. These outside contacts, by hastening the adoption of prevailing styles in dress (especially in the case of the foreign women) and of other American standards, often mean much in the influence a mother continues to have over her children as they reach the age of twelve or fourteen or sixteen. Children, through their outside contacts, are being Americanized continuously.

This comment has to do with plans based on a minimum of six visits a year. Such a scheme does have its grave shortcomings. It has its shortcomings also on the allowance side. The courts have power to grant the following maximum sums for children under sixteen:

\$9.00 a month for one child;
\$5.00 a month for the second child;
\$4.00 a month for each additional child.

The court may grant less, and this discretionary power is an excellent provision of the law. For example, a widow may have but two children, a boy of eighteen and a girl of twelve. It would be manifestly improper for her to receive \$9.00 for the twelve-year-old girl when her son is making good wages and she

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has congenial work during four hours of the day, in the meantime the girl being watched over by her sister who lives in the same house; while in another case this amount would only be granted to the first child of, say, a widow who has six children under fourteen and no grown children, a woman thus who should not work out of the home, and whose total income will be the allowance, which for her six children cannot exceed \$30. Of course the maximum is far too low, especially in connection with large families of young children who have no older brothers or sisters, no relatives except their mother, and no additional source of income.

Having considered these deficiencies in the law itself, which of course affect all parts of New Jersey, we may inquire what is the duty of the social agencies of the state. Is it to supplement what the courts may grant in allowances or what the State Board of Children's Guardians is able to furnish in the way of supervision? Or is it their duty to refuse to be involved in an arrangement which manifestly leads to a division of responsibility, especially when relief (considering the allowances as relief) comes from two quite unrelated sources in two different administrative units? The theory of the law of 1913 is certainly that allowances, at least from public sources, should come from one source. If the law is imperfect, its improvement is hindered rather than fostered by a quiescent supplementing where the statute fails to provide.

It seemed pertinent to offer these observations upon the whole pension scheme, both in order to arrive at an estimate of what the responsibilities of the Department are toward different classes of widows to determine present deficiencies in the care of widows' families, and as to what should be the plan and policy thereto of social agencies in Newark.

Thus, the work of the Department with reference to cases involving widowhood, as we conceive it after this review, is as follows:

1. The care of widows without children under sixteen.
2. The care of widows up to time of action on applications for pensions.
3. The necessary care of those whose applications may be refused, though this care may not involve relief.
4. The care of those not at once able to satisfy the technical requirements of residence until they can do so.
5. The giving of every possible assistance to widows in pre-

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paring their cases for court, and where hearings have had an unsuccessful termination for reasons which do not, in effect, deny the petition itself, the encouraging of the woman to prepare for subsequent hearings and urging such subsequent hearings upon the State Board and the court.

On the other hand this program would have certain qualifications, such as the following:

1. Where eligibility for a pension may be dependent upon time, additional evidence, or some other factor, the Department should be mindful that hearings are proposed when the fitting period has arrived, and not carry the families on its rolls for a longer season than necessary.
2. It should give no relief whatsoever in instances in which allowances have been granted by the court, except after the State Board visitor has certified as to the inadequacy of the income, and the impossibility of increasing it from other sources; this information in each case to be turned over for consideration to a committee representing the larger family welfare societies in the city which shall campaign for the proper remedial legislation to make the 1913 law more elastic, at least in cities.

Of the 37 widows under consideration, four (3, 91, 14, 85) had no children under sixteen. For 16 others identified records were found with the State Board of Children's Guardians.

In the case of one (97) the death of the husband had occurred in 1911. The State Board of Children's Guardians reported that an application for a pension had been denied "without prejudice" on September 15, 1914, "presumably because the petitioner had \$300 in bank at that time." Since September, 1914, the Department had given a total of about \$100 in bread tickets (2,010 in all) besides four tons of coal. This woman had three children, the ages of whom ranged from nine to two years. She was visited, and it was evident that she had had a desperately hard time. A daughter is now working, receiving \$12 a week. The mother is earning from \$6.00 to \$7.00 weekly, so that the period for a pension has passed. But why was there no attempt made by the Department to induce the mother to renew her application? We are not informed, and it is now a matter of back history as to whether there was always \$300 or \$100 on hand, but it is certain that if there was any amount always on hand the Department made a mistake in continuing relief rather than in

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encouraging the complete consumption of any cash balance in order that the application might be renewed "without prejudice."

Let us now turn to another group of six widows known to the State Board.¹ The Department record of one (77) shows, in 1916, a residence in the city of four years. The State Board record reports a hearing of the case on April 20, 1917, and dismissal of the petition because the widow had not lived in the county for the necessary five years. But more than two years have rolled around since then, and in 1918 the Department gave 168 loaves of bread and three-quarters of a ton of coal.

In another instance (79), of a mother and two children, there was a court hearing on December 22, 1916, at which the petitioner did not appear. The hearing was set over until January 31, 1917, and as the widow still did not appear, the petition was dismissed. Only one of the children is under sixteen; another now sixteen is working. Nevertheless, the city in 1918 gave three-quarters of a ton of coal. If even a little relief was necessary it should not have been given by the Department, but through the method provided by this law. Apparently it was no one's job to induce the mother to present her petition properly.

In a third case (83), of a mother and three children, the petition for a pension was refused in 1915 on the ground of the immorality of the mother. The city in 1918 gave 552 bread tickets and one ton of coal.

The record contains a reference to the 1915 decision, which had been directly corroborated. The question very naturally arises: "Is the mother doing better, and if she is why should not the petition be renewed? If she is not, then material relief is not the form of treatment required. The oldest of the three children is still under ten years, so there is a long road ahead for them and the mother."

In the fourth case (147) the summary of the State Board reads:

"Received petition October 1, 1917. Hearing set for December 14, 1917. Appears but not heard because no witnesses. Laid over for witnesses and certificate. Hearing set for February 1, 1918. Heard, laid over to investigate what was done with insurance money and for certificates. Hearing set for April 9, 1918. Heard. Denied. No witnesses."

This involved a foreign-born woman living in this country only seven years. She evidently very much needed someone to help prepare her case for her, to renew her application and

¹ Nos. 77, 79, 83, 147, 154, 158.

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arrange for a proper hearing. Instead of help of that kind the city in 1918 gave her 624 bread tickets and one ton of coal.

In the fifth case (154) the State Board record reads:

“Hearing set for November 4, 1915. Did not appear. Laid over.
Hearing set for November 18, 1915. Did not appear.”

This is another case where a friend was needed. Without looking back to what had been done in other years we find, in 1918, the city giving 312 loaves of bread and three-quarters of a ton of coal.

In the sixth case (158) the husband had died in 1915. The widow at that time had received \$1,000 in insurance. An application for an allowance made on February 11, 1919, was refused because a balance was still remaining from this sum.

