

THE LONG VIEW

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Mary O. Richmond

THE LONG VIEW

Papers and Addresses

By MARY E. RICHMOND

Selected and Edited with Biographical Notes by
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*We have learned to take the long view, to
realize that the very stars in their courses,
not our small army alone, are overcoming
the weakness and misery of the world.*

MARY E. RICHMOND

From a letter read at the memorial
meeting for Zilpha D. Smith, Boston,
December eleventh, 1926

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EDITORIAL NOTE

THIS selection from the papers written by Mary E. Richmond contains by no means all those that were printed, although we have tried to include the most important ones. We have included little from the annual reports prepared when she was general secretary of the Baltimore and Philadelphia charity organization societies, since anything of more than local significance in these reports will be found elsewhere among her writings. Publicity material, book reviews, obituary notices and unsigned editorials have generally been omitted. A list of works not contained in this volume will be found in Appendix A.

On the other hand, many of the papers and addresses here given have not hitherto been printed. Admittedly, we are publishing them in ignorance of whether the author would have wished them to appear. The fact that she preserved in her files copies, which she had evidently corrected and worked over, would seem, however, to distinguish them from others not included in this volume, of which only rough drafts or a series of notes remain. Some of the earlier printed papers were published in obscure journals, now defunct and difficult of access; so that for all practical purposes they may be added to the material hitherto unpublished. We hope that the collection will be found a valuable repository of Miss Richmond's occasional papers and speeches, in which she treated a wider range of subjects than it was possible for her to discuss within the topical limits of her published books.

In editing these papers, we have nowhere taken liberties with the wording, except to correct obvious typographical errors, and to make punctuation uniform throughout. Where material has been omitted for the sake of brevity, we have been careful to state the fact in the notes, or indicate it by a series of dots in the text. The earlier papers, vigorous and clear as they are, contain some blemishes of style which do not appear in the later ones. We have left them uncorrected, however, for the sake of accuracy, and to add to the interest of tracing the author's development.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In going through the earlier papers, the reader should bear in mind that Miss Richmond was doing her thinking at all times against a background of the thought of her professional group. She was often in advance of the field, but never out of touch with it. This means that her opinions were constantly undergoing change and modification. We have sometimes been able by referring in the notes to later papers to indicate decided changes in her point of view, but this was not possible throughout. It is hoped, therefore, that the papers will be read in their entirety, as a record of a developing philosophy of social work; and that early expressions of opinion will not be quoted as to what Miss Richmond believed about this or that point, without ascertaining by further reading of the papers and of her other writings whether she continued to believe that particular thing to the end.

Papers by Miss Richmond included in this volume appeared in the following publications, to which acknowledgment is gratefully made: *American Journal of Nursing*, *The Art of Helping* (published under the auspices of the Association of Volunteers in Social Service, 1924), *Baltimore Charities Record*, *Better Times*, *Charities*, *Charities Review*, *The Family*, *Family Life Today* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), *Far and Near*, *International Journal of Ethics*, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, *Proceedings of the National Probation Association*, and *the Survey*.

PART ONE

PRE-PROFESSIONAL YEARS, 1861-1889

If you feel a hearty interest in any subject, procure the best authority upon that subject and make it your own; then let all your further investigations group themselves, as a handful of needles would center toward a magnet.

FROM BOOKS AND READING

PART ONE
PRE-PROFESSIONAL YEARS, 1861-1889

INTRODUCTION

IT WILL always be a marvel, to those who know her story intimately, that Mary E. Richmond ever found and entered upon the path that led her into the field of social work.

She was born in Belleville, Illinois, on August 5, 1861. Her parents, who came from Baltimore, soon returned to that city, however, and her childhood was passed there during the period of turmoil and readjustment following the Civil War. Her father and mother both died young, of tuberculosis, leaving the little Mary to be brought up by relatives who were far from well-off. Although there was a dearth of this world's goods, there was no lack of ideas in her environment; the grandmother and aunt who took the most responsibility for her upbringing were both much given to espousing new beliefs and causes. She heard animated discussion of woman's suffrage, racial problems, spiritualism, anti-vivisection, and similar "radical movements," as they were then esteemed, acquiring thus very early a bias in favor of liberal and individual views, and a tendency to scrutinize ideas all the more closely if they seemed to be commonly accepted. In later years, she once said, "The radicals think I'm a conservative and the conservatives think I'm a radical, and they're both surprised that I somehow manage to keep in the procession." The incisiveness of intellect and the sense of humor which were always characteristic of her must have saved her from the danger of becoming a fanatic; and she has related how as a ten-year-old she was perfectly aware of the hocus-pocus being practiced on her elders by some of the "leaders" who frequented their home, and marveled that they could be so easily duped.

She learned to read at an early age—out of *Pickwick Papers*. She has told us that when the news of Dickens' death in 1870 reached America she wept for hours and would not be comforted!

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Her relatives were not in sympathy with the educational policies of the times, and as this was before the days of compulsory school attendance laws, they simply did not send the child to school until she was eleven. In the meantime, she seems to have had no systematic instruction whatever, and very little attention or supervision from any grown-up as to the plan of self-education she was pursuing. This consisted, in the main, in reading everything she could lay hands on; and she has spoken with gratitude of a woman friend of her aunt who used to lend her books but who insisted that the child give her a summary of them before she might be allowed to borrow another volume. This early drill in mastering the contents of what she read and making it hers was to be of inestimable value to her later on. In Miss Richmond's copy of Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi*, she has marked with her characteristic "flying arrow" the following passage, from a letter written by Mme. Geoffrin describing the methods that her grandmother employed in her education: "She taught me nothing in my childhood, except to read, but she made me read much; she taught me to think by making me argue; she taught me to know my fellow-creatures by making me say what I thought of them and by telling me her opinion of them. . . . My education was continuous."

The little girl was much alone at this period, the one child in a family of preoccupied adults; although when she played with other children, she was able to maintain a position of leadership. She suffered severely, however, in the adjustment to group life after her late introduction to school, but she was one of the four youngest students in her class when she was graduated from the Eastern High School in Baltimore at the age of sixteen.

In high school, she came under the influence of an inspired teacher of English, Miss Laura De Valin. So great was the imprint left by this woman on the minds and hearts of her pupils that a number of them afterward formed, under Miss Richmond's leadership, a sort of alumnae association, the De Valin Literature Club, to carry on as a self-educative project the study of the English classics. A number of papers prepared by Miss Richmond and others for the meetings of this society have been preserved and show that much planning and hard study went into the self-imposed task.

INTRODUCTION

After finishing high school in 1878, Miss Richmond went to New York City to join her aunt, who was employed as proof-reader by a publishing concern that specialized in radical or "advanced" books. She was engaged as a general clerical worker, but she did a little of everything in the office from proofreading to choosing type, and taught herself shorthand at night, after a twelve-hour work day. She and her aunt lived very cheaply in a furnished room. After some months, the aunt suffered a physical breakdown and returned to Baltimore, never to work again, and to be dependent chiefly upon Miss Richmond for the rest of her long life. Thus left alone in a strange city, with almost no friends and with new and alarming responsibilities, the young girl passed through the bitterest and loneliest period of her life. She was badly undernourished and poorly clothed; she had no money for recreation; and lectures which she sometimes attended at Cooper Union appear to have been the only diversion she had.

During her youth, Miss Richmond had it firmly fixed in her mind that she was going to die of the same disease as her parents; and, in fact, X-rays of her chest many years later showed healed scars that in the doctor's opinion must have dated from about this period. There were no special clinics, nor was there much general information available about the hygiene of tuberculosis; and it was not till she had begun to feel very ill that she sought out the most prominent specialist in the city and asked him to examine her lungs, stating that she was unable to pay him a fee. He told her that she must stop working at once and go to the country. This she said was impossible; so he gave her careful directions about eating, sleeping, and breathing exercises, which she followed with characteristic faithfulness. She went from her furnished room on Bleecker Street to board in Brooklyn; and this gave her a chance to do her breathing exercises morning and evening on the ferry that she took to and from her work. In Brooklyn, however, she contracted malaria, and was finally forced to give up and return to Baltimore.

It is not known how she struggled through this period of acute illness, but by 1881 or 1882 she was working as a bookkeeper in a stationery store in Baltimore, a position which she held until 1888, when she went to work for a relative of her former employer who

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ran a family hotel. Here she was bookkeeper and general office assistant.

Her religious training had been of a piece with the rest of her haphazard education; but she refused to accept dogmas which satisfied neither her intellect nor her sense of beauty and fitness. At this period, she sought out and found a religious connection with the Unitarian Church, which was the means of bringing her in touch for the first time with a group of people whose tastes were congenial and whose philosophy and thinking were stable and sound. The first friends to become real constructive forces in her life came from the congregation of this church. Up to this time her knowledge of the arts had been confined to literature; but now there was added the world of music which these friends opened up, and which became her second great avenue of escape from the narrowing influences of her life. She taught in the Sunday school, conducting a class of young people about her own age in the study of the plays of Shakespeare; and a touching letter from one of this group¹ bears witness to the fact that here a great teacher and inspirer of others was beginning to find herself.

It seems fitting to begin this collection of her articles and essays with one example drawn from this period of her life. It was written in 1882, when she was twenty-one years old, for presentation to the De Valin Literature Club before described. In this remarkable paper, Miss Richmond sought to communicate to her fellow members her own delight in reading and the spiritual gains it had brought her. The style of the paper is in some places stilted as compared with the beautiful and flexible prose of Miss Richmond's later years; but it forecasts the methods in research and in the use of documents which she was later to make her own. Sound scholarship, the pursuit of the subject through reference after reference, the love of learning for its own sake, are all implicit in it. Miss Richmond's later contribution to the *method* of social research is only beginning to be realized; we are glad to be able to show, therefore, that these words, written by a girl barely out of her teens who had had but restricted educational opportunities, contained the seeds of her future greatness and foreshadowed what the experienced and disciplined mind was later to achieve.

¹Quoted in *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 320.

BOOKS AND READING

(Hitherto Unpublished)

A paper read in 1882 before the De Valin Literature Club

IN ANY talk about books, we cannot ignore those tendencies of our time which seem to point to the increasing neglect of letters, and the substituting of experimental science, as a means of culture. Against literature and the study of the classics, our scientists have turned the full force of their logical batteries, and have waged unceasing war. Some claim that in a hundred years from now only a few eccentrics will devote themselves to the study of letters. There have been foolish partisan speeches on both sides—the champions of classical studies and of physical science have been alike unfair, and have both erred in supposing that any one method of culture can be final. But in the high noon of contention and loud dispute, there may come promise of a better day, and already we find suggestions of a more tolerant view. Professor Huxley, in a recent address at Birmingham, says that “the native capacities of mankind vary no less than their opportunities and while culture is *one*, the road by which one man may reach it is widely different from that which is most advantageous to another”; and he further acknowledges that “an exclusively scientific training will bring about a mental twist as assuredly as an exclusively literary training.” Mr. Matthew Arnold, in a reply to Professor Huxley published this month, gives to students of literature some very welcome encouragement. He says:

I cannot really think that humane letters are in danger of being thrust from the leading place in education, in spite of the array of authorities against them at this moment. So long as human nature is what it is, their attraction will remain irresistible. They will be studied more rationally, but they will not lose their place. What will happen will rather be that there will be crowded into education of matters besides, far too many; there will be, perhaps, a period of unsettlement and confusion and false tendency; but letters will not in the end lose their leading place. If they lose it for a time, they will get it back again. We shall be brought back to them by our wants and aspirations.

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I think most of us here have not caught the scientific fever in its worst form, and that we will agree with Mr. Arnold in believing that the physical sciences alone can never satisfy man's "sense for conduct and sense for beauty," can never supply the place of literature ethically or æsthetically.

Of one thing, at least, we are assured—that thus far in the world's growth, books have been our great civilizers. Now when I say *books*, I do not mean collected tomes of our vast libraries, nor do I mean the classics of any literature, but by books I mean the recorded thoughts of man, man as he has struggled during many ages and in many climes in the battle of life; I mean that vast history of humanity, in the study of which we may become humanized, and better equipped, perhaps, for our own battle. We hardly realize what an influence books have become in modern life; shaping our opinions, our aims, our very lives. The world is no longer in its first flush of youth, we have a long, a historic past, which must shape the future.

Let us just for a moment attempt to stem the tide of oncoming moments. Imagine yourselves, each one individually imagine yourself, *not as yourself*, but simply as a result of all that ever has been; you, the present, the fruit of the past. Picture the long, long vista of the ages, and imagine, if you can, some time when this world was not; when our sun, revolving around its superior magnet, amid vast thunders and creative throes, hurled into space a fiery mass, which, attracted like toward like, grew ever closer and closer together; revolving around its parent star, distributed its heat, and after long ages, began to develop quieter forms of life upon its surface, vegetable life, and afterward the animal; protoplasm first, perhaps, then all manner of creeping things, and so progressing to the mastodons, and higher animal life, and man. Imagine our prehistoric ancestor, warring with his environment, dashing against the rocks to find them hard, facing the keen, north wind, to find it biting. So it is that history finds him, but *one* man no longer, for it is the written record that brings us face to face with humanity, that transforms the one typical man, into many, throbbing human hearts. And so, through all the civilizations, the Egyptian, the Grecian, the Roman, the Saxon, to our own time, it is the human element that attracts us, the life struggles, the vic-

BOOKS AND READING

tories, the vanquishments, the labors, aspirations, accomplishments of our fellowmen. And standing here in the very latest moment of time accomplished, every step in the world's progress has led up to us, all the past is ours. For every good word that has ever been uttered, for every good deed wrought, and for every good life, however obscure, it is the better with us today. We cannot afford to ignore the past, nor the vast inheritance of thought it has with such labor stored up for us.

Books, books, books!—they seem almost numberless. It has been calculated that there are more books published in about every eight months, than any man could read in a lifetime. When we consider the accumulating volumes of each century—how there were twenty thousand editions of books before the year 1500, and how each succeeding century has squared that number, until now we are averaging twenty-five thousand volumes yearly, we may indeed realize that “of making many books there is no end.” And then consider all the transient literature of the hour, the pamphlets, reviews, magazines and newspapers that demand our attention. In this newspaper country, I need no figures to prove to you the enormous proportions of our periodical press, and the undue share of public attention which it demands and receives.

These last few years have seen quite a revolution in book-making, a change which has made our books, like papers, mere literary small coin. It was during my school days that the popular libraries made their appearance and I remember how interested we were in this new departure. Tom Brown's Schooldays was one of the first issues, and it seemed a very desirable thing that this book which we all liked and wished to own might be had for ten cents instead of two dollars. But with the good books came the bad ones, like the tares with the wheat, and I am sometimes inclined to think that this cheapening of literature is not an unmixed good. When books may be had so easily, we are apt to think slightly of them, to value them by the market price. Ruskin says that any book worth reading is worthy of a sacrifice; and that seems reasonable. Suppose that, for a whole year, we have denied ourselves little indulgences that we might procure a volume of Longfellow, would we not devour the volume at length procured with all the keener appe-

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tite, would we not read and re-read each page with all the more diligent attention, and might we not learn that highest branch of the reader's art—to read between the lines? To oppose cheap literature seems little in keeping with the spirit of our institutions. In our ideal Republic, learning and literature should be as free as air, but I fear that this general lowering in the price of books has been caused by no high motives, but is merely one of the many attempts to cheapen labor, and deprive the author of a fair remuneration.

There has been much talk about what books to read, volumes have been written to prove the advantages of a systematic course of reading, and elaborate courses have been formulated; but if I might be privileged to give any advice upon the subject, it would be this: do not attempt any elaborate or set course of reading, I say, do not *attempt* it, for it is almost a foregone conclusion that you will not carry it out. If you feel a hearty interest in any subject, procure the best authority upon that subject and make it your own; then let all your further investigations group themselves, as a handful of needles would center toward a magnet. But do not attempt to follow down the line of a list of books, for you will find yourself reading some work very soon, not because of its fitness at the time, or for the good it is doing, but simply because it is on the list, and you want to be able to scratch it off with a clear conscience.

Have you ever dreamed of a time when your ship will come in, and you will go sailing across the sea, to some land visited a thousand times in imagination? Across the sea to Italy, or across the sea to Spain, to the Hebrides in Scotland, or the Hellespont of Greece. Such a journey is quite a possible thing in our day, and many of our friends have been recommending very highly Mr. Cook's Personally Conducted Tours, but I think that Mr. Cook's Tour would make me very miserable. Whilst he would vigorously push forward from London to Paris, from Paris to Madrid, my thoughts might linger wistfully in English meadows; and whilst he would continue his forced march eastward into Egypt to stare at the Pyramids, I might wish to rest awhile in the deserted halls of the Alhambra, and imagine them again thronged by the brilliant assemblage of cavaliers who frequented the court of Abul Hassan

in the palmy days of Moorish dominion. I might desire to wander through the green valleys of Andalusia, to climb the snow-capped peaks of the Sierras, but no such delights would be in store for me if I held a through ticket to Jerusalem. So, when I attempt any sort of systematic reading, I shall always shun the "through ticket" course, fearing that by that plan my literary journey will afford me neither pleasure nor profit. A New England friend of mine tells of a family in her village who suddenly acquiring a large fortune went to Europe. Upon their return, the mother and daughter held forth to all callers on their "travels abroad." The reminiscences were numerous and peculiar. One day some visitor chanced to mention Rome. "Rome, Rome!" said the mother, "really, we seen so many places. Tildy, was we in Rome?" "Law, ma," responded the daughter, "don't you remember? Why, that's the place we went through in the night." Many people, in their great haste to accomplish some elaborate course of study, in their eagerness to say "it is done," chance to go through Rome "in the night."

Now do not think that I oppose all method in reading. I believe that brain-keeping is as much an art as house-keeping, and that the lack of system is as disastrous to the one as to the other. First of all, we should learn our limitations, we should realize how, with all life before us, it is possible to learn at best only a very little, and that it is given us to decide what that little shall be. No two of us can follow the same plan. A certain book might be of great profit to me but entirely useless to you, and the reverse. In our selection of books, I think we should become familiar with De Quincey's division: "There is a literature of knowledge and a literature of power," he says, "and knowledge that can never be transmuted into power becomes mere intellectual rubbish." Carlyle has divided books in his picturesque way into sheep and goats. "Books," he says, "like human souls, are actually divided into what we may call sheep and goats—the latter put inexorably on the left hand of the Judge; and tending every goat of them, at all moments, whither we know, and much to be avoided, and, if possible, ignored, by all sane creatures!"¹

¹ Any awkwardness in this sentence is not due to error on Miss Richmond's part. Allibone gives it in his *Prose Quotations of Authors* as being part of a letter from Carlyle to himself dated July 18, 1859.—EDITORS.

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But when all the bad books have been effectually thrust aside for once and for all, there are still so many left that we must make severe choice with due regard for our individual need. A few names there are with whom we should *all* become familiar. An author may be merely the fashion for a decade or so, but time must test him. In our interest in contemporary thoughts and events, we should not lose sight of the higher lights. With the greatest minds of each age we should assuredly make friends, and do not let us be content with a second-hand knowledge of these foremost names in literature, nor yet with any slight acquaintance with them. "Read much, but not many books," says one writer upon this subject and the advice is sound. In these days of commentary and criticism, the temptations are many. Amidst a library of books about Shakespeare, we are apt to forget that the very best thing *about* Shakespeare is Shakespeare's own work. George Eliot writes of Daniel Deronda:

He was ceasing to care for knowledge—he had no ambition for practice—unless they could both be gathered up into one current with his emotions; and he dreaded, as if it were a dwelling-place of lost souls, that dead anatomy of culture which turns the universe into a mere ceaseless answer to queries, and knows, not everything, but everything else *about* everything; as if one should be ignorant of nothing concerning the scent of violets except the scent itself, for which one had no nostril.

Having once mastered an author's writings be eager for any aids to a further understanding of him. Read his life, and group about it the contemporary history; read opinions, criticisms, anything that will help to a completer knowledge of the man and his work. Indeed, I think this is the best way to study history, as supplementary to the lives of the leading minds of all ages. "There is no History," says Emerson, "only Biography." So then, in my choice of books, I would read what I liked best, but also the best that I liked. I would read what I honestly felt I needed most, and I would try to range myself on the side which is "for the school of all the great men, and opposed to the school of all the small ones," and having once made friends with the greatest of the great, I would attempt to know them thoroughly and well.

We are all familiar with the cry, "I like to read so very much, but have no time." This is simply nonsense. There is no one so

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busy in this busy world of ours, but, having the true hunger for books, will find time to gratify it. If we do not read, it is because we have no earnest desire to do so. When we think of the numberless instances in which our great scholars have worked through every imaginable discouragement—poverty, sickness, unfavorable surroundings—the small excuses with which we attempt to satisfy our accusing consciences seem very small indeed. Let me read you what a recent writer has said in this connection:

We cannot all be scholars because scholarship demands uninterrupted hours, and a continuous and absorbing attention, which in most cases the demands of active life make impossible, but anyone who has access to books may become educated in a very liberal sense and without infringing on daily duties, if he only knows how to set about it. An element of the first importance is time. Many busy people declare that they have no time, but they are mistaken. They have all the time there is, and some of the world's busiest men have found that enough to make themselves accomplished in one or more departments of knowledge. The trouble is not lack of time, but wasteful habits in regard to it. Many persons entertain the idea that they must have regular and definite hours of the day or week set apart for reading in order to accomplish anything valuable. There never was a greater mistake. The busiest life has margins of time which may serve, like the borders of the old missals, to enrich and exalt the commonplaces written between.

Some readers complain that they can never remember what they have read. This is unfortunate, but is caused more, perhaps, by habits of inattention than by any natural mental defect. Some have primarily more vigorous memories than others, but drill may accomplish much. "I shall never forget," said a friend of mine once, "I shall never forget how Mr. Emerson, lecturing once in New York, turned suddenly to his audience, exclaimed 'Great is *drill*,' and closing his lecture thus abruptly, sat down." Great also, might I add, with Mr. Hamerton, is drudgery. He says:

Of all work that produces results, nine-tenths is drudgery. There is no work from the lowest to the highest that can be done well by any man who is unwilling to make that sacrifice. Part of the very nobility of the devotion of the workman to his work consists in the fact that a man is not daunted by finding that drudgery must be done; and no man can really succeed in any walk of life without a good deal of what in ordinary English is called pluck. That is the condition of all work whatever, and it is the

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condition of all success. And there is nothing which so well repays itself as this perseverance against weariness.

The only true attitude toward books is a reverential one. Let us try, for a moment, to realize the vast labor, the thought, the life-time, perhaps, required to complete a book that will live. Hear what Carlyle, one of the foremost literary men of the age, says of this.

Literature is apt to form a dangerous and discontenting occupation for the amateur. But for him whose rank and worldly comforts depend upon it, who does not live to write, but writes to live, its difficulties and perils are fearfully increased. Few spectacles are more afflicting than that of such a man, so gifted and so fated, so jostled and tossed to and fro in the rude bustle of life, the buffetings of which he is so little fitted to endure; cherishing, it may be, the loftiest thoughts, and clogged with the meanest wants; of pure and holy purposes, yet ever driven from the straight path by pressure of necessity, or the impulse of passion; thirsting for glory, and frequently in want of daily bread; hovering between the empyrean of his fancy, and the squalid desert of reality; cramped and foiled in his most strenuous exertions, dissatisfied with his best performances, disgusted with his fortune, this Man of Letters too often spends his weary days in conflicts with obscure misery; harassed, chagrined, debased or maddened; the victim at once of tragedy and farce; the last forlorn outpost in the War of Mind against Matter. Many are the noble souls that have perished bitterly with their tasks unfinished, under these corroding woes! Some in utter famine, like Otway, some in dark insanity, like Cowper and Collins; some like Chatterton have sought out a more stern quietus, and turning their indignant steps away from a world which refuses them welcome, have taken refuge in that strong fortress where poverty, and cold neglect, and the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to, could not reach them any more.

Carlyle wrote from a lifetime's saddening experience of poverty, ill-health and literary labor. George Eliot has said that she commenced the novel of *Romola* a young woman, and finished it, an old one. "My life," says Michelet, speaking of his *History*, "my life is in that book; it passed into it. It is my only event; I made it, and it has made me."

Examples meet us at every turn. The more we read of the literary life, the more we realize that literary work, that is of the higher sort, demands a life-time of unceasing toil, with very uncer-

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tain reward. When we learn how much thought and labor and self-sacrifice is demanded to do work that shall live, we then begin to know what is I think the highest knowledge for all readers—the man behind the book. “To criticise any work,” says Goethe, “we should first give ourselves up to a sympathetic appreciation of it.” “A sympathetic appreciation,” that seems to me the secret of all profitable reading. Just as sympathy must be the bond of every friendship, so sympathy alone can find for us in literature the heart beyond, and teach us the friendship of books. And yet, how often we turn to our books in a relaxed state of mind, hoping to find in them a narcotic, a sedative that will gently put us to sleep; or in another mood, from some imaginary sense of duty, we force our attention through a number of tomes, where the understanding refuses to follow. We are often called upon to deplore the neglect of literature, the demand for second-rate work, and the reading of wrong books, but it seems to me that the wrong reading of the right books is a far more deplorable thing.

Young ladies, I feel that this is all very tedious talk. Entertaining as the subject might be made, I have seen fit to confine myself to very uninteresting generalizations, for the reason that during this entire winter we hope to hear more in detail about the subject of books from the succeeding lectures. And again, an explanation is due you of my very didactic tone. Once for all, let me assure you that all the good advice is none of mine. It would be highly absurd for me, a beginner, like most of yourselves, to attempt to force upon your notice any ideas of my own upon this subject, supposing that I have any. I have simply collected the opinions of others for you, quoting very freely, and the one merit remains with me that my heart is with my subject, that I am thoroughly in earnest.

Already, in the journey of life, I have experienced the consoling power of literature; already I have learned, when hours were dark and the skies troubled, to turn to some favorite books as to an old friend, or to forget for a while the friction of small cares in the excitement of some literary search. “If I were to pray for a taste,” says Herschel, “which should stand me in stead under every variety of circumstances, and be a source of happiness and cheerfulness to me through life, and a shield against its ills, however things might

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go amiss, and the world frown upon me, it would be a taste for reading." "If I had to choose my path in life," says August Thierry, who had sacrificed his health and eyesight to his love of letters, "I would choose that which has led me where I am." I need not dwell longer on the consolation of literature, for of that you may have individual experience; but I wish for you, each one, during the winter before us, that keen pleasure and delight which goes with all earnest, intellectual work; and let me now close with some very wise words of Mr. Cyrus Hamlin's.

What things to delight in with reverence, what things to hope for, what things to love deeply and purely—that is what you want from books. To pass through the simple experiences of human nature, the responsibilities, the hopes, the griefs, as well as the gladnesses, that attach to our common lot, to taste them in their pureness, to bear them with quietness and courage, to do our work with all our heart—this is a great thing; to gain help for this is the great purpose in our reading, as in every friendship, and all endeavor. And one of the chiefest blessings of books is that they bring us the spirit of those who have felt the most deeply, and acted the most manfully. They cannot take the place of actual experience, but they prepare for it. They interpret it to us; they bring to light much that lies undiscerned in our own natures, and rightly used, guide the way to the true fellowship of patient and noble living which makes all men kin.

PART TWO

BALTIMORE, 1889-1900

*If I might be permitted to attempt another definition
of the home, I would call it . . . love under bond to
carry safely the world's freight.*

From CHARITY AND HOMEMAKING

PART TWO
BALTIMORE, 1889-1900

INTRODUCTION

WHILE during evenings and holidays Miss Richmond was studying the English classics, leading discussion groups, and rejoicing in her new-found appreciation of music, she was still tied by day to her high stool in the office of the Altamont Hotel. As her interests widened and she became conscious of new powers, the monotony and fruitlessness of her occupation wore upon her impatient spirit. The only intellectual employment open to women was teaching; but to get a position, she said, "you had to have an education or a political pull—and I had neither." While in this rebellious state of mind, she chanced upon a newspaper advertisement that looked interesting and within her scope—the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore wanted an assistant treasurer. She knew literally nothing about the Society or what it was for, but she went one rainy night for an interview with Charles J. Bonaparte, chairman of the Board of Managers, who said in recalling the incident years afterward: "She looked pathetically young and she talked like the Ancient of Days!"

She was offered the position on a temporary basis at \$50 a month—just what she was getting at the hotel. There followed a period of indecision. Her aunt thought she must be mad to consider giving up a steady job for anything so indefinite; but Miss Richmond must have caught in that momentous interview a hint of the opportunity that it opened. The organization was young and struggling; it was fighting to maintain certain ideals and it was badly in debt. The people behind it seemed sincere and good to be with. It was a challenge; she inclined to take it up. Friends encouraged her to risk the change, and gave practical value to their advice by making it possible for her to spend a week with the Associated Charities of Boston prior to undertaking the new work. Here she came in contact for the first time with a group of pioneer

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social workers who were striving to build the art of case work out of the raw materials, and particularly with Miss Zilpha D. Smith, then general secretary, who was to become the inspirer and teacher of her youth and the trusted friend and adviser of her more mature years.

Returning to Baltimore, she took up, on February 1, 1889, her duties as assistant treasurer, a position which seems to have been a combination of what would today be called financial secretary and director of publicity. In her first annual report to the Board of Directors, after nine months' work, she records that she had made 30 addresses to various groups, and that subscriptions to the Society as well as demands upon it had greatly increased. The Society had been founded in 1881, chiefly through the efforts of President Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, and had had as its general secretary during two crucial years the brilliant young social worker, Amos G. Warner. Although the latter had left the organization before she came on its staff, Miss Richmond has borne testimony to the imprint he made upon the Society. "Nothing that he did has had to be undone" she wrote at the time of his death in 1900, "and no words that he wrote or uttered then but seem equally true and important today." Others, who were active in the Society and whose influence upon Miss Richmond's future was to be great, were Charles J. Bonaparte, President Gilman, and John Glenn.¹ Mr. Glenn was quick to feel the rare ability of the young recruit to the staff. He arranged an opportunity for her to join a district case conference and become friendly visitor to several families under the Society's care, in order to know its work at first hand.

She also found time to add new outside interests, and became an active worker in the Myrtle Club, an organization of working girls. She conducted classes there, which took the place in her life of the now defunct Literature Club, and later became the Myrtle Club's president, representing it at several national conventions. An article which she called "Don't Be an Insulator," written for the *Club Worker*, October, 1899, shows her interest in working women's problems.

¹ This was an uncle of John M. Glenn, at present general director of the Russell Sage Foundation.

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Let me give just one illustration of the value of keeping connection with the current. The incident occurred in Baltimore a little over a year ago. One of the largest commercial bodies in the city announced in the papers that it intended to furnish house-rent free for six months to several hundred families to be brought to the city from smaller places, with the understanding that there were to be at least three women in each family able to operate sewing machines in factories. It was urged, in favor of the plan, that many more operators were needed by the manufacturers. Members of a girls' club to which a number of machine operators belonged made inquiries in the club as to the truth of this statement, and found that many of the largest factories were not working full time. Finding that thoughtful women in the charitable and social organizations of the city were beginning to question whether this importation of new workers would not depress wages, the club immediately joined forces with these others who were interested. A meeting was held at which the machine operators in the club were invited to state their side, and in less than a week a committee, representing five thousand women, presented a protest to the commercial organization, and the whole matter was dropped. This was not accomplished by the little handful of factory workers who happened to belong to a girls' club, but it would hardly have been accomplished without them. They made connection with that strong sentiment, growing stronger every day, that an injustice to any one social group, however small, is an injustice to the whole community. From that healthy current of public feeling the club was fortunate enough not to be cut off; consciously or unconsciously, it had resolved that it would not be an insulator. . . .

Miss Richmond thus found herself for the first time in a situation where her daily occupation was a challenge to her intellect. One can imagine with what joyousness and energy she must have risen to the new occasion. The Charity Organization movement in America was only about ten years old. It was organized as a protest against unco-ordinated and unintelligent relief-giving, and its uncompromising attack upon pauperism and mendicancy won it many enemies among sentimental givers. In the beginning a distinctly unpopular movement, it eventually won public support by the inescapable logic of its platform, and its habit of supporting its contentions by more pertinent facts than its opponents were able to assemble. No central relief funds, no indiscriminate public assistance, thorough investigation of all applications for relief, and active deterrence of fraudulent claims, were cardinal principles in

its creed. On the positive side, it showed courage from the first in attacking community causes of poverty and political corruption. It fostered co-operation between social agencies and individuals, to the end that duplication and waste of effort might be avoided, and it stood for a democratic relationship between the privileged and the non-privileged, by means of "friendly visiting," or volunteer social service. Friendliness was offered as a program to bridge the gap between rich and poor; and emphasis was laid on the reciprocal nature of the relationship—the friendly visitor getting as much as she gave.

These concepts were enthusiastically accepted by Miss Richmond, and with modifications retained all her life. They are stated fully in *What Is Charity Organization?*¹ published in 1900 as she was leaving Baltimore, but her second annual report as assistant treasurer, written ten years earlier, is an admirably concise statement of several of them.

In the present state of society, where man recognizes imperfectly his duty toward his neighbor, a substitute for individual neglect, in the form of a well organized relief-giving society, is necessary in every large city. But the dangers of such a substitute can only be counteracted by a society which shall organize individual effort for constructive work amongst the poor. The need of such a society for the organization of charity has been recognized in almost every large city in our own country and abroad, and the experience of the whole world has been that, as soon as the charity organization society becomes a relief-giving society also, it signs its own death-warrant; the lower function invariably swallows up the higher.

"If you don't give direct relief with all this money, what do you do with it? How does it really help the poor?" we are sometimes asked. Our largest items are rent and salaries. We furnish the whole time of seven experienced charity workers, who shall consider and do their best to find relief for every possible form of need, and shall make their seven offices centers where the distressed and unfortunate may be brought into friendly relations with the more fortunate, where an organized corps of volunteer visitors may follow up these cases and make them, if possible, self-supporting, and where a free register may be kept of work wanted and workers wanted, for the mutual benefit of employers and employed. Each one of these agents has caused the spending of large sums which were purposely never recorded by our Society, because the money came from friend to

¹ See p. 131 of the present volume.

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friend, and we interfere with this personal contact only in so far as we give it direction.

As a volunteer visitor in one of our districts, I persuaded an acquaintance to spend about \$50 on a family for which I was visitor. The money came directly from him to them, and, though he cannot have the satisfaction of seeing his name down for that amount in our annual statement, he has the greater satisfaction of knowing that he has removed a family to a cheaper and cleaner home, saving them \$5.00 a month in rent, has stopped their begging, raised one of their number from a bed of sickness, and sent three of the children to school.

In the spring of 1890, the National Conference of Charities and Correction met in Baltimore, and this gave Miss Richmond a valuable opportunity to know the leaders of the movement and to hear their views. She was particularly impressed by Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell's paper on "The Economic and Moral Effects of Public Outdoor Relief," from which she often quoted in later years.

It was becoming evident that in its assistant treasurer, the Society possessed a potential director of high capacity. When a vacancy occurred in the general secretaryship early in 1891, John Glenn, "who being blind yet saw," urged upon the incoming President, Daniel C. Gilman, that Miss Richmond was the logical person to fill it. In spite of her comparative youth, her sex and her lack of academic training (the two preceding secretaries had been Johns Hopkins men) she was elected general secretary on January 25, 1891, and assumed the office the following April. The Society was by that time out of debt, and its subscription list, income and volume of work continued to show a steady increase year by year during the decade that Miss Richmond directed its policies.

The next year she attended the National Conference in Denver, and she and Miss Zilpha D. Smith, a member of the Appalachian Club, spent their holiday together in the mountains of Colorado. A delightful story which she used to tell illustrates their relationship. On one occasion, when their goal was a certain peak, Miss Richmond, always the more impetuous of the two, repeatedly announced that they had got to the summit, but Miss Smith still pointed out farther heights ahead. When finally they attained it, Miss Richmond exclaimed: "I know now how you can tell when you have reached the top; you have a view from all sides!" The

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elder woman kindly but drily replied, "See that you remember that."

In 1893, the Society under Miss Richmond's direction began to issue the *Baltimore Charities Record*, modeled more or less upon the *London Charity Organisation Review*. Several of the articles to follow appeared in this little journal.

Since her breakdown in New York in 1880, Miss Richmond's health had given her friends much concern. She was induced to follow as prudent a regimen as possible, but she persistently overworked, and is described during these years as being slender to the point of emaciation. Her good friend, Mr. Glenn, induced her to take lessons in posture, voice production and control of breathing, which helped to correct the tendency to phthisis. During the summer of 1894, she had a serious illness, and was in Johns Hopkins Hospital (then newly opened) for many weeks with typhoid fever. She has told of her experience in the paper *In Hospital*.¹ Her convalescence was long, but as sometimes happens, her health subsequent to the attack was better than it had previously been, and she gained permanently in weight.

In 1895, she made her first speech outside Baltimore, addressing the National Conference of Charities and Correction at New Haven on *Married Vagabonds*.² The following year was saddened by the loss of the guiding hand of John Glenn. It was enriched, however, by her acquaintance with the beloved English leader of the movement, Charles Loch (later Sir Charles), who spoke at a meeting of the Society and in one of his inimitable phrases, defined charity organization as "love working with discernment." During this year, she was offered the position of assistant secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society at a considerable increase of salary, but she declined to leave Baltimore at that time.

Miss Richmond brought with her into her new profession the same passion for teaching which was characteristic of her pre-professional days. She saw at once that lack of training, of intellectual background, was hampering the development of the new field. She did much individual training of the case workers on her staff, having them come to her rooms for long evenings of reading and discussion. She prepared a manual of instruction for them, stimu-

¹ See p. 165 of the present volume.

² See p. 69 of present volume.

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lated the formation of libraries in the district offices and conducted a course for friendly visitors. Out of all the material she gathered, she was presently to fashion her first book,¹ but meanwhile she sounded at the National Conference in Toronto, in 1897, a clear call for professional training for case workers in a paper entitled *The Need of a Training School*.²

A few months before she gave this address, she had said, "If my life is a long one, I hope to see a school of philanthropy, too, before I die." This hope was fulfilled the very next year, when the New York Charity Organization Society opened its Summer School of Applied Philanthropy out of which later developed the New York School of Social Work. In the summer of 1899, she was giving a course of lectures in this school.

The closing year of her service in Baltimore, 1899, saw the publication of *Friendly Visiting*, which brought her wide recognition as a leader in social work. The Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity had decided to reorganize, and in seeking the best person to direct this Herculean task, turned to the neighboring city of Baltimore, whose brilliant young general secretary was making a national reputation. Two considerations induced Miss Richmond to accept the offer. In her letter of resignation, she says in part:

The future of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society seems to me now to be assured, and I am convinced that the work remaining to be done here can be done quite as well and probably better with the assistance of some other secretary. Believing this, I have examined in some detail the situation in Philadelphia, and feel that I can be more useful there. . . . I believe I am doing the best thing for the cause of charity organization in going.

"Philadelphia's philanthropic giant," founded by its own size and complexity, presented a challenge she could not but accept. Her farewell in the *Charities Record* to her colleagues and friends was in part as follows:

The Editor has been glad to recognize, as underlying all the expressions of personal regret that have come to her—as their keynote, in fact—the sense of loyalty to the Baltimore Charity Organization Society and its

¹ *Friendly Visiting among the Poor*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1899.