There may, in connection with some of the above cases, have been telephonic conversations between the Department and the State Board's office, but that nothing effective was done is apparent. Certainly the State Board has no record of formal requests for rehearing, or for reopening of applications.

In six other cases relief was discontinued at the time pensions were granted, or shortly thereafter.¹

Three cases now remain to be considered in this group of 16. In the first case (127) a pension was refused in December, 1918, because proof of five years' residence was not offered and because contradictory statements were made by the petitioner. In another (101) at a hearing held on October 8, 1918, the petition was denied on the ground that the widow was not in need. We are unable accurately to determine the reason why, in this second case, a hearing did not occur until 1918 when the husband had died in 1916. However, the fact remains that these were recent hearings and for the time the Department must assume the responsibilities. In still another instance (155) the petition was refused because residence in the county had been during only four years.

As to the other 17 of the 37 widows under consideration and for which records of petitions for pensions were not found with the State Board of Children's Guardians, the following facts were found:

In two instances (32, 60) the length of residence in Newark was indicated as being under five years. In three (115, 123, 126),

¹ Nos. 49, 103, 156, 149, 125, 146.

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where appeals for relief had been made to the Department in 1918, applications for allowances had recently been filed with the State Board, and failure to identify its record was doubtless due to confusion in the different spelling of foreign names. This was also true in a case (40) where an allowance of \$14 had been granted.

In the remaining 11 cases out of the 17 where no petition for an allowance had been made to the State Board, no explanation was forthcoming as to why the Department had not endeavored to help in the filing of such pleas.

In two of these 11 (129, 150) the original appeals to the Department were made in 1913 and 1915. Though no relief in either instance was granted in 1918, the situation at the time of appeal in at least one case, where there were four children under sixteen, would have seemed to justify granting a pension. Not through the records of the Department but by following up a cross-reference obtained through the Confidential Exchange do we learn that this family was receiving at that time a pension from the United Hebrew Charities.

In the instances given below there was, in 1918, an investment by the Department of \$100 in bread tickets, plus \$54 in cash, plus some coal that it is not worth while to estimate. In one case (70) there was one child over sixteen and two under, but inasmuch as the Department gave aid in the shape of over 500 bread tickets, one would inquire whether an application for a dollar a month allowance would not have been permissible. In another (36) there were three children over sixteen and four under, but here the Department gave not only 624 bread tickets but also \$24 in cash. The present visitor to this family had never "asked about a petition." If relief was not necessary then why did the Department give it? If it was, why was not some inquiry made concerning a petition? One case (55) had been taken off the books in March, 1918, but why at that time is not clear. There were children still under sixteen and one over. In one instance (29) a member of the survey staff was naïvely informed by the visitor that if an allowance had been granted he would have "received the application paper." That he should help further the application did not occur to him.

The issue is a clear one. If relief was necessary why was not the Department interested in securing the filing of petitions for allowances? If it was not necessary, why give relief?

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If the law, or the procedure, to any degree requires changing in order to relieve the Department of relief burdens which do not belong to it, as we have before indicated, the Department should have conferred with other social agencies to work out a plan for improvement.

Nor is it "relief burdens" only which are involved. It is not to be expected that the Department can attempt any of the planning and delicate adjustments required for the intricate problems of widows' families, as we have shown them at the beginning of this section. Since the plain intent of the law which we have quoted in this section is that such specialized skill should be developed by the State Board of Children's Guardians, it is, of course, desirable that as many families as are eligible for their care should pass to their hands. While it is true that we do not believe the State Board has proceeded very far along this road, a start has been made and the natural thing is to foster the plan both by strengthening the law and by developing a district system, so that families may be more continuously visited and by the same workers. This, too, would be placing the responsibility where it belongs.

THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM IN NEWARK'S SOCIAL WORK

The social work side of the tuberculosis problem in Newark is, of course, not one which concerns the Department alone. Neither, for that matter, is the care of widows, as we have tried to show in the previous section. But we are including in this part of our study some discussion of these two problems, quite outstanding ones in Newark, as they are necessarily the forefront of our picture; and shall then turn to a consideration of the measures to be applied and the ends to be sought in order to develop a more progressively efficient grappling with all the family problems of the city.

Early in our survey we came to realize the presence of tuberculosis as a very serious family problem. Also, through incidental reading of records in the Department of Poor and Alms, the Department of Health, and the Bureau of Associated Charities, it was discovered that there was serious inadequacy in family treatment.

In the report of the Department of Health, Division of Tuberculosis, for the calendar year of 1918, the number of reported

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cases was given as 1962; a total of 1,100 of these was under the care of the Department of Health Clinics.

Through the clinics many patients secure sanatorium care, and it is rightly the aim of the Department of Health to increase facilities in this direction. But whatever these facilities may be, it will always remain true that there will be extended periods during which patients, even if they are eventually admitted, will be obliged to remain in their homes. Furthermore, even when patients are admitted they may leave behind them quite complicated family problems, especially if the father or mother is the one who is suffering. We have already indicated in our discussion some of the factors which enter into the treatment of families in which tuberculosis exists. The patient cannot be considered apart from his family while he is in it, nor while he is away from it.

Of course not all the patients who come to the Department of Health require the attention of social agencies. But there are a certain number who do. Evidence of the proper intensive planning for them, plus relief when this was required, was not borne out by our study of the work of either the Department or the other family agencies in the city.

We found in the Department of Health a considerable degree of dissatisfaction with the situation, undoubtedly one of the inciting causes for inducing health officials to believe that a social service would be desirable for their department. It is possible that the Department of Health, beyond the health aspects of the families in which there is tuberculosis, sees only a material relief problem. A recent diagram prepared by the local Division of Tuberculosis gives as the functions of nurses:

- Social Service
- Prevention of Infection
- Housing
- Following up of Cases
- Clinic
- Home Treatment

In an opposite corner of the diagram there is lumped under charities a number of social service agencies including the Anti-Tuberculosis Association of the State, the Bureau of Associated Charities, the Negro Welfare Association, Red Cross, Children's Aid Society, and Poor and Alms Department, the assumption being, of course, that these were useful "relief agencies."

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt of there being a just basis

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for the dissatisfaction of the health officials. It is true that they may not perceive that the demands of the health situation cannot be accepted as the sole criteria for action. The social worker must have something to say from the standpoint of family welfare; and if there are differences between the medical and social workers' point of view, there must be reconciliation.

The approach to these understandings can be made only through careful planning on the social side, buttressed whenever it is necessary by proper relief.

We have already discussed the cases of tuberculous families which we encountered during the course of our examination of records of the Poor and Alms Department and of other agencies, particularly of the Bureau of Associated Charities. We tried out the question of adequate planning from another angle, examining the records of a certain number of current families known to the Department of Health which had been referred by it to other agencies, in order to see what these agencies had done. The results amply corroborated the dissatisfaction of the health officials.