² See p. 99 of the present volume.

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aims. Success and failure are very relative terms, but the retiring general secretary will not count herself in any degree successful in her eleven years of work here, unless after she leaves, the work continues to go forward, and the workers continue to give to it that measure of personal devotion without which any thorough organization of charity is impossible. . . .

It is her firm conviction that only as this force of volunteers grows under wise leadership, will the charitable spirit of the community grow. And only as the charitable spirit of the community grows will certain other conditions that she longs to see improved become better. The conditions that hedge about the lives of poor children, for instance, will never be much better, until many charitable people know what the present conditions are. She hopes and believes that Baltimore will get a compulsory education law, that child labor will come to be regarded here as the abomination that it really is, that we will insist upon proper care for the feeble-minded and epileptic; but the sluggish public can never make these things altogether right until many of that public have had personal contact with the woes that their neglect is manufacturing.

Then there is a large class of more constructive measures, such as the provision of better social opportunities, better amusements, cleaner and cheaper pleasures, and popular educational opportunities for adults, together with manual training for all the boys and girls, and better sanitation for everybody; but when the former secretary comes back to her old home, she will not expect to find much larger powers granted to the Board of Health and Education, or much greater activity in any of these more hopeful forms of social service, until through the districts of the Charity Organization Society or by some other means, the comfortable people in many of our so very comfortable homes have been made uncomfortable by personal contact with and personal care for the less comfortable classes.

Twelve years later, she went back to speak at the annual meeting of the Federated Charities on Lessons Learned in Baltimore. In that speech,¹ honoring those who had "touched, moved, taught" her during the beginning of her professional years, she returns tribute of affection to the city of her youth.

¹ See p. 292 of the present volume.



MARY E. RICHMOND, 1887

THE FRIENDLY VISITOR

(Hitherto Unpublished)

Miss Richmond's first important speech in public was delivered at the annual meeting of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore in 1890, just before her appointment as general secretary. Her call for a thousand untrained volunteers is a mark of youth and inexperience. For the gradual development of her views on volunteer service, certain papers in this volume might be read in the following order:

Friendly Visiting
The Case for the Volunteer
To the Volunteers of 1915
Making a Beginning
The Long View
Possibilities of the Art of Helping

See also her three well-known books, *Friendly Visiting among the Poor*, *The Good Neighbor in the Modern City*, and *What Is Social Case Work?*

ON THE night of the election held in New York, one of the city police was detailed from headquarters to prevent mischief from bonfires within a certain precinct. I don't know how policemen usually proceed with such work, but this one went about the streets, gathered together the boys who were out ready to celebrate, and organized them into a volunteer fire brigade. Lighting bonfires was good fun, but it was even better fun to play firemen; and rumor says that these boys fairly struggled for the honor of holding the hose. I feel much indebted to that policeman, not only because he has furnished me an illustration tonight but because he has set me thinking. His act has all the simplicity of genius, and he must have reasoned, consciously or unconsciously, somewhat in this fashion: This impulse of boys to be up and stirring is in itself a good thing. Some crusty people think boys troublesome, but, for my part, I think they need nothing but organization and direction to make them very useful.

Now you may have heard certain crusty political economists

declare that charity—the impulse which makes one anxious to do something for his fellow beings—is all wrong; that it does nothing but prolong the survival and the miseries of the “unfit,” adding fuel to the baleful fires of pauperism and crime. But the Charity Organization Society, with an energy and directness only equaled by that policeman, responds, “Not at all! The charitable impulse is a good thing, perhaps the very best thing we have in the world. Only let us give it organization and direction, and we’ll *put out* your bonfire.”

Acting upon this declaration, it has organized, as a part of its work, and the most important part, as it believes, a system of Volunteer or Friendly Visiting. In districting our city and finding out the condition of the unfortunate in the districts, we have aimed to send to each family that needs an uplifting hand, a patient, persevering, faithful friend, who, by the power of that strongest thing on earth, personal influence, will gradually teach them habits of industry and self-control.

The growth of the charitable impulse in our own time is amazing. Time was when all charity work was done by women and clergymen; but you have only to look about you tonight to see how that has changed. But with this new spirit there comes a new need, discipline. If you would be really a help to the poor you must accept, first of all, the discipline of limitation, and recognize the fact that no *one* person can make the world over. You cannot be a real friend to very many. Our own experience is that you cannot help more than two or three families successfully. But having assumed this relation, you should not lightly give it up; you should never lose sight of them again.

I remember hearing from a Quakeress in Philadelphia, a charming old lady, the story of her struggles through fifteen years with a family to whom she had been a friendly visitor. There was a large family of children and a drunken father; she had stood faithfully by them in all their trials, helping the overworked mother to raise the children and get them places; and with much striving, they had kept the family together until better days came at last. “Do you ever see them now?” I asked. “Yes,” she said, “I am growing too old to go about much, but they visit me often, like any other friends and neighbors.” That is the relation we seek to establish,

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a relation as helpful to the well-to-do visitor as to the family visited.

Another limitation which cannot be too much insisted upon, is the keeping your relations with the less fortunate as natural as possible. It is not natural for us to regard our friends as sources of supplies, and it is not natural for the poor to so regard you. If you are going to be a *friend*, fertile in helpful suggestions, sympathetic and kind, you cannot be an almoner too. I heard a Boston friendly visitor say, last spring, that she had never regretted anything so much in all her work as a loan of \$2.00 which she had made to one of her cases, for it took months to re-establish friendly relations with the woman, who was unable to repay it. Where a visitor finds that money or other relief is absolutely needed, she should see that it is sent from some other source.

Life in these great cities of ours, where the problems of civilization are being worked out before our very eyes, is an intensely interesting thing; but those who have given the matter any thought, cannot but see with anxiety the rapidly widening gulf between class and class—the rich growing richer, and the poor poorer. Do not hope to right the evil by material gifts. You are only adding fuel to the fire. But a much simpler thing would do it—a thing so simple that I am afraid you will not believe in it—simple friendliness. Think for a moment how our own lives are made better by the strength of personal influence, how we rise to better things because they are expected of us, and then think, if it were only possible to take all the well-to-do of our city—all who possess a certain standard of right living—and possible to place them in natural friendly relations with the less fortunate and less disciplined—think what a different city this would be. Through all the alleys and by-ways, through all the miles of wretched commonplace and squalor, into each miserable semblance of a home, it would bring a new standard of decency, order, and self-control, a new hope and expectancy, to which the poor would slowly but surely rise.

And now, last of all, is this an idle dream? No dream at all, for it is founded upon a principle as lasting and ever present as the law of gravity itself, and we have applied it, moreover. We have a little band of 150 volunteers here in Baltimore, struggling, it is true, with a task altogether too large for them, yet doing excellent

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work. We need a thousand more at once, and to you, the public, we look for recruits. Life is very full of duties, I know. Not every one can follow the example of General Booth's soldiers and give up all to work amongst the fallen. Perhaps that is just as well, for I find that those of us who do nothing else often fail to bring the necessary brightness and freshness to our work. But certainly all of us, even the busiest, have some margin of time, and we do not ask for much; and all of us, the least experienced, can easily master the few principles involved. It seems to me that only two things are necessary in order to do good work amongst the poor: one is much good will, and the other is a little tact.

Shall we ever accomplish the work we have set ourselves to do? I cannot say. It rests with you. I only know that I envy that New York policeman who had the power to rouse enthusiasm in a good cause and then direct it. What he did in his own place, we would do in ours. Put out the fires; put out the fires of hopeless misery, of intemperance, of wrong relations of man to man, and plant God's sunlight there in place of them.

CRITICISM AND REFORM IN CHARITY

A lecture delivered before the Social Science Club of the Woman's College, Baltimore, in 1896, and printed in the *Charities Review*, February, 1896. It develops a different point of view on volunteer service from that in the preceding paper, *The Friendly Visitor*, namely, the part to be played by the board member. In its deprecation of wholesale legislative methods, and its emphasis on the need of good public administration, it is prophetic of Miss Richmond's later work in the field of marriage laws.

I PROPOSE to speak to you this afternoon of a few current criticisms of charity, and of how these criticisms may affect your attitude toward charitable reforms.

Those of us who have given years to the work of organizing the charities of our American cities have had lately an experience which, though old enough and common enough in the world's history, was a novel one in ours. It is simply that we have awakened on an autumn morning to find ourselves no longer young; for you must know that we, the apostles of "the new charity," the prophesiers of strange things, who often have felt egregiously virtuous under the scourgings of conservatism and of the old fogies—we ourselves, it would appear, are accused of conservatism, we too are regarded as old fogies. If ours ever deserved the title of "new charity" (I seriously doubt it) the claim is now nullified by critics with a taste for the superlative, who come forward as champions of "the *newest* charity,"¹ which is commissioned, so far as I am able to understand it, to engage in the considerable undertaking of securing fair wages for everybody.

It is not clear that we have been able to accomplish one-tenth of our old task, but here is a new one; not yet successful in our race with footmen, we are expected to contend with horses. This is the attitude of one considerable group of critics, who are striving to extend charitable boundaries in every possible direction. On

¹ Crafts, Rev. Wilbur F., "The New Charity and the Newest." In the *Charities Review*, November, 1895.

the other hand, there are those who, so far from urging an extension of charitable territory, are prepared to recommend that charity organizationists and all other philanthropic workers should abandon the field and make way for a new order of things. They cannot advise the younger generation to engage in work which they regard as an anachronism, soon to be superseded by a state of society in which charitable effort will be quite unnecessary. These two views would seem to be antagonistic, but this is not the case. They are often held by one and the same person, who criticizes us severely for not doing more than we do, and who also criticizes us with equal severity for doing anything.

The discovery that we are no longer so young as we once were—that we are, in fact, quite middle-aged—has not shocked us charity organizationists into entire submission to the judgment of our juniors, though I grant you that we have much to learn from them. There are dangers in advancing age which we cannot afford to ignore. One of the greatest of these is rigidity. We have fought a good fight and have won a good name for ourselves, but there's no magic in the name. Unless we are careful to cut the dead wood from out our boards of management and replace it by good timber, unless we follow up the negative and repressive side of our work by closer and more helpful contact with the daily lives of those we aim to help, unless we get more friendly visitors and train more thoroughly those we have, we shall—like many a better thing—have served our day and go to the wall. Such work as ours needs infinite patience for detail, and yet a patience which is never lost in detail—which preserves its identity. The fact is, we are trying to grapple with the whole charitable mass. That is work which our critics have not yet attempted, but we should be glad that ours is the opportunity to pass on to this mass any wisdom which these young explorers in higher regions may discover.

On the other hand, they might learn something from our early blunders, which some of them are in great danger of repeating. Many of our charity organization societies are paying today for the too abundant "cocksureness" of their earlier period. It was a pardonable fault of youth, yet it alienated many forces which might have been helpful to us. We were much given to playing with figures, to proving how easily the percentage of pauperism might

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be reduced—on paper. Some of the mere machinery of our work, which time has proved clumsy and inefficient, we were inordinately proud of. Our later annual reports will be found, by comparison with the early ones, to be modest documents; we are no longer quite so sure of what we already have accomplished, and, though time has confirmed our faith in first principles, we are nothing like so sure of what can be accomplished.

It seems to me that our societies are destined in the future to stand between the charitable Scylla of an old foggy conservatism, and the charitable Charybdis of state socialism: the one would convert them into convenient detective agencies for the protection of the rich, the other would make them the medium of every misguided effort to save mankind by a jugglery known as "government intervention." Once clear of these dangers we shall stand, if true to our trust, for an enlightened and unselfish individualism; we shall become, as someone phrases it, the "champions of the middle ground"—a role which well becomes our middle-age. If you are inclined to regard this as an easy compromise, I would remind you that it is the attitude of Mr. Pickwick between the enraged and rival editors, and that we shall probably receive, as he did, the shovel upon one side of the head, and the tongs upon the other.

One such missile appeared in the Charities Review for April, 1895, under the title of "Democracy and Charity." Passing over its writer's criticism that our lists of "co-operating agencies" contain no acknowledgment of relief given by the poor themselves, to which the answer is obvious enough that such lists do not include the individual benevolence of either rich or poor, we come to his main contention, which is that charitable organizations exclude from participation in their work the trade-unionist, where "his ripe experience and mature judgment would afford the best corrective to the raw sentiment of the beginner in charity. . . . Why, then," the charge continues, "is he not to be found upon charity boards and district committees? Either because he has not been asked or because the conditions upon which he has been asked were not such as to imply a co-operation upon equal terms, in accepting which his independence might be secure. In the great majority of cases he has not been asked at all." Here it is assumed, first of all, that the attitude of the trade-unionist toward our

charitable undertakings is one of sympathetic and intelligent interest—interest which has been snubbed. As a matter of fact, he refers to us in his labor journals as a lot of canting hypocrites, whose knowledge, motives, and methods are beneath contempt. This were not an unpardonable sin if his own knowledge and methods showed any advance upon our own, but, when confronted with a concrete charitable problem, he usually shows that same “raw sentiment of the beginner,” which, according to our critic, he is to correct in us. Just as though a man should denounce the science of medicine and all its practitioners, but falling sick, should prove easy prey for the first quack doctor. Suppose this sick man had a friend—to carry the illustration a step farther—would he play a friend’s part by joining him in his senseless clamor, or would he not, rather, do him a lasting service by teaching him to recognize the natural limitations of an experimental science?

This unjust criticism on the part of the trade-unions and their friends undoubtedly has had the usual result, and has thrown us somewhat out of sympathy with the workingman’s perfectly just claims. It is inconsistent for anyone who believes that charity should be organized to deny to labor the right of organization also, and it is quite certain, furthermore, that organized charities must be hampered greatly in their work until they win the workingman over to a sounder and less sentimental view of the pauper and his rights. As workingmen assume more responsibility, not only in charitable but in other administrative functions, it is to be hoped that this may be brought about, for there is no better corrective of sentimentality than responsibility.

To the implied suggestion that trade-unions should be invited to send representatives to charitable societies, there is the valid objection that the method of organizing boards and committees on the representative system—inviting one man from the Board of Trade, another from the Order of Heptasophs, or still another from the trade-unions—is an artificial method, and a body so constituted soon falls apart. The best reason for putting a man or woman in any position of charitable trust is that he or she is honestly interested in it and intelligently informed about it, and the reason why so many persons hold these positions who are neither the one nor the other is not because the invitation has not been general enough,

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but because so few avail themselves of it. It is unfair to hint that there is no place made for workers without means. On the contrary, our more progressive charities recognize that a long purse, without great self-restraint on the part of its owner, is a positive hindrance to effective charitable service. It paralyzes ingenuity, and too often is used as a substitute for thoughtful and radical action. It has never occurred to me to classify with reference to their incomes the hundreds of friendly visitors known to me in my own and other cities, but I am sure that a majority have small incomes, and that a considerable number are the wives and daughters of mechanics. To speak of them in this way is undemocratic and snobbish, but the author of "Democracy and Charity" forces this point of view upon me—it is not my own.

Painters tell us that among the uninstructed there is either a positive aversion to color, and a preference for black and white copies, or else a very timid use of color, which finds safety in a low-keyed scale of browns and grays. On the other hand, actual practice of the technique of painting is usually accompanied, in the student-stage at least, by an inflamed and irritated color sense, which delights in sharp and violent contrasts and rude surprises. Development out of this apprentice stage brings an approximate return to the lower key again, though it is unnecessary to say that it is a return "with a difference." It seems to me that the student-stage of painting is not without a parallel in the student-stage of social studies. The student of social science has for a time an inflamed and irritated sense of social wrongs, and delights in violent remedies.

One such student records the results of two months' charity work in Cincinnati in an article in the June, 1895, *Lend a Hand*, entitled, "A Life Class in Sociology." When you consider that "each student was assigned as a friendly visitor to several poor families, whose problems he could make his own and study them out carefully, all the while giving himself in genuine sympathy, counsel and service"; when you are told, moreover, that a mastery of the office routine of the Associated Charities "was *gradually* attained in the course of the eight weeks' course," and that a systematic investigation of the sweating system and of the tenement-house evil was undertaken by members of the class, and that charitable and

correctional institutions in and outside the city were inspected—when you learn of all these various undertakings as they are enumerated proudly by the author in this article, you will not be astonished to find that some of its conclusions are very crude. For instance, prisons are altogether bad—the best and the worst; the Associated Charities should rise to its opportunity and take charge of the distribution of labor; and then this statement for the imposing but vague conclusion: “Although I entered upon the work of the class as preparation for the duties of general secretary of the Associated Charities of Des Moines, a louder call impels me further into the front of the battle, where I may hope to join my exertions with those of us who are seeking to stop the slaughter by most quickly bringing in the reign of Justice.” One wonders just what he intends to do; but, from hints dropped here and there in the article, it is pretty certain that he intends to do something dreadful to what he calls “our outgrown individualistic social system.”

Let this and the article on “Democracy and Charity,” previously referred to, stand for a very considerable class of articles now finding their way into print, all of them written with such good intentions, such genuine enthusiasm, that it seems almost unkind to point out that their authors have a very superficial knowledge of the charities they attempt to criticize. Either they assume that the tasks we already have attempted are trivial and unimportant, or else that these tasks have been or are about to be accomplished. I think I can prove to you, if any proof is needed, that such assumptions are erroneous. These writers are much given, moreover, to vague talk about new social systems, but it is not proved that any new social system will render prisons and reformatories, workhouses and asylums unnecessary. The best way to render a human institution unnecessary is to make it as nearly perfect as possible. That the inmates now discharged from prisons, reformatories, and workhouses often are made worse by detention there, is largely a fault of the administration. Believing, as I do, that good administration is the best hope of all our charities, public and private, you will not wonder that I regret the present temper of these magazine writers, and of the intelligent and thoughtful people besides, who have given some time to the study of charitable

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theory. Their attitude is too often one of aloofness, of critical disapproval; and even in some of our college settlements this spirit is manifest—an unwillingness to engage in and slowly better the old things which still occupy and must continue to occupy the field, and a preference for congenial and independent undertakings which do not and cannot affect the charitable mass.

The question of how the charitable mass can best be affected brings me to the second half of my subject; namely, your own attitude toward charitable reforms. Let us suppose that you have completed your college course and have returned to your own homes, or have made your home in some community other than this one. So far as the theory of charitable administration and poor relief is a branch of social science, you have studied, thought, and written about it; and it is with a thrill of genuine interest that you turn to the practical working out of charitable problems in your own town or city.

What do you find? My generalization is as unsafe as most generalizations are, but probably you find an almshouse so administered as to manufacture paupers; reformatories which do not reform; a county jail under political management; and a house of correction where there is no proper separation of young and hardened, of male and female offenders, and where politicians on the board of managers, in terror of the trade-unions, have banished any adequate supply of employment. The hospital for the indigent insane is likely to be overcrowded and without classification, and it may be that the nursing of the indigent sick is entrusted to convalescents. Turning to the private charities, you find a number of orphans' homes—such a number as to create, perhaps, an artificial demand for orphans—sending their children out, after years of coddling, into a world where the wind is not tempered to the shorn lamb. You find a long established relief society administering homœopathic doses of fuel and provisions for every human ill. You find the usual church charities, including sewing schools and kindergartens for the children, clubs for the boys and girls, and mothers' missions, reading rooms and the like for adults.

Many of these church charities, affecting only a small number of

the poor, are not so clumsy as larger undertakings, and are better managed for this reason. You may find yourselves attracted to them and absorbed by them, but more likely you are most in sympathy with the group of people who do not work with any of the established agencies, because they find the managements too well satisfied with a disgraceful state of affairs, and find them unwilling, moreover, in their small local pride, to learn from the experience of other communities or of charitable specialists. Some of this group of the unaffiliated find an easy relief for their feelings in reading papers and in printing them. Others, of a more practical turn, may try to secure better legislation for the cure of existing evils, though they soon find that, in a community not educated to realize these evils, such laws are not easily enforced. Others, of a still more practical turn, may try to establish a college settlement, with its usual adjuncts of clubs, classes, reading rooms, debating societies, and so forth.

Now I would not be misunderstood when I say that, in nine cases out of ten, this last step is unwise. The college or social settlement, when under competent management, seems to me the highest development of the charitable impulse—a development which has a great future before it. But the higher the development and the more delicate the adjustment, the greater the chance of failure and wreck. We have the best authority, none other than Miss Jane Addams, for the statement that the settlement idea has been overworked. It is a pity to waste so much time on the cornice of the house when the foundations need strengthening. If an undue proportion of the men and women best capable by character and training of grappling with the fundamental problems of poor relief are attracted away from them by the settlements and by an impatient desire for novelty, we are going to gain but little from that special college instruction in philanthropic theory on which such high hopes have been builded.

I know that birds of a feather, by a natural instinct, flock together. It is a dull and uninteresting thing for a bird of scientific attainment to serve on charity boards where he must listen week after week to the solemn cawings of those older birds, the senior members. But if culture means anything, it means the conquest of our natural instincts, and the substitution for them of a sym-

thetic and patient appreciation of the lives and aims of creatures least like ourselves. We are quick enough to see that this applies in our dealings with the poor themselves, but we are slow to see its relation to that large class who, from varying motives and with varying success, are striving to care for the poor.

To return to your own community, you will find, if it happens to be about the size of this city, that—leaving individual benevolence out of account—fully a million and a half is expended annually in charity. Well or ill, for better or worse, this sum and more, as the city grows, will be expended year after year. The charitable body is like a diseased human body; some parts are overnourished and some parts are insufficiently nourished. Unless your city is an exceptional one, you find that some kinds of charity work are overdone and others are neglected, that some recipients get more than is good for them, and that others do not get enough. All this implies a diseased and congested circulation, in more senses than one; but I beg you to note that, unless you carry your training where it is most needed, you increase this congestion; and my plea is not only for a better and more healthy circulation of charitable funds, but for a better circulation of charitable intelligence. When its work is naturally attractive and progressive, it is possible that, for all practical purposes, a society may have too much intelligence. It should take a survey of the field and send workers where they are most needed.

The more lovable classes of dependents are often amply cared for. If I were in charge of a model institution for foundlings, I do not believe I could be entirely happy in my work while I knew that imbecile women were allowed to become mothers in our almshouses. If I were interested in an industrial home for vagrant men and women, I could not rest content while the public workhouse was merely a temporary retreat where such vagrants recover from one debauch before beginning another. If I were working in a mission for wayward girls, I could not keep quiet, knowing that such girls are often detained in reformatories after they have deserved a discharge, because they are good machine operators, and earn money for the institution. Such abuses exist, as you very well know, but they do not exist because almshouses, workhouses and reformatories are necessarily bad, but because we and such as

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we have shirked responsibility, and have left their management too often to people who are kindly enough and well-intentioned enough, but without any special aptitude or training for their work.

After you have had time to look about you in your home, and are ready to begin active service, it might be well to begin as deliberately as this: make a list of the five or six societies or institutions in your city which, as at present conducted, seem to be doing the most harm. Ask yourself concerning each one, can this society or institution be abolished without rendering the creation of another such organization necessary? If not, there are latent powers for good there which you can help to develop. Get yourself appointed—the thing is often not at all difficult—to the managing boards of one or two of these organizations, and then, in the words of Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, devote yourself to “working out your principles rather than flourishing them.” When those who have the knowledge have also the patience and tact, it is wonderful to see how much can be accomplished in a comparatively short time, and surely to turn a bad thing into a good one is worth infinite pains. This is our doctrine for the friendly visitor in the family, and it holds true of charitable organizations as well.

You may wonder that I do not advise all of you to become friendly visitors and managers of charity organization societies; but, if I ever had any such one-sided view of our work, time has taught me that the legitimate charitable enterprises of a community hang together—the success of one is the success of all, the failure of one the failure of all. If there is any charitable work in Baltimore which does not affect our charity organization work and which is not, in turn, affected by it, I have yet to know of it. There are many so-called charities which are entirely unnecessary, and do not meet any real need in the community; in these our interest is, of course, purely negative. I have seen much good money and precious time wasted in keeping up such enterprises, before they have died a lingering death, and the one lesson they can have for us is the exceeding folly of starting new charities before it is clear that they are needed. Too often these weaklings are the offspring of a silly denominational rivalry. But it is unnecessary to enlarge upon this point. You will not let your denominational pride, nor

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even your pride in Alma Mater, lead you into duplicating charitable work.

It is difficult, within my time limit, to be as specific and definite as I could wish. I hope, however, that I have made one principle of action perfectly clear; namely, that you should try to turn to the best possible account all the charitable machinery—the organizations, endowments, buildings, and workers—already in the field. This is the conservative method and the historical method.

There are certain hindrances; and in some parts of our country and in some departments of work, the fact that you are women will be one of these. Here in Maryland we are still saddled with an artificial division of charitable labor between the sexes. Men monopolize official and impersonal service, women care for the private and more personal side of the work. Many of our institutions have a board of managers, all men, to shape the financial and general policy, and an auxiliary board of women to potter over the details. Under this arrangement, it is no wonder that some of our most capable paid officials have a horror of “lady managers.” I am not one of those who demand “recognition” for Woman, in season and out of season—nothing concerns me less, and when I mention that our Society for the Protection of Children has not a woman connected with it, I am not thinking of Woman, I am thinking of the children. A majority of the volunteers in our largest relief society are women, though they have no voice in the central management. You will not find it worth your while to give your services in the work of a society so constituted, unless there is some prospect of a reorganization.

I am leaving myself little time to illustrate the method which I advocate. The fact is, it would be rash to tell you about the charitable reforms of which I have any personal knowledge. Merely to describe how they were brought about would be to assist in their undoing. I seek my illustration at a safe distance, therefore, and take an orphan asylum in another city, an old foundation far out-dating the system of public schools, and so hopelessly antiquated that no one ever thought of doing anything but shake the head over it, until one progressive woman got on the board, and then, by her invitation, another and another, and first the children were sent to the public schools; then the time-honored custom of letting

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a contagious disease take its course through the institution was abolished, and so a new life began for those orphans. Another institution, one for homeless men, was so disgracefully managed that to accept a position on its board was to share the disgrace, but two or three courageous men, who were not afraid of unpopularity, have succeeded in making it a model of its kind. Sometimes an elderly man or woman, who has done good work but is no longer fitted for an executive position, will retard progress, and younger workers, growing impatient, will drop out. In one society known to me, people objected to accepting vacant positions on the board because "——— was such a bore." But it turned out that —— only needed judicious managing, and that a very little patience could have effected five years ago what has been effected now.

These are very sober ideals which I have been trying to set before you. A knowledge of the facts is often fatal to fine writing. That "Life Class in Sociology" article could not have been half so fine if the author had known his facts. After acknowledging that the workhouse in Cincinnati is well managed, that the inmates are warmly clad, abundantly fed, and not overworked, he adds, "But you or I would not, I'm sure, put such degradation as we put on these children of our Father upon a blood brother or sister; nay," he continues in a great burst, "we would not so inflict and disgrace a dog that we loved, whatever the offense." If the Cincinnati authorities had gone out and dragged respectable citizens off the street by force, to detain them in the workhouse, he could not have been more indignant. But I venture to believe that the responsibility of having to care for the semi-criminal, workhouse remnant of Cincinnati's population for one short week, would have sobered this contributor; the facts of the case would have destroyed his rhetorical periods.

I close, then, as I began, still taking the middle-aged view that the world is not going to be made over entirely in my day, or even in yours. If all this seems to you in a depressingly low-keyed color scale, I may confess that I too have had my period of inflamed color sense, when the fanfare of the socialist program made it a very alluring program indeed. But I venture to believe that a return to less highly colored views on social questions was not the return of timidity, but a return "with a difference," with a hopeful

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faith in the slow, orderly development of the human character and human destiny. I am well aware that the field of charitable endeavor is only one of many fields in which our labors may prepare the way for this development. A worker in this particular field, who has given years of patient attention to detail, once said to a discouraged assistant, "My dear, we must not hope that things will get very much better in our day. We are working in order that our children's children may administer their charities more wisely." Amid all the feverish, intermittent activity of our time; amid scatter-brained reformers who vociferate for this reform to-day only to turn their backs upon it and chase another fancy to-morrow; amid hysterical philanthropists and would-be saviors of mankind, who waste so much of our time and the world's time, my thoughts turn always with a genuine refreshment to the little group of workers who are patiently striving that "our children's children may administer their charities more wisely." Will you not join this group? They can promise you no immediate and brilliant results, but many burdens and small praise. The work of making crooked paths straight is not, however, without its modest rewards.

THE PROFESSION AND PRACTICE OF BEGGING

(Hitherto Unpublished)

An address delivered in 1891 before the East Baltimore Business Men's Association. Miss Richmond quoted from this paper in her book, *The Good Neighbor*.

IN THE popular discussions of beggary and its causes, there are two ways of accounting for the beggar. One is to say that nothing but pure laziness is his reason for being, and the other is to declare that the conditions of society are all wrong, and that to make over these conditions is to transform the vagrant into a useful citizen at once. I cannot accept either of these views myself, without much modification. I know that there are a great many people "born lazy," who will never do one stroke more of the world's work than direct necessity forces them to, but this is a negative characteristic, and even these people have certain positive cravings and instincts. I think I have discovered two in almost every variety of beggar: one is the roving instinct, and another is the gaming instinct.

If you will bear with me a moment, before I turn to the practical part of my subject, I should like to convince you that this is not altogether fanciful. I don't know how many in this audience have had the intention to run away from home one time or another in their childhood, or how many carried the intention into effect, but we all know what a common thing it is for children to attempt to right their wrongs in this way. Maggie Tulliver was not the only little girl who hoped to end all her woes by running away to the gypsies, and gypsies have a fascination for every normal-minded child. I never look into the face of a vagrant and hear his tale of aimless wanderings—and I hear it almost every day in the year—without recognizing this primal instinct of the rover, which is my instinct and your instinct too, only conquered in us by other and stronger motives.

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Again, you may never have thought of him in this way, but man is a gaming animal. From the wharf-rat on our docks tossing pennies (heads or tails?) to the millionaire on the stock exchange, what a fascination the uncertainty, the suspense, the fluctuations of luck, the chance of getting something for nothing, has for him! No one is more under the spell of this fascination than the beggar; nothing in the practice of his profession is more attractive to him than its extreme uncertainty—the run of bad luck today, the possibility of a golden harvest tomorrow—all won, every cent of it, by a skillfully played game. A mean, over-reaching instinct, is it not? But which one of us is free from it, held in check though it may be by better and higher impulses? I might go on to show you how each one of us possesses in himself all the possibilities of accomplished beggary; that, given the repression of our better selves and the development of our worse selves, we would all be in a fair way to become a lot of hopeless vagrants, and that our present cash balance in bank would go a very little ways toward saving us. But this is entirely aside from my purpose, and if I have brought you to the point where you are willing to recognize a certain kinship to and personal responsibility for the begging class, I am quite prepared to turn to my subject and give you some brief account of the profession and practice of begging in the past and at present, confining myself for the most part to the Anglo-Saxon beggar.

In England begging has been an organized profession for six hundred years, and we find attempts to repress it by legal enactment as far back as 1349, and in Ribton Turner's monumental work on the subject—to which I should here like to acknowledge my indebtedness—I counted no less than 371 laws since made with the same object. This does not include the Scotch laws, and it is quite probable that I overlooked a number in counting. Yet, with all this legislating, the beggar still flourishes, and it is evident that punishment alone will never exterminate him. What punishment failed to do, the indulgence of the early church did not succeed in doing; in fact it made matters worse, though with the best of intentions, perhaps, by encouraging able-bodied beggars to lead lives of idleness and profligacy upon the charitable bounty of the religious houses. The point of view which holds that the giver is not responsible for the use made of his gift, that what he gives is laid

up to his credit in heaven just the same, belongs to the church of the middle ages. It is distinctly mediæval, and is just as much of an anachronism now as a Queen Elizabeth ruff and farthingale would be. Yet, the modern church gets this old doctrine out, carefully dusts it, and proudly wears it every once and a while. When some one inclines to question the wisdom of such gear, he straightway approves it with a text, crying that, "The poor ye have always with you"; as if that had anything to do with it. Truly, as Professor Ely says, the perverters of Scripture we have always with us too. So, even up to modern times, the beggar, like a wayward child between two unwise parents, petted and coddled by mother Church and punished by father State, has gone on having his own way, for it has never occurred to these parents to combine and reform him.

As the practice of begging flourished and became more and more an art and a profession, it divided into certain natural departments. There were the general practitioners, and gradually there grew up various classes of specialists, according to the diversity of gifts. As early as 1815, an English clergyman recognized four distinct classes of London beggars: the two-penny post beggars, or begging-letter writers; the knocker-beggars, who go from house to house, claiming that Mrs. So-and-So sent them, and so on; the stationary beggars, who have a regular stand, and are most of them maimed in some way or counterfeit deformity; and the movable beggars, who appear at the theater at the time of the play, near the markets on market-days, and in front of the churches at church time. One man of this class would "stand at the door of a Catholic Chapel, petitioning 'for the love of the Holy Virgin,' and other Catholic saints; in half-an-hour afterward he was at the door of a dissenting meeting house bawling 'for the love of Christ.' The evening found him in front of some chapel belonging to the Established Church." They are wonderfully liberal minded, beggars; Catholic or Protestant, Baptist or Presbyterian. It's all one to them, for they run their religion on the simple principle of "piety for revenue only."

One of the most accomplished specialists is the begging-letter writer. "I ought to know something of the begging-letter writer," says Charles Dickens.

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He has besieged my door at all hours of the day and night; he has fought my servant; he has lain in ambush for me, going out and coming in; he has followed me out of town into the country; he has appeared at provincial hotels, where I have been staying only for a few hours; he has written to me from immense distances, when I have been out of England. He has fallen sick; he has died and been buried; he has come to life again, and again departed from this transitory scene; he has been his own son, his own mother, his own baby, his idiot brother, his uncle, his aunt, his aged grandfather. He has wanted a great coat to go to India in; a pound to set him up in life forever; a pair of boots to take him to the coast of China; a hat to get him into a permanent position under government. He has frequently been exactly seven and sixpence short of independence. He has had such openings at Liverpool—posts of great trust and confidence in merchant's houses, which nothing but seven and sixpence was wanting him to secure—that I wonder he is not Mayor of that flourishing town at the present moment.

Dickens' experience is that of every public man of our time. Not a prominent citizen of Baltimore today but gets hundreds of such letters every year filled with the most preposterous demands. And it pays, or people wouldn't continue to write them. I have noticed that one favorite dodge of our own begging-letter writer is to tell you, in a burst of confidence, that his oldest boy is named after you, or that his youngest is about to be christened (as a Baltimorean wrote to a dozen or so of Congressmen last winter), and will be named after the receiver. The twelve Congressmen happened to compare notes in that particular case, and felt the baby would have altogether too much name. Frequently the writer has known your sainted grandfather, or is well aware what a generous, opened-handed, noble-hearted woman your mother was; *she* promptly would have responded to his humble plea, and so forth. There's a weary monotony about these letters, for the most part, and yet some of them sound very plausible.

Of another class of beggar, less skilled but more successful than even the begging-letter writer, the deformed beggar, I hesitate to speak. It is the instinct of every human creature to hide deformity, but when a man deliberately flaunts his infirmities in public for the purpose of exciting sympathy, nothing but moral degradation can come of it. One man in Baltimore, a hopeless cripple, who averaged about \$6.00 a day collected in the streets of our city, was known to spend it all in riotous living. And the blind beggars, who make the

strongest possible appeal to every sympathetic heart and who reap the largest harvest for that reason, are much courted by the less fortunate of their fellow-craftsmen and tempted to spend their money in the most degrading ways. So universally is this the case that a gentleman who has worked long and faithfully for the education of the blind, and who has had much practical experience of the pauper class also, declares that he never knew a blind beggar who was not morally diseased. "A few years ago," says Ribton Turner, "there used to be stationed in Portman Square a man commonly known as *Blind Jack*. A friend, who was in the habit of giving him a small weekly sum, was returning on foot from the theater one summer's night when a smart shower overtook him in the neighborhood of Portman Square. He ran into a public-house for shelter, and there found *Blind Jack* considerably advanced in his cups. Accosting him, he told him that he had hitherto been in the habit of assisting him regularly, believing him to be a deserving character, and that he was sorry to be undeceived by finding him in such a condition. "You've been in the habit of assisting me regularly!" said *Blind Jack* with a hiccough, and producing a handful of small silver, "*Then you're a jolly good fellow. What'll you take to drink?*"

We may count as a branch of this same class those who counterfeit deformities, or who purposely maim themselves. Dr. William Turner in his *New Book of Spiritual Physic*, published in 1555, says, "When, as of later years, I practiced bodily physic in England, in my lord of Somerset's house, divers sick beggars came unto me, and not knowing that I was a physician, asked of me my alms. To whom I offered to heal their diseases for God's sake. But they went by and away from me, and would none of that. For they had much leaver be sick still with ease and idleness than to be whole and, with great pain and labor, to earn honestly their living." A boy is begging on the streets of Baltimore today, giving always a false name and false addresses and usually calling himself Frank Brown, who has been exhibiting the same scalded arm for the last two years. He either inflames it in some way, or paints his arm to simulate inflammation—I don't know which.

A kind-hearted and intelligent woman once said to me, "It's all very well to talk about the folly of giving to beggars, and so far as

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adults are concerned I agree with you, but I could never bring myself to refuse a child." Now if any sort of indiscriminate alms is more criminal than another, it's the alms that goes to little children. It does nothing but perpetuate the brutal selfishness which makes a helpless child a decoy and catch-penny for the lazy and vicious. About two years ago a boy of ten was kidnapped in New Jersey, and brought to New York City by a man who made a business of sending children out to beg from a den in the Bowery. The poor little fellow was new to the business and not very successful at first, so his employer burnt his arm with some acid which gradually ate into his flesh with increasing torture. The boy looked miserable because he was so, and the small change rained into his hat from a sympathetic public. When, at last, he was accidentally found, it was too late to save him. The acid had eaten so deep as to cause blood-poisoning and the child died. This is no tale of the dark ages. It happened the year before last in the United States of America, and I am morally certain that everyone who carelessly dropped small change into that suffering child's hand, without taking the trouble to find out how and why he was there, is answerable here and hereafter for a share in that murder. We are told that the man who asked "Am I my brother's keeper?" was the first murderer, and as civilization advances it becomes more clear that we are all of us our brother's keepers, that the only standard of manly living is the life that recognizes its personal responsibility for the misery and suffering and sin of the world and, recognizing that responsibility, will not stoop to buy itself off with gifts of small coins. The war against evil and wrong is our inheritance; we are born into it, pledged from birth to fight somewhere and somehow to make this a better world. Some, like the beggars, openly rebel against such service and go over to the enemy. Some, who would escape this opprobrium, are no better than spys and scouts for the other side. Others, prudent souls, when drafted into the army, prefer to send a substitute in the shape of a check; until at last there are only a few good soldiers left, and that's why the world, although it moves, moves slowly.

But, to return to the question of child-beggars, I should like to give you one more illustration out of many known to me. You may think that gifts of old clothes and cold victuals cannot possibly

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do any harm, but the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has unearthed a case which should convince you of the contrary.