Thus, one family referred in 1918 to the Department of Poor and Alms, consisted of husband (the afflicted one to be admitted to a sanatorium), wife, and four children, the oldest sixteen years. The wife expected to be confined. Cash relief to the amount of \$2.00 a month was ordered. We might presume that the sixteen-year-old girl was working, but we find that in January of 1918 she is reported as being under the care of a clinic of the Department. Furthermore, one other child showed a slightly positive reaction. This information, it should be said, was not gotten from the record of the Department of Poor and Alms, but from that of the Health Department. The only action taken by the Department of Poor and Alms was to grant the totally inadequate amount of relief mentioned. We know nothing about any plans for the family nor whether there are relatives who can be consulted, nor whether the family had better be broken up temporarily to make sure that the wife fully recovers her strength for the struggle ahead after her confinement. As a matter of fact we really are not put in position to know anything.

In another case, referred to the Department of Poor and Alms, involving a deserted wife and her three children, we are informed that the wife, who is the patient, is earning only \$7.00 a week and cannot manage on her present income. The Department

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did nothing but give coal and bread. Fortunately the family also came to the attention of the Bureau of Associated Charities which unearthed a large number of relatives in other cities to which the whole family may be sent, or at least the children, if sanatorium care is provided for the mother, and the deserting husband and father does not return. He also may be traced by the Bureau. But apparently there has been no consideration of reducing the work responsibilities of the mother or consultation on this subject with the Health Department, and this leaves matters in a dangerous condition because the mother is reported as being a "fairly advanced case" of the disease.

In another case, where the husband was afflicted, better work was done by the Bureau of Associated Charities in planning for the wife and children. The husband had been accepted for sanatorium care. The Bureau had secured the co-operation of the Poor and Alms Department in paying \$3.00 weekly besides giving coal and bread, and was endeavoring to increase that amount from other sources. It was trying to combine the man's household with that of his mother, who might help with the children. But the relief plan had not been worked out adequately, nor had enough attention been given to the kind of work which the wife should do in case this arrangement was made. Nothing resembling a joint family budget upon which to base the plan had been computed.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY SOCIAL WORK PROBLEM OF NEWARK

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FAMILIES KNOWN TO SOCIAL AGENCIES

The two largest agencies in the family social work field are the Bureau of Associated Charities and the city Department of Poor and Alms. To the outdoor relief department of the latter in 1918 there came a total of 1,227 families. This total includes families whose applications were rejected. The last annual report of the Bureau of Associated Charities indicates a total of 1,274 Newark families known to it during the year, making a total for both organizations of 2,501. In our examination at the Confidential Exchange, of the 158 records chosen for special study we found the same cases on the records of both agencies in about 25 per cent of the total. If that percentage was maintained throughout, as may be fairly assumed to be true since the 158 cases are reasonably representative, the duplication of cases in the whole year's count would be about 25 per cent of the number recorded by one of the two agencies or, say, 325. On this basis the total families which had come to the Bureau of Associated Charities and the Department of Poor and Alms for aid during the year equalled approximately 2,501 minus 325, or about 2,176.

But these agencies were not the only ones dealing with families needing help of some kind. As has been previously shown, the number of new patients who came into the Tuberculosis Division of the Department of Health during 1918 amounted to 1,100. The latest report of the Visiting Nurse Association, that for the calendar year 1918, shows a total of 3,356 patients visited. In the Confidential Exchange, which of course is in touch with other agencies besides those already mentioned, the total families and individuals known to need some kind of service during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1918, was 1,961. While there is very probably a far heavier duplication of cases between these agencies

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than between the Bureau of Associated Charities and the Department of Poor and Alms, the estimate would be very conservative indeed, on the basis of these figures, were the total number of families known to social agencies of the city placed at 3,000—this in addition to the 754 families known to the Relief Committee of the Hebrew Benevolent Society during the year closing January 31, 1918.¹

This total, as pointed out, may be taken as a conservative estimate, particularly when it is remembered that it does not take into account any of the families known to such specializing agencies as the Children's Aid Society or the Roman Catholic Children's Aid, assuming that most all of their families are known to one or another of the more general agencies; nor of the fact that in the Division of Child Hygiene of the Health Department there are many social problems coming to light in families not known as yet to any of the other agencies. Neither have the probation records for the county been considered, nor the widows' families receiving allowances, nor the branch of the Department concerned with non-support and bastardy proceedings.

For the purpose of this survey, which is aiming to reach practical conclusions for the progressive development of family social work in the city it is sufficient to say that the number of Newark families in which problems now exist runs somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000. These constitute no small problem of social service; quite the reverse, they represent a situation which calls for the most sympathetic, intelligent, and well-planned methods that can be worked out.

So much as to a general indication of the volume of the problem. As throwing light upon the specific factors in the problem and their relative recurrence the experience of one important agency is worth noting. The following list of cases from the Bureau of Associated Charities for its fiscal year ending with May, 1918, shows the chief or most immediate disability

¹ By arrangement the Bureau refers all Jewish cases to this Society. Moreover, as showing only a very slight probability of duplication of the figures of the Hebrew Benevolent Society and the Poor and Alms Department, a responsible official of the Society states that his organization has become so dissatisfied with the Poor and Alms Department that at present it very rarely refers families to the Department. Further, out of the 158 case records taken from the Department in only two cases was a Hebrew record found—a percentage of less than one and a half.

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which appeared to be responsible for the family's condition of need:

Under-employment	192
Desertion or non-support	179
Tuberculosis	149
Intemperance	120
Unemployment	116
Old age	78
Recorded conviction of crime	46
Insanity	41
Known sexual immorality	39
Feeble-mindedness	36
Blindness or sight seriously impaired	34
Illegitimacy	31
Disability from industrial accident	25
Arrested for juvenile delinquency	18
Illiteracy	14
Strike or lock-out	12
Epilepsy	12
Venereal disease	11
Cardiac trouble	8
Deaths from industrial accident or occupational disease	6
Occupational diseases	3
Child labor under 14	2
Other diseases and sickness	258
Total	<hr/> 1,430

It will be seen from this that the outstanding factors in the disabled families which came to this one large social agency in the year have to do with disease and sickness, inadequate employment of the wage-earners, and intemperance.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE PRESENT SOCIAL WORK AS A WHOLE

In the discussion in Chapter III of planning for families, and of the carrying out of the plans as it had been revealed through the record of families known both to the city Department and to other agencies, it will be recalled that the need of a more progressive development in the field as a whole was shown. As we have tried to indicate in that discussion, the question was not as to whether a good many things were being well done (that they were could not be denied), but as to whether a good many things were still being left undone, due both to incomplete planning on the part of everyone concerned and to a relief policy which even in other agencies than the Poor and Alms Department was frequently niggardly.