An officer of the Society found Thomas and Michael McKenna, aged seven and three years, with a lot of dissipated people at 79 Washington Street. Their mother had been arrested three months before and sent to the workhouse, and the boys were at that time concealed by the neighbors. Since their mother's arrest they had been used as foragers for a crowd of drunken and lazy people, and had been sent out every morning to collect food for them. It required two police officers to tear the boys away from this disorderly crowd; they were too valuable to dispense with, having supplied them with cold victuals during the season. The officers brought the boys to the Society's rooms, and a more miserable pair never crossed its threshold: covered with vermin, hair unkempt and matted, and their few garments, men's sizes, hung upon them, giving them the appearance of miniature scarecrows.

The Hon. Charles S. Fairchilds, commenting upon this incident, asks the very pertinent question "Who was responsible?" and decides that *we* are responsible, we who give our cold victuals to such half-starved looking little strangers and never take the trouble to find out anything about them. But, you may say, I can't leave my business, my domestic duties to walk all over Baltimore making inquiries about a beggar boy, and I'd rather help 99 unworthy cases than miss one worthy one. Well, we'll come to that shortly.

I pass over hastily many varieties of beggars: those who prey upon the clergymen especially, like one woman known to us here, who travels from city to city, rents a house, and, with a plausible tale and the air of a lady who has seen better days, usually fleeces every Episcopal clergyman in the place before removing to another scene of action. Then there is the ex-Confederate soldier, and the man who expects to get a pension, and the respectable artisan looking for work who stops a lady out Charles Street Avenue, and asks for a job at his trade of shipbuilding. She has nothing of the kind handy, and gives him a quarter instead. Many clever beggars nowadays ask for work, but they are terribly disconcerted when you offer it to them. There was a German woman who begged for years in the stores along Baltimore Street, always

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asking for work. One day when it was offered to her she became not only abusive but positively profane.

Without dwelling further upon the classification of beggars, we may safely accept Turner's conclusion that "modern begging is quite as much an organized profession as it was more than three hundred years ago. It has, of course, adapted itself to the spirit of the times, but it is wonderful how little adaptation has been called for. The credulity of the charitable is the stock-in-trade of the beggar, and it never fails him. Like the 'confidential trick' of the London sharper, the very staleness and antiquity of the beggar's dodges appear to give them a sanctity in the eyes of many, a sanctity derived from the belief that others might be deceived by counterfeits, but that the person appealed to cannot; he or she has found the genuine, honest, long-suffering and unappreciated object of charity, and having found this priceless treasure is bound to reward it."

No survey of the history of begging would be complete without some attempt to discover what may be earned in the practice of this profession. Like the earnings of all professions, the sums vary greatly with the skill and opportunities of the practitioners, but it has been calculated that beggars in modern times earn from \$1.25 to \$5.00 a day. As to what they save, they are, for the most part, very improvident; but there are not lacking many instances of well-to-do beggars. Mr. Kellogg, of the New York Charity Organization Society, tells of a woman who recently died and left \$18,000 behind her. For many years before her death she had been supported by charity, and was found upon investigation to have received aid from no less than twelve Baptist churches. Another woman, who had been helped by five different New York churches, requested on her death-bed that a hassock she had be buried with her. It was found to be too large to put in the coffin and was cut up with a view to making it smaller, when it was discovered that the stuffing of the cushion was a mass of bank notes. I could give you numberless instances like these, many of them here in Baltimore, but the fact remains that the beggar, though he earns enough to do so, does not usually save, and I have purposely avoided unusual and exceptional illustrations tonight, wishing to keep all my statements well within the bounds of probability.

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One case, however, which is exceptional in many ways, I should like to tell you about as briefly as possible. It is the case of an Englishman named George Atkins Brine, whose life was published a few years ago under the title of *The King of the Beggars*. Brine was a remarkable man. He wrote really fascinating letters, displaying a considerable knowledge of ancient mythology and of the English poets. These were often dated from the almshouse or county jail, and, strange to say, he was by trade a butcher, though above all, a most consummate scoundrel. He had been imprisoned in every county but two in England, and had been incarcerated in all over a hundred times, usually on the charge of vagrancy and drunkenness and sometimes for obtaining money under false pretenses. He had practiced at one time or another every branch of the beggar's profession; he had been a cheap Jack, a hawker, a manslaughtering quack doctor, a cattle drover, a begging-letter impostor, an indigent artisan with three (borrowed) children, a sham sailor, a rheumatic cripple, and, to crown all, a preacher. "This game," he says, speaking of the preaching, "pays well in remote villages on Sunday evenings, provided you are well stocked with tracts; but I was not fit for it; my risibility is too easily tickled, and once, when I was invited to 'hold forth' in a small chapel, I was in no little danger of grinning in the pulpit at my own roguery."

Several gentlemen interested in the reform of the poor laws tried to reform *him*, but without success, and he died in 1881, an old man of over 70 and an irreclaimable rascal. In 1875 he was persuaded to write a detailed account of his career. Coming as this did from such an untrustworthy source, you might think it hardly worth any consideration, but Ribton Turner has carefully investigated every fact contained in this strange document, and finds it a faithful statement of actual experience. The beginning and the end of Brine's paper might each serve as text for a whole volume of sermons. His first statement was this: "I left Sherborne to seek employment at my trade (that of a butcher), and not succeeding for a time, I soon discovered that more money could be got without work than with it." He closes by saying,

There are many remarks I should like to make respecting vagrancy. First, the motive-power must be stopped before the machinery can be

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brought to a stand-still. People who indiscriminately give alms are far more to blame than the recipients. Until this truth be widely known and acted upon, mendicity will flourish. This, and this alone, is the greatest obstacle that impedes progress, although, I should say not an insurmountable one.

It seems to me very interesting that this arch-rogue should have stated the whole truth so clearly and forcibly, and this testimony, coming as it does from the other side, carries peculiar weight. My sole purpose tonight is to emphasize his point of view. The responsibility for all this network of deceit and crime of which I have attempted to give you some faint conceptions, the responsibility of it rests with us, the tax-paying and producing class, and the remedy for all these centuries of blundering, inconsiderate almsgiving is in our hands if we choose to use it. Never before have the mass of our countrymen possessed sufficient intelligence and forethought to see their personal responsibility in this matter, but now I am satisfied that it needs nothing but a painstaking presentation of facts, such as each one of you could and should make to all your friends and acquaintances, to bring about a complete revolution in public opinion.

Do I blame the beggars? Not a bit of it. So long as we encourage them to lie and cringe and crawl they will continue to do it; so long as we pay them to beg, they will go on begging. The responsibility rests with us who have the larger light. First and most emphatically then, we must never allow ourselves to give alms to people we don't know all about. England wastes \$14,000,000 every year in this way, and of the \$100,000,000 spent on charity in the United States yearly, there is no doubt that at least one-fourth of it is hopelessly wasted. So we have \$40,000,000 yearly spent by the English-speaking race to encourage idleness, vice, crime, and disease, and to send men down to perdition faster than all the religion of the world can drag them out again.

I would have you remember that not one word I have said tonight applies in any way to the poor who have fallen into misfortune through no fault of their own, and who must never be confounded with the begging class. These would rather starve than beg. "It may seem to some people," says Ribton Turner, "that the opinion I have expressed that the really deserving and necessi-

tous poor never beg is a matter which may admit of debate. All I can say in support of it is, that in the course of my experience, which extends to several thousand cases, I have never yet met with a beggar who was driven to beg by sheer want or misfortune, nor have I encountered any one who after investigation had ever found one in such a case."

Now granting that every beggar is, in the cant phrase of the day, "unworthy," and that to give him what he asks for, is to do him and society a great wrong, it is not possible by a simple refusal to wipe him off the face of the earth, to ignore his existence; and the question naturally arises, what next? This question the Charity Organization Society attempts to answer. Until you have acquired the strength to say "No, not yet," it is utterly helpless, but as soon as you have done this and are willing to find out what would seem to be a wiser way of helping this human being who has placed himself in such a false attitude to you, then the Charity Organization Society will do its very best to help you.

Adopting a system of districting, borrowed from Germany, the Society has divided the city into six districts and has placed a trained agent in each one of these, whose chief duty is to visit the poor in their own homes to find out the sort of help that would, in each individual case, be most likely to raise the receiver, and to furnish this information to all who are charitably disposed. The Society does much more than this, but there is no time to dwell upon other features of the work tonight. It has no desire, however, to discourage individual effort, but merely wishes to supplement it and to do for you what you may not have time to do for yourself.

A man applies to you today, for instance, for alms. You reply to him that it is your invariable rule to give no alms at your door, or anywhere save in the homes of the poor themselves, that if he will give his name and address you will either call very soon yourself or see that someone else does. When you cannot spare the time to go yourself, send the name and address to us, either on a postal card or on one of these blanks which I shall distribute tonight. If there is any unusual and pressing distress our agent is authorized to relieve at once, but there is usually no such thing. Suppose that in this case there are a young husband and three small children, that the man is just beginning to find it easier to beg than to work;

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don't you see how by getting at him in his own home you can cut off his begging supplies by communicating through our Society with all the societies, individuals, and churches interested in him? Then give him a chance to work, and secure a wise friend who will visit the young mother, will see that the children are sent to school, that the home is cleaner and more attractive. Show this young man that you expect him to become a man. You may succeed or you may not, but you see at once that it would have been much easier to have given the fellow a quarter and sent him off. But rather than see you do that, the Charity Organization Society will take all the trouble and care of the better method on its own shoulders when you yourself cannot or will not.

Take a less hopeful case. Suppose the man a hardened beggar and trickster and the wife a confirmed drunkard. Isn't it all the more important to get at the family in that case, to get the Society for the Protection of Children after the little ones, to see that they are not raised in vice and crime? Then a man who won't work for himself should be forced to work for the State. That's the only right view of the labor question. If our laws don't enforce that view now, let's combine and reform them. Don't lock such a man up for two weeks and send him out again lazier and more vicious than ever, but make his imprisonment indeterminate and reformatory. If it seems to cost a little more than the present system, why take a few of the many millions I have already shown to be hopelessly wasted upon his kind.

There is no time left to dwell upon this but I can only remind you in closing of my primary statement: the beggar, however depraved, is a human being, with like passions and instincts to our own. Heretofore, we have encouraged the lowest and worst of these; let us now try to arouse the better instincts of his nature. Teach him industry, saving, cleanliness, self-control. I know beyond a shadow of a doubt that this can be done; and where it cannot, let us put him apart where he cannot spread contagion; and for his children let us strain every nerve to save them from the hereditary curse of pauperism. It is no visionary dream to believe that these things can be done. In places where the law, the church, and public opinion have all co-operated to these ends wonderful results have already been obtained. Pauperism has been reduced

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in Elberfeld, Germany, 78 per cent in fifteen years; in London, 30 per cent in ten years; in Buffalo, 37 per cent in three years. "Wherever there has been any earnest and intelligent attempt to remedy the evil," writes Professor Ely, "the success has been equal to all the most sanguine could anticipate. I have read accounts of many such attempts to lessen pauperism, and everything that I read has confirmed in my mind the belief that it is a curable evil." Yes, curable beyond a doubt right here in Baltimore, if you will only put aside all denominational, all political, all social prejudices, and all pull together to make public opinion a *unit* on this great and vital question.

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A paper given at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1895, and reprinted in *Lend a Hand* and in the *Charities Review*. A series of case illustrations, under the title of "Typical Married Vagabonds," was printed in the *Baltimore Charities Record* in October, 1896, December, 1896, and February, 1897, but is not included in the present volume.

The method mentioned here of sending out letters to gather in facts for a paper was characteristic of Miss Richmond. In order to understand her emphasis on stern measures in dealing with non-supporters, it should be kept in mind that when this paper was written there was little practicable legislation and less public opinion to hold up the hands of the social worker; and that the South especially was suffering from the after-effects of the Civil War, with a "new poor" class who still clung to the concept that work was beneath their dignity.

In later years Miss Richmond modified the views here expressed, as the following passage, written in 1919, shows:

"Twenty years ago the editor of this Series was responsible for the following sentences in an annual report: 'One of our most difficult problems has been how to deal with deserted wives with children. . . . One good woman whose husband had left her for the second time more than a year ago, declared often and emphatically that she would never let him come back. We rescued her furniture from the landlord, found her work, furnished needed relief, and befriended the children; but the drunken and lazy husband returned the other day, and is sitting in the chairs we rescued, while he warms his hands at the fire that we have kept burning.'

"The passage belongs to the first and what might be termed the 'muddling along' period of dealing with family desertion, but the fact that boards of directors actually were willing to print such frank statements about their own shortcomings was a sign that the period was drawing to a close.

"This first stage was succeeded by a disciplinary period, in which earnest attempts were made to enact laws that would punish the deserter and aid in his extradition whenever he took refuge across the state line. Laws of the strictest, and these well enforced, seemed for a while the only possible solution.

"Then gradually with the unfolding of a philosophy and a technique of helping people in and through their social rela-

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tionships, a new way of dealing with this ancient and perplexing human failing was developed. This third way involved a more careful analysis of relationships and motives, a greater variety in approach, an increased flexibility in treatment, a new faith, perhaps, in the re-creative powers latent in human nature."¹

I HAVE ventured to give this title to my paper because I am anxious to bring the man of the neglected family out of that retirement, behind wife and children, into which he has so discreetly withdrawn. A great deal has been written about the single vagabond; his nomadic habits have been described by specialists, and some have even ventured to turn tramp and take the road in order to secure data at first hand for their studies. No specialist, however, has been able to study the married vagabond in the same way; he is well protected from scientific scrutiny—too well protected. It has been my fortune to know individually a considerable number of both the single and married fraternity, and I confess to a preference for the former. It is true that the tramp is a barbarian openly at war with society, but then he is not so prompt to claim from society the privileges and protection which she so willingly extends to the head of a family. In short, he is not such a cowardly, unenterprising creature.

Granting, then, that the married vagabond is a bad fellow, what will you do with him? For my instruction on this question, I sent circular letters of inquiry to a number of charity workers in this country, concerning (1) the legal treatment of idle and intemperate heads of families, (2) the charitable treatment of the same, (3) the sentiment of the community on this subject, and have received 74 answers from 34 different states.

These letters show that laws to compel a man to support his wife or children, or both, exist in 20 of the 34 states reporting, though the law is not enforced, or is seldom enforced in all of the 20, and in 7 of the others it is only partially enforced. If I may venture to make any deductions from my incomplete returns, it would appear that there are better laws and a better enforcement of them in the North Atlantic States. So far as I can discover, no laws exist in the South Atlantic and South Central States, though,

¹ Colcord, Joanna C., *Broken Homes*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919, p. 1.

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judging by my own state, this absence of remedies does not argue an absence of the disease. The North Central States have some good enactments, and the Western States show plenty of law but little or no enforcement—an illustration of the uselessness of legislation which precedes the education of public opinion. In nearly half the states having a non-support law the inability to secure judgment without the wife's testimony has rendered the law of no effect.

Perhaps the provisions of the Massachusetts statute will serve as a fair example of good non-support legislation. This law provides that

Whoever unreasonably neglects to provide for the support of his wife or minor child may be fined, not over twenty dollars; or imprisoned, not exceeding six months, and the fine may be paid in whole or in part to the town, city corporation, society or person supporting the wife or child at the time of the complaint. At the trial, if convicted, the man is often placed on probation, agreeing to pay a certain sum each week for the support of his children.

Boston is constantly enforcing this law, but from the Associated Charities in one of the smaller towns of Massachusetts comes the statement:

Neither the police nor our society can secure enforcement any further than by making the man's life a burden to him, as long as he stays here, if he does not obey it. In every case of which I have definite knowledge the man has in the course of a few weeks simply disappeared.

A Rhode Island judge, writing of the imperfect operation of the law in his own state, adds: "Such an enforcement is, perhaps, all that can be looked for and all that is reasonable. For law, while capable of pretty strict enforcement as a penal instrument, is not a very efficient means of securing the discharge of social duties." He might have added that it is a very inefficient means indeed when by its enactments we would relieve ourselves of all charitable responsibilities toward the man we seek to punish or the family we seek to protect. I think I am prepared to acknowledge that a good non-support law is better than no law at all, but I would only admit so much where the citizens of a state are fully determined to enforce it, and then re-enforce it by every other possible remedy.

One of the simplest and most effective of these other remedies

is habitually to regard the man as the head of the family. As stated this sounds like a truism, but, as a matter of fact, charitable societies, churches, benevolent individuals, and even public officials have drifted into the habit of receiving and filling applications for relief made by the mothers and children of needy families. Charitable people learn to know the women in mothers' missions; they know the children in free kindergartens and Sunday schools and clubs. The men do not attend these things; they are rather shy of appearing at all, unless in dull times they take the trouble to pose as industrious artisans out of work. The rule is certainly a safe one for individuals and for institutions that, where relief is concerned, the man of the family, if able to walk, shall not only do all the asking, but shall show good cause why he should receive. This would at once break up the pernicious practice of sending children to charity offices.

So far I have taken it for granted that there is but one type of married vagabond, a very bad type indeed. Such a hypothesis breaks down utterly in any attempt to make specific recommendations about treatment. If the letters I have received show anything they show this: That where there has been any attempt to deal individually and continuously with idle husbands and neglected families there has been at least some measure of success, and that wherever there has been no such attempt, neither giving nor withholding, neither law nor the absence of it, has been of any effect. I do not pretend to claim that the friendly visitor is a solution of this many-sided and difficult problem, but I do not see how it is to be solved without her. (The friendly visitor is usually a woman, though the men engaged in this work certainly deserve minority representation.) Speaking from our Baltimore experience we would rather have one hundred good visitors, patient, intelligent and resourceful, to deal with the married vagabonds of our city than the best law ever framed, if in order to get such a law we must lose the visitors.

The visitor's tools are moral suasion, the cutting off of supplies from every available source, the frequently renewed offer of work, and, last of all, the law. A paid agent may apply these also; so may a clergyman or public official, but the advantage peculiar to the visitor is, that confining her work as she does to a very few

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families, she has better opportunities of becoming well acquainted. These tools are only effective when applied with a full knowledge of the circumstances. Sometimes no one of them is needed. I knew of one case where the man was given a fresh start in life by persuading him to remove his family to a new neighborhood, away from old associations. In another family the visitor's influence was needed on both man and wife. The wife was something of a scold, and when that was remedied, and the man's old employer had been persuaded to give him one more trial, the visitor went with the man before a magistrate, where he took the pledge. This remedy, useless and worse than useless as we all know in many cases, just happened to be the right thing here. From being an unattractive ne'er-do-well, this man has become a fairly steady, hard-working citizen.

I would not, in my enthusiasm for the work of friendly visiting, lose sight of the old adage, that "It is hard to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear." The best we can do is a sorry patchwork often; but then civilization itself is just that, and only in the glowing pages of the modern socialist do we find everything made new all at once. Where a man is really anxious to fight his appetite for drink, an arrangement to pay his wages to his wife or to the visitor is often the best that can be done. The United Workers of Norwich have been peculiarly successful in this direction.