In this connection it should be pointed out that as between the two larger agencies, the Bureau of Associated Charities and

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the Poor and Alms Department, whatever the cause, there was more or less friction. It was more accentuated between them than between the Department and other social agencies apparently only because the Department and Bureau happened to have more points of contact; and they had more points of contact, we believe, because of a tendency on the part of other social agencies to refer families to the Bureau when the problem included relief. That is, the Bureau was made the go-between for the Poor and Alms Department and a number of the agencies, and had come to be regarded as *the* relief agency in the private field. Therefore it naturally made the largest number of requests for the co-operation of the Department. Concentration of relief in one body in the field of private agencies in this way, or concentration even in a public department is proving to be more and more a mistake wherever it has been tried.

To repeat once more, this survey had to do primarily with the work of the Department of Poor and Alms and was not designed to gauge the work of the different private agencies of the city. Nevertheless, through an examination of combined records and through other means, enough acquaintance with the situation as a whole was obtained to enable us confidently to say that the sum total of the efforts of the agencies often meant insufficient planning for families and insufficient achievement in their behalf.

On the other hand, it should also be emphatically said that a survey which has to do with one agency primarily, and examines the records of that single agency first, and then examines only those records of other agencies to which the first records lead, is not likely to reveal the full strength or the best parts of the work of these other agencies. Indeed there is danger that whatever adverse criticism is made will be given a weight out of proportion to the creditable features of their work, for there is no opportunity to present the relativity of their excellencies and deficiencies. The spirit and intelligence behind the work of the Bureau of Associated Charities, for example, even though it has often been handicapped by change of staff cannot be set forth, for this report can contain but the barest reference to important departments in that society, not to mention the work of the children's organizations and others.

Nevertheless, after these allowances are made and realizing fully, as we do, the many excellent features in the work of the social agencies of Newark which could not find a place in this

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survey, it is still important to point out not so much the deficiencies of particular organizations but the failure of all to co-operate effectively through each one's finding how it could best fit into a broad scale program of social work for the whole city, and on the basis of our facts to offer suggestions for raising the standard of the future.

The situation in Newark in some respects resembles that in many other large cities. What may be described as family welfare work has been developing through experience, and the known values in human conservation which are to be found in the higher type of such work have gradually increased the demand for effort along this line. There are, moreover, new groups of families coming to the attention of new and specializing agencies; as for example, those cared for by the Divisions of Tuberculosis and Child Hygiene of the Department of Health, in which the need of dealing with complicated situations is quite apparent. And in addition to the increased demand for this kind of care the situation has been made more difficult by the failure to define by joint and mutual effort the proper functioning of each agency and to face courageously the gaps and needs in the social work of the city.

What is important to realize above everything else is that any plan, by whatever theory, which would place responsibility for all or most of this family welfare work on any one agency, whether it be public or private, would on the testimony of all past experience be a mistake. When we recall the conservatively estimated number of families now requiring social service in the city, and grasp the fact that the number is likely to be increased rather than decreased during the next few years, we must realize that concentrated effort, not through one center alone but through a number of centers, both public and private, is absolutely necessary.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE DEPARTMENT'S DEVELOPMENT

On the basis of the facts already presented a number of steps looking toward improvement in the work for families in the city, beginning with the Poor and Alms Department, are recommended:

1. The Department should take a more modern position in its attitude toward other agencies. It should abandon its going-it-alone policy however firmly imbedded in its traditions the policy

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may be, and however confirmed may be its inclination to resent suggestions from other agencies.

2. By way of assisting the Department to take a more modern position in this regard, we recommend that the Mayor, as head of the Department of Public Affairs, of which the Poor and Alms Department is a branch, appoint an advisory committee composed of representatives of different social agencies in the city, which shall meet at intervals with him and with the overseer of the Department of Poor and Alms, either at the Mayor's call or at that of the head of the Department itself, or at the request of members of the advisory committee. To this committee, at his discretion or at that of the overseer, the Mayor shall submit the plans and difficulties of the Department in order to secure the expert and collective advice of the committee as to developing or improving its work, or relating it more closely to that of other agencies as well as advice on the Department's acceptance of new responsibilities.

3. The Department should as soon as possible abolish its bread ticket system. As far as it gives relief in kind it should use orders for provisions, a list of the articles from which selections are to be made being printed on the orders. These orders should be made out only upon such provision dealers as submit at intervals not less than quarterly price lists and information as to the brands offered for the articles included. Some cities establish contracts with such dealers. These orders should be upon a scale that would give different sized rations to different sized families. If this is undertaken the system in vogue in the Milwaukee Poor Department should be examined for suggestions that might apply to Newark.

4. The city budget for 1920 should contain a plan for the creation of a Bureau of Family Welfare Work in charge of a supervisor and three other trained workers, all to be selected by special civil service examination. The workers in this Bureau should be composed, partly at least, of women, for it may be said most emphatically that many of the family problems which come to the Department can be better handled by trained women than by men. As a matter of fact it is rare to find a public department without any women on the staff.

To this Bureau should be assigned the task of taking care of all families making their first application to the Department of

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Poor and Alms; also all families referred to it from the Divisions of Tuberculosis and Child Hygiene and from private agencies, providing the number of families actually in the care of the new Bureau during the first year of work shall not exceed 600. In estimating this number, families need not be included the responsibility for whom may be transferred by mutual agreement to other agencies, nor shall there be referred to this Bureau applications from old people (where no children are involved) not previously known to the Department. These applications should follow the regular course.

5. This Bureau of Family Welfare Work may or may not be technically under the Poor and Alms Department, but whatever its technical status it shall be considered as an especially created agency to work out experimentally during the course of one or two years, in close conference with the Mayor and with the advisory committee above referred to, new standards of social work for the city, and to determine in conference with the Mayor and the advisory committee, subject of course to the final decision of the Mayor, what should be the reasonable boundaries of work in the family welfare field for the public department as regards both relief and service.

The ultimate idea would be the merging of this new Bureau with its workers into the Poor and Alms Department, as it is quite clear that the present visiting staff of the Department is not sufficiently large to do real constructive work nor to safeguard the relief expenditures of the city. This Bureau should receive on its special account, from the 1920 budget, an amount sufficient to take care of 600 families at the same rate of cost per family as was provided in the 1919 budget. That is to say, if the budget for 1919 provided for the treatment and care of 1,200 families, the new Bureau should receive from the 1920 budget an amount equal to one-half the sum appropriated for this work during the year 1919.

6. Should inquiry be made as to the proper amount to appropriate for outdoor relief in the 1920 budget, our reply must be that not only would any suggestion on the subject be purely speculative, but it could be made only upon such a basis as would mean an unlimited growth of the work from year to year. Since the survey has demonstrated without question, as will be seen later in the report, that the amounts for relief at the command of

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the organized agencies of Newark, including the Department, are limited, our conclusion is clear that it is time that the wasteful dole-giving system of the Department should be abandoned. On the other hand, we are not prepared to state that the amount appropriated by the city for relief, even in the 1919 budget, which was an increase over that of the year before, is the fair proportion of money for the purpose which should be obtained through taxation. We think it is not.

This is not the time, however, to suggest any large increase in that amount, and we do not suggest any large increase for the 1920 budget. First, there is the necessity to demonstrate how far the functioning of the Department may be changed in order that attention shall not be so concentrated on the relief side, as has been done heretofore, and how this functioning may affect the requirements for relief from the city. Secondly, there is need of a careful and prolonged thinking out of the whole problem by a central council of social agencies, to be alluded to later, and of the assumption of definite responsibilities by individual agencies. Without such a preliminary getting together, any proposition to largely and experimentally increase the appropriation to the Department would probably leave the Department in a worse rather than a better condition at the end of the year. There would be a tendency to insist upon its taking charge of more and more relief problems as such, which would only increase the demands upon it.

Now while the Poor and Alms Department must be the largest relief-giving agency in the city and such fact must be recognized, a centralizing tendency of such a kind would certainly bring disaster. The only hope is to develop a number of avenues for obtaining material relief and not to make the Department a catch-all. To prevent this, therefore, any possible large increase in the budget must be accompanied by an agreement through which other agencies assume definite responsibilities.

To repeat, we do not think it advisable at this time to offer any recommendation for largely increasing the relief budget for 1920. A moderate normal increase might not be objectionable, but if this were made at the risk of reducing the service budget indicated in connection with the proposed Bureau of Family Welfare Work the increase would be clearly unwise. We insist that the Bureau of Family Welfare Work take precedence, no matter what else be done or not done. In fact, we would pro-

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pose no increase of whatever kind until the establishment of this new Bureau makes it possible to work out the common problems of the city on a thoroughly co-operative basis, with give and take between the Department and the private and other public agencies; and further, not until the establishment of the Bureau makes it possible to do intensive work with a portion at least of the families known to the Department. This co-operation is the prerequisite for any real approximation of the required relief for the city, and as we have seen, it is by no means always present in the work of the private agencies.

7. The budget of such a Bureau of Family Welfare Work should include provision for at least the following:

Supervisor	\$2,500
3 workers at \$1,500 each	4,500
Stenographer	1,080
	<hr/>
	\$8,080

So essential is this Bureau, if progress is to be made in defining the work of the Department and in co-ordinating it with that of other agencies, that if no other way opens, the relief budget for 1920 should be reduced in order to assure funds being available for its establishment. But it would be very unfortunate if the 1919 appropriations for relief had to be reduced in the 1920 budget.

The question of allowances to the families of widows who technically meet the requirement of the law should be taken up with the advisory committee above referred to with a view to determining upon the proper presentation to the State Board of those cases in which the Department seems to be unnecessarily carrying the responsibility of relief. This consideration of the question should cover the granting of allowances in the first instance, and in the second the supplementing by the city of any so made or the presentation of reapplications at the proper time when rejections had been based on grounds not prejudicial to the merits of the case. It should also take up the question of amending the law.

8. Later we shall consider other matters connected with the Department as it stands, but will look at the responsibilities resting upon the social agencies of the city in the general realignment which we are proposing.

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RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING PRIVATE AGENCIES AND THE DEPARTMENT

One or two of our principal recommendations have been partly anticipated. In more detail, we recommend the following:

1. The present Council of Philanthropy, called together by the Mayor in November, 1918, to deal co-operatively with the influenza epidemic, should be asked by him to appoint a committee to consider the organization of a central council of social agencies, in which should be represented not only the societies which compose the Council of Philanthropy but other organizations in the city. It should include agencies interested in the advancement of particular social movements as well as those doing a day-to-day social work. The purpose of this council will be, through conferences, to consider the social needs of Newark and methods by which they may be met, it being understood that no responsibility shall be imposed upon any organization or agency without the consent of its governing body.

2. The form of procedure that should be followed by such a council, the plan for the structure of which will, if desired, be offered at any time by the writer of this report, should be the working out of common problems in committees composed of representatives of the organizations involved, the final reports being submitted, when agreement has been arrived at, to the whole council and, if necessary, to individual agencies.

We shall not suggest at this time what general problems of social advance may be considered by this council, but shall confine ourselves to those matters which in the family field have been brought out by this survey.

3. In the previous section we have suggested an advisory committee to the Mayor in connection with developments in the Poor and Alms Department itself. This committee should form a sub-committee on family problems of the council of social agencies with such changes as may be necessary, though it is hoped that the personnel may not prove too variable. This relation is recommended since the problems upon which the sub-committee will deliberate in its capacity of advisory committee are but part of larger problems which will come to the council.

4. This sub-committee, in an endeavor to ascertain how far there has been conflict of effort between agencies and how re-

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sponsibility should be apportioned, should be constantly considering, on the basis of records, the problems presented by families known to more than one agency in which no apparent progress has been made. In order to closely connect its work as a sub-committee of the council with its duties as an advisory committee to the Department, it should occupy itself, certainly at the start, with families in which the Department, as well as other agencies, is interested.

5. This committee of the council should particularly consider instances, many of which have been given in our previous discussions, in which there seems to have been no responsibility assumed for relief (when relief was required); that is, of families who were referred from one agency to another receiving small allowances from each. While it is true that it may be advisable to secure relief for a family from different sources, this should not be done by sending the family around for it, but by one agency's gauging the amount required, and if it cannot supply it, securing the sum through conference with other bodies.

6. In this connection the committee should consider whether the demonstrated needs of a family can be best met with the committee's available resources. By "demonstrated needs of a family" we refer only to those cases in which thoroughgoing inquiries have been made and careful plans formulated. This kind of work has not been the rule in the past.

The following are the larger sources of relief which were available in 1918:

Department of Poor and Alms for calendar year 1918:		
Total expenditures \$33,571.20; dispensed as follows:		
Bread	\$10,622.95	
Coal	5,879.55	
Money relief	7,862.20	
Burial expenses of various kinds	9,206.50	\$33,571.20
Bureau of Associated Charities, year ending April 30, 1918		12,643.00
Newark Female Charitable Society		
Including relief by work, year ending January, 1918		7,128.13
United Hebrew Charities and Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society (including workroom labor) and Personal Service Club, year ending January 31, 1918		10,343.86
Total		\$63,686.19

As has already been indicated, it is proposed in the 1919 city budget that the appropriation for bread tickets be cut out and

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a larger item be put in for provisions, including milk. We believe that experimentally this appropriation should be raised from \$10,000 (last year's expenditure for bread) to \$25,000, with the proviso that some of the money may be used for cash relief.