In many cases the more heroic treatment of cutting off supplies must be resorted to. So long as charitable people insist that they must forestall the possibility of "letting the innocent suffer" by aiding every neglected family generously, just so long the lazy man has society by the throat. When we find we are dealing with such a man it becomes necessary to prove that we have more strength of character to resist temptation to help, than he has strength of character to resist temptation to work. I regret to say that he stands the test better than we do, and frequently wins the day. Where a woman refuses to leave a good-for-nothing husband, she will sometimes change her mind when she finds that the charitable people are in earnest. Where the man finds that the threats of the charitable are not, as they too often are, entirely empty, he will sometimes, when pushed to the wall, take work. I know of a suddenly selfish fellow who did nothing for his family, and whose

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wife could not be persuaded to leave him. At last the Charity Organization Society convinced the benevolent individuals of the neighborhood that they must withhold help and agreed to be responsible for the consequences. A neighbor who could be trusted was paid to feed the wife and children without the husband's knowledge and in the strictest privacy. When he inquired why such a church hadn't helped and where the basket was from Mrs. So-and-So, and the money from the Circle of King's Daughters, and the accustomed help from half a dozen other sources, the wife replied that one and all had said they would rather let her starve than continue to help the family of a man who wouldn't work. He held out for two days, and then came for the labor-yard work order, which he had previously refused, working steadily for some weeks and until the work closed.

Sometimes the removal of wife and children will bring a man to his senses. One wife, for whom work was found in an institution where she could keep her two children with her, has agreed to go back to her husband on condition that he will first work steadily for a year and save his earnings.

It will appear from what I have said that a visitor must have patience, must not look for very brilliant or immediate results; but it is possible, on the other hand, for her to have too much patience, or rather to think that she is patient when, in reality, she is cowardly. I have seen a family going steadily down hill for years, the underfed, overworked mother taking finally to drink, the younger children beginning life with undervitalized, diseased bodies, and finally the violent death of the second boy a month ago, coming as the last tragic happening in the family history. All this preventable misery had gradually accumulated because the visitors and others charitably interested lacked courage five years ago. When charitable people delay and temporize in such cases, I wish they could have a good, wholesome, terrifying vision of the future they are helping to manufacture. The fact is, the supply of capable visitors is altogether inadequate, and it is the most important function of a charity organization society to increase this supply.

I have given a very imperfect review of legal and charitable practice in cases of non-support. The last division of my subject

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brings me to another function of a charity organization society; namely, the influencing of public opinion. One of the questions sent to my correspondents was, "Is charitable sentiment inclined to make it easy or difficult for a man with an interesting family to live without work?" Of the 34 states heard from 30 acknowledged that it is easy, on the whole, for a lazy man to find support, provided he has a family; though in states where charity organization methods are well established it is not so easy as formerly.

There is important work before us, and we cannot afford to delay its energetic prosecution a moment longer. Some of us have grown so sensitive to the charge of hardness that, though we know we are right, we fear to lead public opinion. Others of us are not very clear what to think or to do. The expression "Of course we cannot let the children suffer because the man is unworthy," occurs again and again in the letters I have received. "The man is benefited by what we do for the family," writes one society, "but we can't help that." These are question-begging statements; for is it not clear that, no matter how lavish or how sparing our material assistance, we *do* let the children suffer, and suffer very terribly, so long as we leave them in the clutches of a man who will make no effort to care for them, who is often diseased or depraved, who shelters himself behind their neglected condition? What idea of a home, of industry, of decency can children get in such surroundings? Surely, for the sake of the children, born and unborn, we should do something more to relieve their sufferings than to give material assistance. There is no need that the children should starve. If we are really in earnest, there is always some way other than that; but I have no hesitancy in saying that to let them starve, even, would be, on the whole, kinder than to leave undone those things which we so clearly ought to do for their welfare.

Someone has said to me that this is a religious question; that when a woman has sworn to love, honor, and obey, we have no right to interfere between husband and wife, and that we do it at our peril. It is indeed a religious question, though in a wider sense than was intended by the objector. As to the sacredness of a wife's duties, I would raise no manner of question. But the duties of a mother are equally sacred, and, sometimes, as human

duties will, these duties as wife and as mother conflict. Even when such conflict is inevitable, I might hesitate to advocate interference, if charitable relief were not in itself an interference. Shall our interference be effective or the reverse? To my mind, there is only one test of this effectiveness, and that is the lasting welfare of the helpless members of the family, the children; not what is most comfortable for them at the moment, but what is best for them in the long run. Surely, if the dictates of religion are more imperatively clear on any one human obligation rather than another, that particular obligation is our duty to the helpless; and I am convinced that, in time, both charity and religion will learn to extend this consideration to unborn generations. It is well to note that, though the principle I have attempted to formulate would break up many homes (homes only in name) which are now kept together, it would, on the other hand, keep together many homes which have been too hastily broken up.

I have not had a good word to fling at the married vagabond so far. In closing, I would say a word for him by way of extenuation. I have often been forced to notice how people of his class get their view of life as a whole (in so far as they can be said to have any) from very slight and insignificant items. I remember one man whose view of what the municipality ought to do for him had been permanently settled by a free pass from Washington to New York. Washington is lavish of passes, and what seemed to her right and just very naturally seemed so to him. Now, the married vagabond is, to a certain extent, the victim of sentimentality and gush; he has been taking himself at the charitable valuation, and the last remedy which I have to offer for his complaint is this—let us get a clear-cut and vigorous opinion about him, and then, through our churches, our laws, our newspapers, our charity agents, our friendly visitors, let us make it perfectly clear to him what that opinion is.

CHARITY AND HOMEMAKING

In this paper, written in 1897 for the Charities Review, Miss Richmond carries farther the idea of the effect of "married vagabonds" on the home and on family life. For the first time she strikes the note of concern in regard to the celebration of the marriage ceremony itself, which was to be so primary an interest during the later years of her life—an interest which led to the publication of *Child Marriages* in 1925 and of *Marriage and the State* in 1929.

DOES our present charitable practice contribute in the long run toward the perfection of homemaking and homekeeping? Are our charitable institutions, our orphanages, our reformatories, our adult shelters turning out homemakers? Are our relief agencies, our church almoners, our public out-relief funds contributing to the support of genuine homekeepers? To these questions, which had vaguely troubled me for a long time, I was at last compelled, before the Home Congress, a few months ago, to give a definite and negative answer. Certainly, measured by the home test, which is the final and supreme test, our charitable successes do not outweigh our charitable failures—that is, they do not yet outweigh them.

Brushing all refinements aside, let me try to define a home, as considered in its essential elements by a charity worker. It seems to me to consist of three elements:

1. The head of the family, who gives, as his fractional part of the home unit, his loving, undivided service to secure the means of subsistence for the whole family.
2. His helpmate, who gives, as her fractional part of the home unit, her loving, undivided service to transmute this provided means into an adequate home environment for the whole family.
3. The children of this pair; and these must give, as their fractional part of the home unit, and as the only adequate return for the care lavished upon them, a teachable and obedient love to their parents.

This bald and alphabetical statement about the home seems, in

one sense, the dreariest platitude; but the refinements of the subject must be swept away, and the homes into which charitable relief enters must be considered in their fundamental aspects, if we would make refinements possible in these homes, later on. I do not hesitate, therefore, to insist upon this homely definition, and restate it in a somewhat different form, thus: The normally constituted family has a head, who is the breadwinner; a helpmate, who is the homemaker; and children, who owe obedience to these two. I call attention to the dependence of the second and third elements of a home upon the first. If the head of the family deliberately shirks the responsibility of providing the means of subsistence, the wife cannot, even with the best intentions, secure to the family an adequate home environment; and the children cannot feel for their parents that respect which is the very foundation of love and obedience.

If the next step in my attempt to define a home is not a platitude already—and I fear it is not—I hope the day is not far distant when it will become one, for it is this: Though the real home is a sacred thing, and should be made visibly a sacred thing to us by all the sacraments of the Church, yet, lacking these humble but fundamental elements of service on the man's and the woman's part; namely, the breadwinning and the homemaking, a home is an unhallowed thing, and the Church's blessing upon it is of no avail. In other words, the sacramental elements must exist before the Church can bless them. This is not an argument for civil marriage, nor yet for easy divorce, which would only multiply sham homes. I have as strong an objection to civil marriages and to easy divorces as the most earnest churchman can have, and it is my firm belief that the marriage ceremony now sometimes a mere travesty, could be made sacred by the Church, if she would guard it as jealously as she guards some of her other sacraments.

My convictions on this subject, which, so far as they may seem to encroach upon theological ground, I mention with hesitancy, are the slow growth of some years of personal contact with the homes of the very poor. Many of these homes, the very humblest of them, have every element of a true home. Misfortune has come to them from without, through sickness, through industrial depression, or through accident; but it has not touched them vitally, because the

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elements of a true home were there. In such homes, charity can safely expend her wealth of tenderness and sympathy. In others (and these homes, too, are many), all sense of responsibility seems lacking. Homes merely in name, they become the breeding places of vice, of disease, and of moral death. Having the name of homes and the protection of accumulated religious and charitable traditions, they are doubly dangerous. I cannot help thinking that a bond so selfishly, so irreverently ignored in all but name should never have received the sanction of religion. When I find a lad borrowing the shoes to be married in; when I find a girl working only long enough to earn just one decent garment, and that her wedding gown; when I read well authenticated accounts of a church in East London where, a few years ago, forty couples were married at one time by the reading of the Christian name of each, and one service for all of them; when I learn, moreover, that many of these forty were homeless, journeying from the wedding at the church to the public house, and thence to the hop fields; when these and many similar facts are continually thrust upon my notice, I cannot help asking whether the Church has no remedy to offer for this legalized immorality.

But what are charity workers doing to check the evil? Almost invariably the head of the family is left quite out of account by the charitable agencies, religious and secular, which attempt to relieve the poor in their own homes. The wife and children are allowed or even forced to do the asking, and the married vagabond—as he is now called, in order to distinguish the vagabond with a family from the single vagabond or tramp—usually leaves home, when the charity agent calls at the house in response to the appeals of his family. The absence of the essential elements of home life excites sympathy, and thus the rapidly increasing family of a man known to be drunken or lazy or both is aided, at irregular intervals and in varying amounts, by many agencies and by this or that chance patron. All of these work separately and spasmodically, so that the family develops a certain ingenuity in finding fresh patrons, as soon as the older ones lose their patience. The people who so lightly assume and so lightly drop this relation of almoner or patron to sham families usually excuse their careless benevolence in one of two ways. Either they say, when asked to apply

any real remedy to the trouble, that they cannot interfere between man and wife, or else they say that they cannot let the children suffer.

Both of these excuses beg the question at issue. It is absurd to go into a home and do for it what the legal and recognized head of the family has deliberately shirked doing, and then to suppose for one moment that you have not interfered between man and wife. Charitable relief is always an interference. It can be mischievous or the reverse. With the second excuse one can have no patience. "We must not let the little children suffer." True; but what a grossly material view of our responsibility to neglected childhood it is, which sends some coal and groceries on a cold day, or which supplies a registered nurse and baby linen for the last little unfortunate and, having done this and nothing more, dares to claim that this is "not letting the children suffer"!

Let us consider the chance which a married vagabond's children have of escaping suffering in a large city. A man may be fairly industrious and frugal, and yet not a model father. But we are considering the fundamental aspects of this question, not its refinements. So considered, what is a man's best protection from bad habits, from disease, selfishness, and vice. Everyone will agree, I think, that it is work. If a man pays all his family and personal expenses, including his own drink bill, from the earnings of his own hard work, he is more likely than not to be a fairly sober, honest citizen. What folly, then, to make it possible for a man voluntarily to live without work! What more than folly to make it possible for the head of a family to do so! His children are born into a world where the father is inconsiderate and abusive of the mother; where cleanliness, fresh air, and good food are not assured to them; where all the economic laws of the civilized world seem topsy-turvy; where things sometimes come miraculously, without any return for them in labor, and where they sometimes do not come at all. They are born, moreover, with diseased bodies, often with the taint of alcoholism in their veins; too often with some other inherited malady, such as epilepsy or unsound mind, as a direct result of parental excesses. How can we say that we "do not let children suffer," so long as alms keep together thousands of these so-called homes in our large cities, and worst of all, so long as into

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these homes thousands of helpless, unfortunate babies are born every year? If I were one of these same little ones, and could see what the charitable people were about, I should feel inclined to say:

Ladies and gentlemen, you have supplied the doctor, and the nurse, and the fuel, and the sick diet. Doubtless you mean it kindly, but I have been assisted into a world where you don't intend to give me a fair chance. You know that my father won't work for me, that my mother has no time to care for me, and that my brothers and sisters must fare worse than ever, now that there's one more mouth to feed. Moreover, my nerves are none of the strongest, and my body none of the stoutest. Unless you intend to do a great deal more for me, I'm sorry you didn't do less. Frankly, I don't thank you.

The problem, as thus stated, is from the point of view of one who considers the individual members of poor families and their individual welfare. Looked at from another point of view, from the view of the student of human society, it is even more serious. Mr. Bernard Bosanquet says that "to favor the existence of human beings without human qualities is the ultimate limbo to which any society can descend." Now, this and no less is what we do when we throw the safeguards of religious and charitable tradition around sham homes; we favor the multiplication of "human beings without human qualities."

"Well," the charitable will say, "since our best intentions, our kindest impulses only bring more wretchedness and misery into the world; since more suffering for the individual and greater degradation for society at large is the only result of our well meant interference, there is plainly nothing left for us but to cease being charitable altogether, to repress, as best we may, the natural stirrings of human sympathy and brotherly love, and to adopt instead an enlightened, far-seeing, but soul-deadening pessimism for our guide."

Heaven forbid that the charitable world should ever turn its back upon the past in that way! Regarded from the subjective point of view—which I have so far avoided—nothing has ever strengthened our ideal of home so much as the impulse which has led its members to look beyond home boundaries, to succor the fallen, and to comfort the heavy hearted. The world can ill afford

to do without the primal instinct of love to our fellow men; and it behooves us to speak reverently of the earthen vessels, imperfect though they be, in which the precious freight of tenderness and sympathy has been handed down from generation to generation. But, though love is not in itself a disorganizing force, yet the expression of it has been placed, more and more, as civilization advances, under restraints the most sacred and inviolable. If I might be permitted to attempt another definition of the home, I would call it love in harness; love under bond to carry safely the world's freight. Now that particular form of love, which we call for lack of a better name "philanthropy," needs like all the other forms of love to be strengthened and deepened by restraint. We have had philanthropic free riot too long. The best definition of charity that we have—a definition given by Mr. Loch (and no one is better qualified to define it)—is "love with discernment." How pleasant the home of which we can say that it is filled with love and discernment! How natural an expression of such a home life is the charity which loves with discernment, with knowledge, slurring over no hard fact of life, yet infinitely patient and resourceful to meet its difficulties!

Let us consider, briefly, what such love would do with the problem of the married vagabond and his neglected family. I have not attempted to give any adequate description of the type, but some members of his fraternity must be known to everyone. He is by no means confined to any social class. Wherever his unreformed existence is made possible, whether by gifts from relatives, by inheritance, or by charitable support, there is one of the danger spots of civilization.

What, then, in so far as charity is responsible for his existence, must we do with the married vagabond after he is made? What must we do with the married vagabond in the making? There is a manifest tendency to place too much reliance on the power of law to compel a man to support his wife and children. Twenty-one states have such laws. In more than two-thirds of them these laws are inoperative, for lack of a healthy public sentiment demanding their enforcement. How are we to get such a sentiment? The charitable should create it. I have more faith in the individual treatment of families, however, than in any automatic enforcement of law.

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Individual treatment of families is the work which the charity organization societies and the children's aid societies of this country are attempting. Almost the first lesson in organizing and making effective our own charitable impulses is this: That, if we would do the most good possible, we must learn to work in contact with such organized agencies, not necessarily under their direction, but at least in full consultation with them, being careful to find out what they are trying to do, and letting them know what we are trying to do. This individual treatment is carried out in some of the charity organization societies by volunteers called friendly visitors, and, so far as any success has been met with in Baltimore in dealing with the neglected families of vagabonds, it has been through friendly visitors. Mr. Bosanquet correctly states the attitude of charity organization and of the visitor toward each family: "Whether by any particular measure we are destroying a man's (the head of the family's) responsibilities or helping him to face them, is, in each case, so to speak, a question for the jury." Charity organization workers of experience, knowing many poor families, and provided, therefore, with a standard of comparison, meet week after week in district offices to consider the individual circumstances of needy families; and these workers constitute "the jury."

Briefly summarized, my suggestions for the treatment of the families of married vagabonds are, that we must first have competent testimony that the man is a vagabond and the home a sham home. But even then it is necessary to remember that there are degrees of vagabondage; the less pronounced forms of the disease may yield to skillful treatment. Here it is that co-operation becomes so necessary. We must know what others who are charitably interested have done or intend to do for the family, and those who intend to continue their interest must be persuaded to adopt a plan in common with us, else the best plan of treatment must fail. (See what an advantage the medical doctors have over charitable practitioners. No two physicians will undertake the same case, except in consultation; but we have no code of ethics in philanthropy.) Where an offer of work, accompanied by the withdrawal of all other aid, has not been tried, this would be one plan of treatment. Sometimes a man has never been told what

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charitable people expect of him. If they all told him the same thing, and if they were as good as their word, it might have some effect. One vagabond said to a friendly visitor, "If charitable people hadn't come in and clothed my children every year, I would." After that, he did. Almost the last resort is the enforcement of the non-support law. If this only punishes without reforming a man, he should no longer be allowed the protection of a home. His wife should consider her duty to her children, born and unborn, as higher even than her duty to her husband; and, every effort to transform the sham home into a real home having failed, it should either get rid of its lazy head or be broken up altogether. Only to those who know all the circumstances will this measure seem merciful, but those who know are the only competent judges of the charitableness or uncharitableness of a given action.

The married vagabond in the making is a subject of such importance, that I cannot attempt to treat it here. I have, too, ignored the fact that women as well as men are guilty of crimes against the home. Their crimes are more in evidence, more apparent to the charitable, and for this reason I do not dwell upon them. On the side of prevention, it seems to me that all the alms wasted on sham homes might be better expended in making more adequate provision for the disorganized period between the time when our boys and girls in large cities leave school and the time when they settle down in life. This critical period is quite unprovided for, and in it habits of idleness and irresponsibility are formed. The breaking down of the apprenticeship system, and our failure to develop the technical school as a substitute; the lack, so far, of any adequate number of boys' clubs which are attractive and manly in tone, and not calculated, as some of our clubs are, I fear, to drive out the independent element; the absence of varied and absorbing occupations and amusements of a healthy sort—these conditions are more responsible for the married vagabond than the state of the labor market, or even the saloon.

Seldom have I attended a meeting for the discussion of any social problem, let it be what it may, but someone has arisen before its close and said that the one solution of the difficulty in question is "single tax." I am always prepared to hear of some

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such patent cure-all; in fact, I am almost tempted to find one of my own, for the married vagabond, in compulsory technical education. We must teach the children of the Republic to take an honest pride in the work of their own hands. But we must attack this disease from both ends; we must make it harder for the lad to become a married vagabond, and we must make it more difficult for the man to remain one. There is little use in telling our boys in Sunday schools and boys' brigades that they must respect and protect all women, if we let them go home to a father who is a loafer, and a mother who takes in washing in order to support the family. Such object lessons undo all our teaching.

It may appear that I have wasted little sentiment on a subject which usually demands a great deal, but in reality my whole plea is for more sentiment, more home sentiment, on the part of workers among the poor. I do not ask for more sentimentality (for of that we have had altogether too much), but for a strong, deeply rooted sentiment in our charity work, a sentiment that will rout the married vagabond out of his sheltered position and insist upon the realization in each home of the fundamental conditions of home life. Stated in their simplest terms, these conditions are bread-winning and homemaking, to the extent of the individual ability of the members which compose the family. When the charitable public shall have been converted at last to this view, then, and only then, will we be able to affirm that our charitable practice does contribute toward the perfection of homemaking and home-keeping.

THE TRAINING OF CHARITY WORKERS

A paper read at a meeting of the Civic Club, Philadelphia, March 19, 1897, and printed in the *Charities Review*, June, 1897. It deals mainly with the qualities demanded of a worker, and the training of recruits on the apprenticeship basis, since no formal training was then in existence.