The danger of falling back entirely upon public funds for relief is one which all organizations and this committee should steer clear of. While we may insist, along with more intensive family planning, that as the need is demonstrated public relief funds should be increased and that these should always be larger than the funds of private agencies, still private sources must grow along with the public funds. The basic theory, as has already been indicated and upon which the committee should work, is that that social agency which is charged with the responsibility of solving the problems of any particular family should be the one to supply or to raise the support for it. This injunction does not refer to health agencies such as visiting nurse associations, or clinics, but does, for example, refer to the social service work in a dispensary.

Such an arrangement would still leave the Bureau of Associated Charities as the most important single agency in the private field. In the redistribution of responsibility for family work later suggested, it is quite possible that relief demands upon it may be increased. It is suggested that the Bureau of Associated Charities may wish to consider again the engaging of an extension secretary to further its propaganda in increasing relief funds and in other directions.

Nevertheless, the expansion of relief resources at the command of other private organizations will also have to be considered.

7. In the eventual development of the Poor and Alms Department, when the methods adopted by the Bureau of Family Welfare Work become those employed throughout the Department, we would suggest for study by the advisory committee mentioned above the following division of work between the Department and the Bureau of Associated Charities:

(a) The Poor and Alms Department to plan (including relief planning) for all families in which tuberculosis, repeated desertion, widowhood not eligible for allowances from the county, old age, and the chronic physical incapacity of the husband and father are the most important disabilities.

(b) The Bureau of Associated Charities to receive, both directly and from the Department, all families applying for

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the first time in their history to it or to the Department, unless the husband or father is dead or permanently disabled, together with all families in which the husband or father is suffering from temporary incapacity or incapacity which may be remedied, or from unemployment; also families in which incomes are apparently insufficient for their needs or in which no immediate material needs are apparent but where difficulties between husband and wife or between parents and children or grown-up daughters or sons, are likely to result in disaster. To this list should be added families with serious character weaknesses in which desertion is not involved. This division is made essentially with the intention of placing in the hands of the Department those families in which long terms of care and heavier relief expenditures are required or in which disciplinary methods may be necessary. To the Bureau would be given the task of dealing with families above the line of actual destitution or not badly incapacitated, or where intensive work at the right time may establish pretty strong family conditions which will prevent further relapses. Relief for the families under its care should, as a rule, be secured by the Bureau.

(c) Both the Department and the Bureau, however, should be at liberty to ask other organizations in the community to assume the responsibility for a family as the sub-committee of the council develops the proper functioning for each agency. Furthermore, it is expected that on many cases the Bureau and Department will work together.

8. The committee should also consider the problem of the homeless in the city, in the hope that eventually a plan may be devised for a municipal lodging house with work tests and a harmonious connection with employment agencies.

9. This sub-committee on family problems, with other committees of the central council, will further any preventive measures for the reduction of dependency, including legislation for various forms of state insurance, the better training of the not incurable deficient, the extension of vocational guidance, and public educational and recreational movements for both old and young.

10. There should also be organized in the central council a committee on co-ordination of children's work, which is badly needed in Newark, but regarding which we cannot go into details, such a discussion being outside the scope of the present survey.

CHAPTER V

NON-SUPPORT AND BASTARDY WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT

An examination was made of 80 records in connection with the non-support work of the Poor and Alms Department and of 15 records in connection with bastardy proceedings. The figures for 1918 showing the non-support proceedings of the Department were also secured and are as follows:

Complaints made against fathers or husbands for desertion and non-support	993
Reconciled and agreed to live together	303
Ordered by Overseer of Poor to pay to this office for support of family	89
Cases settled by Overseer	178
Taken to court	198
Ordered by court to pay to this office for support of family	185
Sent to penitentiary	13
Placed on probation	3
Complaint unwarranted	24

The following is the record of bastardy proceedings for the same year:

Bastardy complaints received	104
Parents married	7
Father found guilty and ordered by court to pay for support of child	27
Child died, complaint dismissed	2
Complaint dismissed	3
Cases adjourned to later dates	27
Bastardy complaints pending	38

The alimony collected for both non-support of families and for bastard children amounted during 1918 to \$43,973.11.

An examination of the alimony ledgers of the Department on February 8, 1919, indicated 222 open accounts; that is, accounts upon which there had been payments since January 1st. The orders relate to the income of the husband, the number of children, and their ages, and run usually from \$5.00 to \$10 weekly, with occasional larger amounts.

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The whole idea of the law, as we have stated before, hinges purely and simply around economic questions. Nevertheless, an examination of the records and observation of office interviewing indicated that in cases of non-support, after seeing both husband and wife and possibly relatives who might be brought by one or the other, some effort was made by the Department to patch up family difficulties.

Considering the time consumed in preparing for and attending court proceedings, in addition to the prolonged office interviews, the statistics indicate that the volume of work would require a worker for the office end alone. At the present time there is but one worker for the whole job. The work is therefore only half done.

Let us take the non-support cases first. As may be imagined, and as was easily demonstrated by a number of original interviews had by us, the family difficulties of these cases include some of the most involved of all and certainly require the attention of a second worker who can give all his time to the field. Through investigation, for example, we learned of a case in which the husband, besides being immoral at other times, had on two occasions run away with other women and had treated his wife brutally during their entire married life. Requiring him to pay a certain amount toward her support did not meet the real problem of their family life nor determine whether the wife should attempt legal separation. It is true that some attempt is usually made to discover the real difficulty between husband and wife by interviewing them and by weighing their stories. But any trained worker will bear witness that it is not sufficient to order the husband to pay a certain amount or to effect a reconciliation that will become permanent without some after-attention. This attention is now offered only if the husband fails in his payments; that is, when the old wounds are opened up again. Furthermore, if the husband fails to pay as required or the reconciliation fails to be a real reconciliation, and if the wife, disheartened, fails to notify the office, there is no way of knowing what has happened until the "worse" becomes the "worst."

Another indication that the present work must be supplemented is shown by the fact that on the day mentioned in early February of this year there were only 222 open accounts on which money had been received since January, 1919. Yet during 1918 alone, through court orders with reference to non-support and

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bastardy and overseers' orders in non-support cases, 301 persons had been instructed to pay through the office. Many of these 222 accounts had been begun before 1918. The explanation is, of course, that arrangements are "off-again-and-on-again" between husbands and wives. But this is not a matter which should be left entirely to their decision, and yet it must be unless there is a follow-up plan. Lacking such a plan, contact with the family depends upon the wife's keeping in touch with the office.

As to bastardy proceedings they are far less human or humane than those for non-support. Here the Department seems to be rigidly bound by the necessity of bringing legal proof, and the statements taken are strikingly similar in their monotonous refrain. How the man and woman first became acquainted, where and why there was sexual intercourse, and all evidently looking simply to the question of proof. Yet here are the real tragedies, the real destinies of people to be worked out.