IT SEEMS sheer waste of time to say anything at this late day about the *need* of training in charitable work, and yet I have learned that philanthropy is still one of those disorganized branches of human knowledge in which he who takes anything for granted is lost. Even before this audience, therefore, let me say a word about the popular attitude toward training, before going on to speak of the topic assigned to me; namely, the training itself, and the qualifications necessary to make a systematic training in charitable work worthwhile.

"You ask me," wrote a clergyman, "what qualifications Miss—— has for the position of agent in the charity organization society. She is a most estimable lady, and the sole support of her widowed mother. It would be a real charity to give her the place." Another applicant for the same position, when asked whether she had had any experience in charity work, replied that she had had a good deal. She had sold tickets for church fairs. Though these particular ladies were not employéd, is it not still a very common thing to find charity agents who have been engaged for no better reason, like one who was employed to distribute relief, because he had failed in the grocery business?

And with our volunteer service it is no better. In no other field are good intentions permitted to play such havoc. "Meanin' goes but a little way i' most things," says Mr. Macy, the parson's clerk, "for you may mean to stick things together, and your glue may be bad, and then where are you?" But "meaning" has been permitted to go a very great way indeed in the management of our charities. Men have taken it for granted that the intentions of those who are willing to sit upon boards and attend committee

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meetings—meetings which to them would be mere weariness and vexation of spirit—must be of the very best. Very good they undoubtedly are, but often they are not good *enough* to lead their possessors to inform themselves of the matter in hand; and so the most monstrous blunders are protected and perpetuated by being swathed in the cotton-wool of good intentions. And, after all, are the people who are in demand nowhere else on the face of the earth so wonderfully self-sacrificing in finding their way to charity boards, and winning a little brief authority there? It will be better for us when our work there, as elsewhere, stands on its merits; when we have done once for all with the cant which claims for charitable service a sanctity above any other forms of service.

That many practical charity workers are gladly flinging aside all such exclusive claims, and are bringing their work into the free light of criticism, there are signs in plenty. Witness this very conference tonight, where we are come together to express without fear and without favor our several convictions upon the training necessary to the successful performance of the work we have in hand.

I. QUALIFICATIONS OF THE PAID CHARITY WORKER

In attempting to set forth in some detail the qualities which should precede training, qualities which are an indispensable foundation for charitable success, I venture to place first on my list a very modest quality indeed. I suggest, in the first place, that one who would succeed in charitable work must be capable of succeeding somewhere else. He must have the faculty of taking hold of things by the right handle, a faculty closely allied with a good general education, and yet often divorced from it. In fact, a highly specialized education, one which has withdrawn a man for some years from his fellows and has prevented him from seeing much of life at first hand, would be likely to unfit him for effective charitable service. One may have admirable conceptions of society as a whole, and yet be quite unable to deal with the units which compose it. But all the mental discipline, all the strenuous thinking which is not inconsistent with an active participation in affairs and a healthy, human interest in one's kind—these we could wish for our charity worker. He ought to be married, I think, and able to appreciate the commonplace pleasures and pains of

everyday people. My ideal, you see, is the farthest possible removed from the monastic. He should be not only the head of a family, but a good citizen; one who is capable of taking a non-partisan interest in the affairs of his town and of his country. I have known intelligent and hard-working charity specialists, who have boasted that they were "in with the boys" and could get this or that little reform enacted without difficulty. As though any reform were worthwhile, until we have won for the masses of the people whom we would help a tolerably fair assurance that their rulers will neither rob nor corrupt them. Our charity worker, therefore, must be incapable of "playing politics"; he must be incorruptible, even when his civic courage may seem to do temporary harm to the cause he represents. And not only must he have civic courage, but personal courage—the ability to say "no" roundly when "no" is right. This quality will lead him into absurd and untenable positions, unless he have the saving salt of humor. (We are moving forward very rapidly, you see, into the most personal quarter of our charity worker's mind and character.) If he have no sense of humor, what shall save his sympathy from degenerating into mere sentimentality? What shall save his theories from becoming wooden hobbies? What shall give his mind a healthy reaction from the harrowing, unrelieved miseries with which he must deal? And closely allied with humor is imagination, which seems to me a most necessary possession of the charity worker. Charity has suffered from the lack of it. We have felt keenly enough the misery which is at hand, but we have had no power of picturing to ourselves the cumulative miseries which are to come after; or else such visions have faded too quickly. They have not been vivid enough to influence our action. This picture-making and picture-holding power must be his, if the charity worker would not be quite swamped by gross materialism—materialism which finds its sole expression in charitable cash and charitable bricks and mortar. To say that our charity worker must have imagination, is only another way of saying that he must be an idealist.

In this formidable catalogue of qualities, I seem to be leaving out the very one of all others which occurs to you at once as indispensable for the charity worker; namely, the power of sympathy.

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But if a man is intelligent, and human, and courageous, and humorous, and imaginative, it is quite safe to infer that he will be sympathetic too. Not only will he be sympathetic, but he will be reasonable. In that manly document, the will of General Armstrong, where he sets forth his hopes and fears for the school at Hampton, he warns his associates against the intelligent teacher who has no power of co-operation; adding, with characteristic point, "cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy." This is true of charity work equally with educational work. Cantankerousness is not only worse than heterodoxy, it is closely akin to it.

Now, if you ask me where you are to find any supply of workers with all the qualities I have mentioned, I reply that I have no idea, but surely the first step toward getting what you want is to *know* what you want. But I beg you to note that even all these qualities in one man—and you are very unlikely to find them there—do not in themselves make the successful charity worker. They only prepare the way for success, when special knowledge and training have been added.

II. TRAINING OF THE PAID CHARITY WORKER

One with whom I have had some correspondence on this subject wrote the other day: "After all, is not fitness a matter of character, and not of training?" My correspondent evidently meant that given the native ability one gets one's training by doing the work, and, undoubtedly, many very skillful philanthropists, paid and unpaid, have learned in this way. But we are coming to see that there is great waste of energy, not to say risk, in this method. For every good worker we gain, we must lose a number; and the loss does not stop there. We are dealing with human beings, and any lack of efficiency on our part is not merely our loss but theirs. Surely all the experience slowly accumulated from all the successes and failures which have preceded ours is none too much to put at the disposal of one who engages in any branch of such difficult work. "It is the duty of those who undertake to inaugurate better forms of social life," says Dr. F. H. Wines, "to know what they do. They can know only by learning. And, having learned, it is their further duty to teach." It is our duty to know and to teach. Slowly we are formulating certain principles which are

common to and underlie all forms of charitable activity, and we are still more slowly adapting these principles to the care of children, to the relief of destitution, to the public care of paupers, and to the co-ordination and organization of charitable effort. The comparison is not yet an entirely just one, but in a degree it is just to say that it would be as unfair to the public to trust to character alone in our charity work as to set a young man up in the practice of medicine with no further outfit than a natural taste for the business and a willingness to learn from his own blunders. There are parts of our country where we still swell the death rate in this way, by permitting young men to practice medicine without proper training, but this very Foundation,¹ in which we meet tonight, is a protest against the practice, and if my life is a long one, I hope to see a school of philanthropy too before I die.

Our universities have tried to meet this need of training by giving special courses in the administration of charities in their sociological departments, and, emphasizing the need of such study and as a means of turning the attention of trained minds to our charitable problems, these courses have been of the greatest service. There is one danger, however, in the too exclusive attention to charitable theory which the university atmosphere fosters, and I cannot refrain from quoting the words in which Mr. Loch pointed out this danger to us in Baltimore last May. "I fear," he said, "lest you should think that a short period of work on cases after a period of reading at college will be sufficient to enlighten us and show us what is good and what is evil in social work, in the administration of relief, and in charity. I assure you it is not so. The intellectual judgment that deals with 'cases' is formed very slowly. . . . It is a power that comes to us only by a constant comparison of our failures and successes and other people's failures and successes. It is marked by a skill similar to that which a medical man may obtain by general practice. To attain that in any conspicuous degree, as everybody knows, a long apprenticeship must be served."

The difficulty is to arrange any course of instruction which will combine theory with practice under leaders who are skilled in both, and to make this course inexpensive enough to meet the needs

¹ The College of Physicians and Surgeons [Philadelphia].

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of communities which are still unwilling to spend much money on mere training. This is the problem which our children's aid societies and charity organization societies have had to face. They are both committed to trained service, theoretically, whether volunteer or paid; but in practice many societies have put up with very unskillful service, notably in our smaller cities. To secure satisfactory paid agents our charity organization societies in several cities have adopted, with modifications, a plan first tried, I believe, by the Boston Associated Charities. This plan, in brief, is to pay people to learn the business. Recent graduates of schools and colleges, who could afford, perhaps, to give some months to acquiring the necessary training in a new profession, have not that experience of life which renders them immediately available as agents; and the demand for good agents is so pressing that some of our societies are willing to pay, while in training, those who are believed to have the other necessary qualifications. Sometimes a month or two of training will prove the probationer unfit; but this, as the general secretary of the Boston society has said, "proves the success of the plan." An agent in training, who comes to the Baltimore society is given first a course of reading which is modified to fit what are believed to be her individual needs. She is next placed under a district agent, to learn the clerical work, the work of making investigations, and the work of treating needy families through the agency of the volunteer visitor. Once a week she spends an evening with the general secretary, to be instructed in general principles, in the use of local charities, and in the ideas underlying these charities. She attends meetings outside her own district, and is present at all meetings of agents.

The plan is not only expensive, but we feel that the training is not broad enough; it specializes too soon. Then, too, the smaller places, where only one agent is employed, remain quite unprovided for. The impossibility of finding trained agents to take charge of these societies has made many of them charity organization societies in nothing but the name. "The more I see of associated charity work in the smaller cities," writes a New England worker, "the more I feel that no one ought to take up the work without previous training; yet it is rarely that the workers in such places have had any experience. For such it seems to me that courses of

lectures would be valuable, if they could be made practicable. Of course, this might be difficult on account of distance. I have often thought a sort of lecturer-at-large might be of great use to the cause. Or different persons might be asked to write papers on the different phases of the work, and so lists might be sent to different towns and courses of lectures there be arranged."

This difficulty is not confined to charity organization work. I have seen a conscientious board of trustees in search of an almshouse superintendent. I have seen those interested in child-saving work in search of a secretary. It is not enough to create in our charitable communities a demand for trained charitable service; we must try to supply this demand.¹

I can imagine that one objection to philanthropy as a profession is that vicarious charity is a poor substitute for the real thing. People feel that, whatever we may gain in efficiency by putting such work under the management of highly skilled servants, we shall certainly lose in consecration and in the spontaneous expression of the charitable impulse. Experience points the other way, I think. Those societies which have been most fortunate in their paid officials have usually been able to secure the largest and most devoted body of volunteers. In fact, an important part of a charity expert's training should be the development of his capacity for turning volunteer service to account. Writing of a charity secretary's duties, Dr. A. G. Warner has said:

He ought especially to possess the power of making it easy for volunteer workers, including the managers, to do really useful and encouraging work. This can be done partly through a capacity for continual invention and enthusiasm, but more through the assiduous attention to details that results in the smooth running of all departments of the work. The best paid officer can work his life out and accomplish nothing, without a good board of managers; but, if not removed, a poor executive officer can balk and discourage the best board of managers ever organized. He may be faithful and yet useless; he may be active and yet mischievous in his very activity.

Too often our paid workers have been selected for their ability to make it easy for managers to do nothing at all. There is no more fatal gift; and I should say that the supreme test of an official's ability is his power of helping others to do their best work.

¹A brief outline of a training plan by Miss Anna L. Dawes (see pp. 101-102) is omitted.—EDITORS.

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I have had experience of district agents who were faithful and painstaking, but who brought in contact with a group of volunteer visitors were as fatal as a Maxim gun; they were warranted to scatter as many volunteers as by your utmost ingenuity you could get together. There is but one thing to do with such officials. Though their virtues be many and conspicuous, they are lacking in the one essential, and should be encouraged to seek some other field of usefulness.

III. OUR CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES AS SCHOOLS FOR VOLUNTEER WORKERS

I had occasion to speak a few months ago before a Philadelphia audience on this subject of volunteer service in connection with the work of the Charity Organization Society. I may be pardoned, I hope, if I digress somewhat from my subject to repeat some of the things then said, since I believe they have a vital connection with the matter in hand. The old idea of a charity organization society was that it was to be a sort of charitable clearing house, where our charitable balances were to be struck, and our activities were to be checked and regulated by an ingenious system of investigation and registration. It was a very businesslike ideal, and I ventured the statement that this ideal had broken down; that investigation and registration, except in very close alliance with more personal and continuous work, had not been as effective as their early advocates had claimed they would be. I suspected at the time, and I have been made definitely conscious since, that many charity organization workers do not agree with me in this view. Only a few weeks ago a lady, who is herself the efficient head of a committee of volunteer workers in a large charity organization society, said to me that the friendly visiting in which she was engaged always seemed to her a thing which had been "tacked on" to the society and not an essential part of its work. The society was intended primarily, as it seemed to her, to organize the other charities of the city, and its most effective work was in that field. The clearness and straightforwardness of her statement was very helpful to me. It made it possible for me to see the wide difference between a society which aims to organize *charities*, and one which aims to organize *charity*. The one may be a most im-

portant factor in overhauling antiquated machinery, in economizing effort, in avoiding duplication and preventing mischievous rivalries; and it can soon show such important results in this field as to justify its existence. But the other will accomplish the same results by a slower, but, as I venture to believe, a sounder method. The society which aims to organize *charity* will recognize that the large factor of individual charity cannot be left out of account; that our charitable societies and institutions can be no better in the long run—no matter how perfect their schemes of organization—than the individuals that compose them. For the old clearing-house ideal, therefore, some of our societies have substituted the charitable training school ideal. The charity organization society has come to mean to them, not a place where information is systematically recorded and schemes of organization are hatched, but a place where a considerable body of needy families, believed to need special and continuous treatment, are selected from the investigations and registrations (which are merely necessary preliminaries to treatment), and are then placed individually under the care of the volunteers, called friendly visitors, who are to be trained to do this work. A careful record of this continuous treatment of families by visitors makes it possible to learn from our blunders, and establishes slowly a standard of volunteer charitable work. And it is only when we have acquired such a standard through first-hand experience, and have been able to impart such a standard to a large body of workers (who are not merely our workers, but are vitally connected with many different churches, institutions, and societies); it is only then that we are beginning to organize the charitable work of the city in any true sense.

I have often taken pleasure in pointing out that the chief end and aim of every charitable institution should be to render itself unnecessary. The trustees of almshouses should never lose sight of the fact that theirs is the important trust of rendering almshouses less necessary in the future; of preventing, by every possible means, the reckless and criminal multiplication of a distinctly pauper class. The managers of children's refuges and homes of the friendless should never lose sight for one moment of the need of training their little charges in such a way that their descendants will be unlikely to need institutional care. How, I ask myself

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often, does our own charity organization work stand this test? If we reorganize merely the form of our charities, if we give them only a new and smarter outside, are we indeed rendering ourselves unnecessary at any future day, however distant? There is no more depressing sight, I think, than to see a set of well-meaning men and women, who have read a little about new methods and have equipped themselves with some modern charitable machinery, drift slowly but inevitably back into the same old ruts, because they have no practical experience, no first-hand convictions about the needs of the poor. This is always happening and it must continue to happen, unless we can train a sufficient number of volunteers to become capable leaders through actual contact with poverty. And even actual contact with poverty is not enough. We all know people who have worked among the poor all their lives with great faithfulness and have learned absolutely nothing. Experience, they say, is a good teacher, but some very dull people go to school to her. The men and women capable of leadership must have learned to apply reasonable theory to many concrete needs and then to modify the theory by results. The charity organization society which can train enough such leaders to supply the public and private charities with a leaven of experienced workers, has organized the city's charities in a very vital sense, and has taken a most important step toward rendering itself, in time, unnecessary.

Such work must be steady and continuous. There is always danger that very capable and energetic people may neglect their duty toward the younger generation of workers. One important duty of a trained volunteer is to teach. In our district conferences of visitors, which meet from week to week in the charity organization society, we find that work has to be conducted with special reference to this, rather than with reference to the mere expedition of business. For instance, the case of the family of a confirmed drunkard—man out of work, woman sick, five children—comes up for consideration. It is one of many such; and the mind of the experienced conference worker, classifying it at once by past experience, thinks quickly along the line of possible things to be done, and as quickly eliminates the impossible ones. But there are inexperienced workers present, who are just beginning their training, and, instead of saying, "This is the sixteenth family of the sort this

week; we cannot advise any assistance except temporary indoor relief, as it has been found to do more harm than good," the leaders are compelled, for the beginners' sakes (and often it is for their own best interest too), to go quite carefully into the family history and weigh and consider the *pros* and *cons*, being careful at the same time to draw out the new workers and so teach them to think for themselves.

This is what makes all this complicated and difficult work seem worth doing. There can be no thorough treatment without careful investigation, or without system and order, of which registration is a necessary part. But the mere treatment of what is, after all, only a small fraction of the socially diseased, would not seem so thoroughly worthwhile, if we were not teaching a gradually widening circle to do honest, sincere, and efficient work, and so laying the foundation for a better charity in the future—a charity which is sympathetic, resourceful, and far seeing, a charity which is at once individual and co-operative.

If we can hope to give to one citizen in every thousand, say, a tolerably thorough training in charitable theory and practice, we shall have laid the foundation for a new charitable order. This once accomplished, it will hardly be possible for anyone to start, with the best intentions imaginable, a costly charitable experiment which has already failed ten thousand times. One of our trained workers will be there with a timely warning. It will no longer be necessary to point out the evil effects of a denominational rivalry in charity. Each denomination will have within it an influential representation of those who know the evils of such rivalry and stand ready to avoid them. No longer shall the manager of a foundling asylum regard the conditions which manufacture foundlings as part of the divine plan. An irate manager of a reformatory said to a fellow-member of the board, not long ago, "You don't seem to care for the *institution* at all, you don't care for anything but the girls!" Let us hope the day is coming when managers the world over will care nothing for the institution and everything for the inmates; and no one thing can hasten that day so surely as a training in charity which brings with it larger and saner views of the whole problem.

In insisting, as I have, upon the training school ideal for our

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charity organization societies, I would not ignore the fact that admirable training has been given to volunteers by other charitable agencies; notably by the child-saving agencies for which Pennsylvania is so famous. I would not ignore the further fact that there are charity organization societies in this country today in which not a manager ever comes in contact with the poor, ever learns anything about poverty except at second-hand; and the paid agents of these societies are heart-sick, discouraged workers, who are trying, some of them, at least, to hope against hope that it is all worthwhile.

For my own part, I am convinced that it is *not* worthwhile. It is true that there are other functions to fulfil; and on a board of management some are good for one thing and some for another. Some there will always be who when confronted with an individual pauper will be as helpless as a bachelor with a baby, and even these may be made useful in some capacity. But my mind is quite made up that a charity organization society is not worthwhile, in which a majority, at least, of its managers are not engaged in personal service among the poor, in what Mr. Loch calls "case work," and in what we, on this side, call "friendly visiting."

In closing, let me repeat what I said at the very beginning. The tendency to laud our merely charitable intentions as in themselves peculiarly lofty and unselfish has retarded charitable progress. If

Dreaming of deeds that we mean to do,
All complete, in a minute or two,
Something noble and grand and good,
Won by merely wishing we could.