The Department of Health has inaugurated a special service for mothers with illegitimate children, but there is no co-operation in this matter between the two city departments. Of 18 records of women known to the Department of Poor and Alms in this category, only eight were known to this special Bureau in the Department of Health. From what we can gather from these eight, the health problems were worked out carefully but not the whole problem of the mother's future plans.

On the basis of the facts brought together our conclusion and recommendation is that, inasmuch as the city receives and pays to mothers a sum of over \$40,000 a year, a large part of which would otherwise have to be met by relief, the city is justified in providing a field worker for this service in addition to the present office worker.

CHAPTER VI

THE ALMSHOUSE

The survey included a study of the Almshouse which, in many ways, is a very interesting institution.

It is quite superfluous and unnecessary for us to describe in detail the Almshouse, structurally, to the City Commission or the people of Newark. It is sufficient to say that in general it follows excellent models with wing units and connecting sun pavilions, so that every part of the building is light and airy. It is kept in immaculate condition, and nowhere were familiar institutional odors observable. The dormitories are comparatively small, none having over 20 beds. There are also a number of rooms with two beds, for specially classified inmates. The only structural defect is that, owing to the large preponderance of men, the glass pavilion which serves as their sitting room is not sufficiently large, but this may be remedied at some later date by building out a right-angled annex to the present pavilion.

As to furnishings in the dormitories: sheets, pillow-cases, and woolen blankets are used upon the iron bedsteads, but blankets folded twice take the place of mattresses over the woven wire bottoms.

The dining rooms are spacious and contain substantial tables and chairs. The seating capacity of each table is limited to a maximum of 12. Plated table-ware and crockery of heavy queensware is used. The food is brought on in big dishes for each table. Napkins, but no table cloths are supplied.

The sun pavilions used as sitting rooms contain benches, ordinary chairs, a limited number of easy chairs, and eight tables. Neither dining rooms nor sitting rooms have any adornment beyond actual essentials and a few plants at one end of the women's pavilion. There are no homelike embellishments such as additional curtains, more plants, etc. These furnishings should be supplied by private organizations. The sitting rooms have a few games such as checkers and cards, and a meager supply of rather ragged magazines. At present there is no library, al-

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though previously a traveling library was furnished, we understand, by the Newark Public Library.

The cleaning of floors and walls is by daily scrubbing. As yet this process has not led to the development of odors by accumulations washed into minute cracks in the floor, which experienced people affirm may be the eventual result.

The smaller bedrooms are used for people who are regarded as above the ordinary inmates, or for those who are especially handicapped or for cases where particular friendships have been developed between two men or two women. There is no provision for old couples to use the same quarters. There are two old couples in the institution now. In one instance there is no desire on the part of either to meet; in the other, by special permission the two meet daily for extended periods.

Washing of face and hands is required before all meals. One weekly full bath is required and more frequent ones are encouraged. There are separate brushes and combs, but roller towels are used. Water is changed after each bath. Beds are aired for two hours in the morning. The use of nightgowns is encouraged but is not required.

The weekly dietary is as follows:

Breakfasts: Cereal and milk, coffee, bread and butter.

Dinners: Always vegetables; soup and soup meat, corn beef, lamb stew, macaroni, fish (or clam chowder), beef stew and roast beef, in rotation ordinarily. Four days, coffee.

Suppers: Tea, bread and butter; once or twice a week stewed fruit also.

As to office system there is a card index of present inmates and of inmates who are dead or have been discharged. This index contains the following data:

Name	Mother's name
Age	Sex
Color	Social state
Occupation	Nativity
Last residence	Time in city
Time in United States	Religion
Father's name	Name of relative or friend

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A register of admissions and discharges is also kept. There is as yet, however, no daily journal for recording at the time all important daily happenings such as visitors, leaves of absence, records of farming operations, discipline administered. A good index system is employed in the stock room, though it has not yet been extended to include a cash valuation of all produce from the farm, etc.

The rules, on the whole, are good, but one (No. 11) requiring that Sunday "shall be strictly observed as set apart both from recreation and all unnecessary labor" is too stringently drawn. The rule limiting permits for leaving the grounds (No. 10) to not more than one a month to any person, with power of the clerk to suspend this limitation, should be changed so as to indicate no limitation, thus leaving the whole matter to the discretion of the clerk. The old Almshouse contained a place of "solitary confinement," but fortunately there is none in the new one, and Rule 14 which refers to it therefore needs amendment. There is very little evidence of the necessity of discipline, although the withholding of tobacco or withdrawal of some other slight privilege may sometimes be called for. Forcible discharge is used only in extreme cases. Per capita cost in 1918 was \$1.16 a day.

SEVEREST HANDICAP OF PERSONS UNDER 60 YEARS OF AGE, IN THE ALMSHOUSE, FEBRUARY, 1919

Handicaps recorded by physicians	Men	Women
Mentally defective	5	8
Paralysis	6	5
Locomotor ataxia	9	1
Chronic rheumatism	2	5
Organic cardiac diseases	4	1
Amputations or partial physical incapacity ¹	4	..
Diabetes	3	..
Organic kidney diseases	2	..
Apoplexy	1	..
Epilepsy	..	1
Others not completely diagnosed	3	..
Total	39	21

¹ Two had other complications.

Turning to the more human side we find that on February 20, 1919, the adult population was composed of 171 men and 74 women, exclusive of two boarded for another city in New Jersey. The Almshouse is, of course, primarily for old people. It is also

NEWARK POOR AND ALMS DEPARTMENT SURVEY

for the infirm of any age. We thought it best to determine from the medical records, which have been systematized by the physician during the last two years, the present conditions of those still under sixty years of age. There are now 39 men and 21 women in this class. A number of them are suffering from a complication of diseases, but we have listed them under what seemed to be their severest handicap, as shown in the table on page 65.

In a close review, in collaboration with the physician, of the age and physical and mental condition of the men, it was agreed that two or three might be replaced in industry provided a special committee gave attention to the matter. Thus, for example, a man now thirty-five years old has an affection of the knee, not completely handicapping him and which would not bar him from some forms of labor. Nor would it be impossible to get work for a forty-six-year-old man with one leg amputated, if he had an artificial limb.

On the women's side there were not such hopeful indications, as will be noted from the large number of physically and mentally incapacitated "incurables."

Both hospital and dispensary are admirably conducted, and the new scheme of medical records, which requires an examination of every person upon admission and thereafter as often as necessary, reduces the likelihood that persons comparatively young will be cared for continuously in the Almshouse, under a mistaken notion that they are in a chronic condition of infirmity.

It has been recognized that the proper employment of inmates and the employment of as many as are at all physically able, must be one of the necessary and important purposes of almshouse management, not from the point of view of economy but from that of making the aimless round of almshouse life contain something of human interest for those whose existence is centered there.

We found, at the time of our inquiry, that between 60 and 70 men had daily tasks to perform, and only about four or five women. At present no daily record of employment is kept, but during the summer and early fall of 1918 a daily journal concerning the work of men only was maintained. We tabulated this by individuals for the three months of July, August, and September, with the results shown in the table on page 67.

This is a creditable showing with reference to the employment of men, especially during a period in which the Almshouse population is generally reduced in number. Nevertheless, the clerk

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RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT OF MALE INMATES OF NEWARK ALMSHOUSE DURING JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1918, BY NUMBERS EMPLOYED, OCCUPATIONS, AND REGULARITY OR TEMPORARY CHARACTER OF THE EMPLOYMENT

Occupations	Men regularly employed	Men temporarily employed
Kitchen, general service	8	2
Potato peeling	5	..
Dish washing	1	..
Dining room service	13	2
Laundry service	2	2
Cleaning lawns	2	..
Boiler room service	2	..
Hospital orderlies	2	1
Stable and garage service	2	..
Sweeping and cleaning halls	4	..
Barbers	2	..
Wheel chair attendant	1	..
Room caretakers	16	2
Miscellaneous (including painting, polishing, tailoring, porter service, etc.)	18	4
Farm and outside	16	16
Total	94	29

frankly stated that larger use of men will be possible if, during the coming summer, plans for increasing the crop acreage of the Almshouse land are carried out under the interested farmer of the staff.

The situation in regard to the women is not so satisfactory, and heretofore there has not been much intelligence shown in finding outside employment for them or in bringing to the institution tasks they could do there.

Religious services for both Catholics and Protestants have been arranged by these religious bodies and are held regularly once a week.

On the other hand, with reference to entertainments or an enlargement of ordinary forms of amusement, there seems to be a complete absence of interest on the part of outside organizations, except in the case of an Episcopal church in Roseville, which once a year provides an evening's entertainment. In regard to financial support we inquired into the ability to help on the part of the relatives of 10 of the inmates, taking the first six in the card index of the men and the first four in the card index of the women. In nine cases there was no reason to question the admissi-

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bility of the inmates; in one, relatives should pay a little, or support the father in a private institution.

CHILDREN IN THE ALMSHOUSE

The law with reference to children in the Almshouse has been previously discussed. It will be remembered that children over one year are not to be kept there except pending placement under commitment by the Board of Children's Guardians, and never for a period of over thirty days. The children go there in charge of the State Board and the entire responsibility rests with it.

Nevertheless, we found that in the case of mentally subnormal children the State Board has not apparently been able to effect institutional placement, with the result that this law is violated.

One child aged seven, now there, was admitted on June 7, 1917; another child, also aged seven, was admitted on June 1, 1918.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the facts discovered, our recommendations for the Almshouse are as follows:

1. That mattresses should replace blankets over bed springs, except where inmates are voluntarily or involuntarily uncleanly.
2. That whenever there are as many as five husbands and wives in the Almshouse who desire to live together, the erection of a small building for their use be considered.
3. That beds should be aired four hours and the use of night-gowns more strictly required.
4. That dietaries should be occasionally reviewed, and varied in consultation with the domestic science staff of the City Department of Education.
5. That a journal should be established for recording visits and other important daily occurrences.
6. That our suggestions made above as to changes in the rules, especially as to leave from the grounds and Sunday observance, be carried out.
7. That the Mayor's advisory committee, whose organization has been previously suggested, should consult with the physician in attendance in regard to inmates who might be industrially rehabilitated on the lines now being followed in connection with handicapped soldiers; the proper handling of this matter might lead to the appointment of a special sub-committee on the subject.
8. That a daily record of employment of inmates be

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made; and it is suggested that the Central Council of Social Agencies appoint a special committee to consider and report on any feasible plan for bringing to the institution any work which might be done by the women.

9. That this Central Council should also endeavor to interest some organization in assuming the responsibility for providing occasional entertainment; for increasing the reading material, adding to the games, and even for the supplying of musical phonographs (which, however, might have to be kept locked except during certain hours). This organization might well add homelike touches to the furnishings of the house.

10. That the downtown office of the Poor and Alms Department should make more extended investigations and keep more elaborate records of all applications for admission.

11. That the attention of the State Board of Children's Guardians be called to the presence of mentally deficient children over one year of age who remain in the institution for over thirty days.

CHAPTER VII

INTERNAL REFORMS FOR THE POOR AND ALMS DEPARTMENT

We wish here to sum up our recommendations applying to certain internal administrative details of the Department without again touching upon those more thoroughgoing and far-reaching changes recommended in Chapter IV. Some of the details have already been alluded to. The recommendations are as follows:

1. Wherever relief is liable to extend over a month or more, monthly payments or monthly donations of groceries should be substituted if possible for weekly ones, and cash or grocery orders should be brought to the homes. Office distribution of relief should be minimized.

2. The office should be provided with a competent stenographer so that short records of all visits made may be dictated and inserted into the records of families. With the decentralization of office relief-giving as already recommended, it would be possible to abolish one general office position and substitute a stenographer.

3. A record of all visits made each day by each visitor should be kept in one book, suitably ruled.

4. The whole office system, including the records of families and the record of the relief given, should be reorganized completely on modern lines. We have frequently alluded to the abominably complicated system now in vogue. For example, it took a surveyor fully two hours to run back and find how much relief had been given to just one family during the course of five years. A modern system would have had attached to the record of the family a relief sheet clearly showing these data. For auditing and balancing purposes alone, a running cash book account is required. Then, too, from the record there is no way of knowing whether there has been correspondence regarding a family, and if you suspect such correspondence you have to search for it in another place. The family records should be on standard record sheets, and there should not be separate files

RECOMMENDATIONS ON DEPARTMENTAL DETAILS

and blanks as now for relief and for non-support cases. The bastardy cases may well be kept separate. All family records should be kept in vertical files with whatever has been done for the family recorded therein.

The above points but serve to illustrate the cumbersome and ineffective system now in vogue. Without further cost to the city the present surveyor upon request will be glad to offer detailed suggestions as to the system which should be adopted finally, if not at present.

5. The attitude of the staff toward applicants should be less dictatorial though not less firm.

6. The visiting staff would gain in ability by employing the methods of work recommended for the proposed Bureau of Family Welfare Work, adopting them more and more as a part of their regular work.

7. By the changes in system suggested in some of the foregoing recommendations it will be possible to maintain reasonably frequent contact with all families cared for by the Department and to know that such contact is maintained. This, of course, is desirable and here recommended.

8. There should be supervision by the overseer of all active records of families and some unity of standards of work arrived at by him.

9. Reasonable increases in the salaries of visitors, in keeping with the general scale of salaries in the City Hall, should be granted.

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