—if this is charity, why worry to study and experiment and compare? Why indeed should we strive so strenuously after knowledge and skill if good intentions are enough? But I have noticed that people actively engaged in charitable work are slow to make such claims. When our workers go to the National Conference of Charities each year, and the mayors of the cities in which we meet quote Abou Ben Adhem to us (as they usually do), and tell us what noble, self-sacrificing men and women we are, I have observed that we are usually rather shamefaced—we wish they wouldn't. Our feeling is due in large part to our native modesty, perhaps, but it is due

also, I think, to a feeling that charitable work is retarded by such special claims, that it ought to stand or fall on its merits, that there is nothing more praiseworthy about charitable service than there is about teaching, or preaching, or doctoring, or sanitary engineering, or any other bit of honest work. But, in relinquishing all untenable claims to importance, in placing philanthropy on a level with the sciences of education, theology, and medicine, we advance her true importance; for it becomes at once evident that, as a science, as a body of organized fact, she has lagged behind any of these. Education and medicine—the care of the mind and of the body—have made enormous advances in our century, but in the care of social diseases,¹ though we have made advances, there is still so much to do, ours is still, relatively speaking, such a disorganized field, that the very ripeness of our difficulties should command the highest courage and intelligence of our time. In claiming for philanthropy, therefore, a place among the professions and the sciences, I yield to no one in my sense of its importance and its possibilities. In striving to set a higher standard of charitable service, in aiming to bring order out of the present charitable chaos, in seeing to it, as someone has said, that our children's children administer their charities better than we are administering ours, there is room and to spare for the free play and exercise of every faculty of mind and heart that any, the best of us, may possess.

¹ This term now used to designate venereal disease had no such specific meaning when this paper was written. Social workers had no term for venereal disease; many of them, in fact, were unaware of its existence.—EDITORS.

THE NEED OF A TRAINING SCHOOL IN APPLIED PHILANTHROPY

A paper read before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1897. It contains a definite proposal (realized the following year) for a training school for social workers. The paper also shows Miss Richmond's budding interest in terminology, and her concern that social workers, as members of a liberal profession, should become "not only practitioners, but teachers."

IT IS just twenty years since certain new ideas about the administration of charities came to have currency among us in the United States, and led to the founding of voluntary associations known as charity organization societies. The question now is how to get educated young men and women to make a life vocation of charity organization work. We must educate them. Through these twenty years our charity organization societies have stood for trained service in charity. We are thoroughly committed to that, in theory at least. But it is not enough to create a demand for trained service. Having created the demand (and I think we may claim that our share in its creation has been considerable), we should strive to supply it.

Moreover, we owe it to those who come after us that they be spared the groping and blundering by which we have acquired our own stock of experience. In these days of specialization, when we train our cooks, our apothecaries, our engineers, our librarians, our nurses—when, in fact, there is a training school for almost every form of skilled service—we have yet to establish our first training school for charity workers, or, as I prefer to call it, "Training School in Applied Philanthropy."

It is only gradually that the need of such a school has made itself apparent; but I was not surprised, upon writing a few months ago to a number of workers engaged in different branches of charity work in different sections of the country, to find that the idea had occurred to several of them. We have known for a long while that

we wanted young people of high character and unusual attainments to devote themselves to a cause which has seemed to us of the first importance; but we are just beginning to understand that these young people have a right to demand something of us in return. Surely, they have a right to demand from the profession of applied philanthropy (we really have not even a name for it) that which they have a right to demand from any other profession; further opportunities for education and development, and, incidentally, the opportunity to earn a living.

Now the opportunities for education and development must always be extremely limited in any calling which has not established a professional standard, a certain fairly definite outline of what the practitioner in that field is expected to know and to be. We are all agreed, I think, that such a standard is desirable. But the matter about which we are likely to differ is this: Some of us will think that a training school is impracticable until we have acquired a professional standard, and others will think that we can never acquire a professional standard until we have the school. This latter is my own view, though I would avoid, if possible, the clamorous solicitude about it of a hen who has only one chick. It may be that we are not quite ready for the school, that such a plan is premature. If so, I urge that we should begin to move without delay in the direction, at least, of some definite system of training.

Let me borrow, as we continually are tempted to borrow in our charity work, a few illustrations from the medical profession. I have been reminded that the analogy between the charitable and the medical professions is not a true one, that the science of medicine is a far more highly organized body of knowledge. For that very reason we so often turn to the physicians. They are what we merely hope to be. We ourselves may be said to have advanced no farther than that rudimentary stage of charitable progress where our barbers let blood and pull teeth, where the priest is still our chief medicine man, or where to our pharmaceutical apprentices is intrusted the delicate task of making diagnoses. We know that even in the medical profession almost every crude form of earlier practice still survives; but these survivals are weighed and found wanting by a definite professional standard, and such a standard is sadly needed in our charity to discredit unintelligent work. I

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am little versed in medical history; but is it not probable that the profession of medicine owes a large part of its inheritance of knowledge and principles to its schools, which have established the tradition that the members of a liberal profession should be not only practitioners but teachers?

An experienced worker has written to me that a difficulty in the way of a school of applied philanthropy on a sufficiently broad and inclusive basis would be the fact that our charity work has become so highly specialized. This is true, but our specialization is often essentially false. It is still as erratic as the specialization of the barber who pulls teeth. In the division of modern medicine into many special departments we find few such anomalies. We find, moreover, a broad field of knowledge which is common ground. If, for instance, a neurologist has occasion to confer with a surgeon, each can take it for granted that the other has mastered the elements of anatomy and physiology. But what can we take for granted in a similar case? If an agent of a relief society has occasion to confer with the head of a foundling asylum, is it not likely that the ends they have in view, that the principles underlying their work, that the very meanings which they attach to our technical terms, will prove to be quite at variance? What an incalculable gain to humanity when those who are doctoring social diseases in many departments of charitable work will have found a common ground of agreement, and be forced to recognize certain established principles as underlying all effective service! Not immediately, of course, but slowly and steadily such a common ground could be established, I believe, by a training school for our professional workers.

This question presents itself in different ways, according as one looks at it with reference to the needs of small or large towns, of public or private charities, of institutions or societies. Miss Anna L. Dawes¹ who was the first one to suggest the need of a training school for our new profession, conceived the idea after unavailing efforts to find a suitable superintendent for the charitable society of a small city. What was needed was a man with a knowledge of

¹ Dawes, Anna L., "The Need of Training Schools for a New Profession." In the Proceedings of the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, Section 7, Sociology in Institutions of Learning, Chicago, 1894, p. 14.—EDITORS.

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the "alphabet of charitable science, some knowledge of its underlying ideas, its tried and trusted methods, and some acquaintance," to quote her own words, "with the various devices employed for the upbuilding of the needy, so that no philanthropic undertaking, from a model tenement house to a kindergarten or a sand-heap, will be altogether strange to his mind." Taking for her model the school for Young Men's Christian Association secretaries at Springfield, Massachusetts, it was Miss Dawes's idea that the course should be inexpensive and practical, even superficial if need be, as the small cities cannot pay large salaries.

Working, as I do, in the charity organization society of a large city, the matter has presented itself to me in a somewhat different way. Like some other charity organization societies, we give our agents a preliminary training in charitable theory and practice; but this training specializes too soon, and our leaders have felt the need of a more intimate and sympathetic acquaintance on the part of our agents with child-saving work, almshouse work, reformatory work, care of defectives, and all the other branches of work represented at this Conference. We feel, of course, that every form of charity could be improved by a better knowledge of charity organization principles; but it seems to us of the first importance, also, that our agents should have a better all-round knowledge of other forms of charity. The school that is to be most helpful to our charity organization agents, therefore, must be established on a broad basis, and be prepared to train relief agents, child-saving agents, institution officials, and other charitable specialists. An important part of their training would be in that shoulder-to-shoulder contact which makes co-operation natural and inevitable.

I recognize that all this is very vague. Let me venture a step farther. Before anything is settled about our training school in applied philanthropy save the bare fact that such a school is needed, we should search the country over for the right man to organize it. We need a university-trained man who is now engaged in charitable work, and who has had wide, practical experience in it. There are a few such men. I have one in mind this moment, who, after successful work as the head of a volunteer society in one state, took an official position in another state, where he has been instrumental in securing better administration and better laws. His experience

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has been varied, though he is still young; and not only is he a man of originality and force, but the spirit of his work is admirable. I have no idea, of course, whether he would be willing to drop his present work to undertake the difficult task of embodying a new idea; but to succeed, he must believe that a training school for charity workers is necessary and practicable, and he must be guaranteed time, money, and entire freedom of action, together with the hearty support of our leading charitable specialists.

You will observe that, having found one man, it will become immediately necessary to find another to furnish the money for this experiment. And this to some is like to be the rock on which our new craft might go to pieces. But consider the things that people do spend money for. I remember to have heard of the experiments of a psychologist for which an American millionaire has been furnishing large sums of money. By some very complicated machinery the experimenter hopes to determine the colors of our emotional states. Now, if such fanciful science as that can find a patron, why should our school go a-begging if we can once heartily agree that it is practicable?

Given the money and the head master, I can imagine that the latter's first care would be to make a detailed inquiry into the paid service demanded by our charities. His next would be to determine the school's location and affiliations. Probably he would choose a large city, the larger the better; and it may be that he would seek connection with some institution of learning, though it should never be forgotten that emphasis is to be put on practical work rather than on academic requirements. Vital connection, therefore, would of necessity be made with the public and private charities of the city. Here students could observe the actual work of charity, and take part in it under the daily supervision of their instructors. Theory and practice would go hand in hand, and our best specialists would be engaged to deliver courses of lectures during the less busy months of the year. A two years' course would probably begin with general principles, and would specialize later, so that all regular students would take some of the courses together. Nor would the needs of special students, such as those who could spare only a few months, be overlooked; and probably volunteers who are interested in some particular charity would be glad to avail themselves of the school's opportunities.

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I offer this plan in all its crudity, without attempting any elaboration, because I feel that it needs, and I trust will receive, the frankest criticism. There is often only a little difference between knowing and not knowing. I would not, therefore, exaggerate the importance of merely technical training. In the town which needed a charity superintendent, Miss Dawes tells us that "a superintendent of a New York mission, a local philanthropist, a benevolent woman, a Young Men's Christian Association secretary all proved to be without the technical knowledge necessary for such work"; and surely this is a strong argument for training. But more important than any training in detail is the opportunity which a good school would offer for the development of higher ideals of charitable service. "Ideals are catching," someone has said. How important, then, to send our young people, our future workers, where ideals can be "caught"! A friend of mine is in the habit of saying in praise of a certain college that its graduates are never ashamed to acknowledge their ignorance, that the school has given all its pupils a certain candid habit of thought. To give our professional charity workers better habits of thought and higher ideals, this should be the chief aim of our School of Applied Philanthropy. I need not say how slowly a good school grows, or how slowly it makes its influence felt. But if these twenty years have taught us anything, they have taught us that plans which are to find their full realization the year after next are not worth initiating. The chief and perhaps the only claim which this rough sketch of a plan can have to consideration is to be found in the willingness of its advocate to leave much to the future.

THE ART OF ASKING QUESTIONS

A paper that appeared in the Baltimore Charities Record for May, 1896. The interest of this comparatively slight discussion lies in its relation to Miss Richmond's Social Diagnosis, published in 1917.

QUESTION asking, as practiced in connection with charity work—and in this connection we would especially consider it—is so little of an art as to be more frequently an impertinence. The inept, the unskilled, the irrelevant question is always an impertinence, and our charitable questionings are so often inept and unskilled that the popular mind has come to regard all investigation in charity with disfavor. Before we attempt to criticize this attitude, let us note very briefly the part that questions play in other human relations—in the relation of lawyer and client, doctor and patient, teacher and pupil, friend and friend.

Of the lawyer's training we feel instinctively that almost the whole of it has been in the art of asking questions; that he knows what he knows in order to know what to ask. The client is so conscious of this that he is at little pains to marshal his facts, often he has only a dim notion of what the facts are, until his lawyer has cleared his mind by pertinent questions.

Of the doctor's function our conception is not so clear; we still are slightly confused, even in these latter days, by old associations between medicine and magic. But let us hear what a medical practitioner—Dr. Robert G. Eccles in a lecture on the "Evolution of Medical Science"—has to say of his own profession:

Avoid the doctor who never inquires into the disease-tendencies of your family, or the past troubles of the patient, and *who has therefore few questions to ask*. A family doctor of long standing has mastered all these facts in advance, and no longer needs to ask; but a stranger who pretends to know without asking is a dangerous pilot. . . . The more facts he gets, the more likely is he to be right in his conclusions; and the fewer he gets the more likely is he to err. A stupid physician will make a snap

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diagnosis on one prominent fact, and many of this kind of doctor depend upon the unskilled diagnosis of the patients themselves or of their friends. A single falsehood, or misstated fact believed in, will lead the most skilled physician into error, and condemn the patient to the wrong treatment.

There is no safer advice for the sick man than this—avoid the doctor who has few questions to ask. Perhaps the best of reasons for avoiding the patent-medicine man is that he asks none. He knows at a glance—all symptoms aside—that what you need is his neatly wrapped mixture, a dollar the bottle.

The teacher's province seems bounded on every side by the apposite and intelligent question. In fact, modern methods of education have so developed question asking as an art that not only the teacher but the pupil is trained to question every object, every group of facts presented to his consideration. He is no longer stuffed with knowledge as a goose with sage, to be roasted after on the spit of examinations, and served up well done to admiring relatives at commencement; but he is treated rather as a living, growing organism, with faculties not to be stunted but developed, with a curiosity not to be sated but whetted by education.

The question becomes something more than an educational tool between friends—for them it is an unfailing touchstone of understanding and sympathy. Who does not know the baffled sensation one experiences upon going to a friend with one's trouble, only to be put off with vague expressions of solicitude—expressions which avoid both the details and the issue! Happier he whose friend can concentrate sympathy and every faculty upon practical helpfulness. Happiest he whose friend can always and without waste of words put the query which goes to the very heart of difficulty. These are the rare friends, with a genius for friendship.

But this high quality and no less is needed in the successful charity practitioner, though he must have, in addition, a lawyer's deftness in sifting the relevant from the irrelevant, a doctor's instinct for the appropriate remedy, and a teacher's ability to develop character through experience. This array of qualifications seems little better than absurd, when we think of the broken-down men and women, the uneducated, untrained material from which paid charity workers often are selected; but it is well to remember that there was a time when members of what are now regarded as

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learned professions dined in the servants' hall. A new profession does not come up, like Jonah's gourd, in a night; it is a thing of painfully slow growth.

Charity, as a profession, is still in its infancy, but here and there, one finds even now the charity agent of exceptional ability with power to acquire an organized body of experience in a disorganized school. This experience will become the standard by which all less conscientious, less intelligent service will be measured and at last set aside. These exceptional workers, underpaid and overworked, are the pioneers of a new profession. They will create a demand for a grade of service which can only be adequately supplied by charity training schools—schools which will place the organized experience of the charitable world at the service of the students. Such schools, as they demonstrate their usefulness, will receive large endowments, just as our medical schools do now, and will become a part of our higher educational system. What their course of training will be, it is too soon to predict; but instruction in the art of asking questions, in making skillful diagnoses of social diseases, will surely hold a place in the curriculum.

Nothing tends to hasten this better day for charity workers more surely, nothing emphasizes the need of skillful diagnosis so much, as the charity that asks no questions. The results of such haphazard benevolence are all around us. We turn to the imbecile woman with an illegitimate child, to the cripple whose back was broken by a drunken father, to the moral perverts in our reformatories, to the beggars on our streets, and ask, "What brought you here? Weak and crippled, depraved and unsightly, who paid for the drink, debauchery, and idleness that brought you here?" And if, through their poor muddled brains, any idea of the relation of cause and effect could filter, they would answer, "The charitable brought us to this miserable pass—the charitable who gave and asked no questions."

It is only at dreadful cost, with waste of life and waste of the possibilities of living, that the world learns her lessons. The thought is not a particularly cheering one, but it may be none the less true that the service that the miserable and degraded can do the world, the only service that some of them are capable of doing it, is this: They may teach us how merciful a thing it is to ask questions in our charity work, and to ask them before it is too late.

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In this paper, which appeared in the Baltimore Charities Record for February, 1896, and in The True Christmas Spirit that follows, Miss Richmond rebukes those who would profit, either in purse or self-aggrandizement, through the needs of the poor. Progress in awakening a social conscience has not got so far in the last thirty-five years as to render these two papers out-of-date!

THOUGH charity seeketh not her own, yet is she sought out by a certain class who are also self-seekers. One of these came to the office of a charitable society in Baltimore one day, to explain a plan by which its income might be enlarged. He had invented a weighing machine with a revolving scroll for advertisements. Anyone dropping a dime in the machine received a ticket on which his weight was stamped, and certain of these tickets (this being the peculiar merit of the invention) were to contain, in addition, merchandise orders on the advertisers. Thus, one might invest ten cents and, if lucky, draw an order for five dollars' worth of goods at the butcher's, the baker's, or the candlestick maker's.

Under the laws of Maryland, the ingenious deviser of this machine found it difficult to profit directly by deposits made in it, but he thought he saw his way clear, if these deposits could be turned over to charity, to make a handsome thing out of the advertisements. What he greatly desired, therefore, was permission to place a sign over his apparatus certifying that all money deposited there would be expended by the society in question for the relief of the poor. He was sure that the thought of assisting suffering humanity by the simple act of getting weighed would prove irresistibly attractive.

"But your machine is not so much a weighing machine as a gambling machine," objected the society's agent.

"Well," said the inventor, with an ingenuous smile, "it's no worse than some church fairs."

"My dear sir," retorted the agent, "my chief objection to it is that it's no better!"

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The man grew urgent, pulling out his pencil to figure the probable receipts from ten machines at \$200 each a month. He urged the necessities of the poor. What a blessing the money would be to them! He spoke with feeling of the widowed and fatherless, and left with the solemn warning that the agent was taking a great responsibility in refusing such an offer.

Despite his eloquence, the philanthropist was so clearly swallowed up in the advertiser that he was not likely to deceive either himself or anyone else, and was not, therefore, a dangerous person. The poet tells us that

Evil or good may be better or worse
In the human heart, but the mixture of each
Is a marvel and a curse.

Against the insidious *mixture* of the philanthropic and the advertising instincts we must be on our guard. It cannot profit any man to inquire too curiously into the springs of human action; but here are two motives which cannot live together, for it is of the very essence of advertising that it should be public, and of the very essence of charity that it should be private.

When, therefore, the leaders of Tammany—partly from a burning desire to do good, and partly from a burning desire to strengthen their hold on the people—ordered that, during the crisis of '93, all their ward organizations should distribute relief to the needy, it was certain that the better motive could not survive, and that only harm could be done to the recipients of charity so given.

Experienced workers in the homes of the poor are well aware that no greater misfortune can befall a family in distress than for them to excite the sympathy of a sensational journalist. He is likely to have only one eye on the family, the other on a newsy, picturesque item which will advertise himself and his paper. He lives in such a blaze of publicity that he cannot realize the demoralization which follows when a family is made, for the first time, the object of public commiseration.

Some are hardened to it, but to others of the poor this publicity is an extreme bitterness. A respectable woman who, impoverished by sickness and not knowing where to turn, applied to the police station this winter, wept tears of shame and mortification when she

saw her name, address, and story paraded in the newspapers the following morning. Temporary relief came to her in this way, but any solace which it might have brought if it had been more quietly bestowed was denied her.

The newspapers and the police are not the only ones to blame, however. A certain class of citizens care nothing for the poor, know nothing about them, except as "interesting cases," and wait for the sensational item before they can be persuaded to give.

All public distributions—the giving out of supplies to people who are expected to stand in line and so advertise their needs—are open to this same objection, that charity hurts when it fails to shun publicity. We talk much about "helping people to help themselves"; but how can they help themselves effectively if, through our carelessness, they are robbed of their self-respect and proper pride?

Merchants who give their charity with public announcements of the same in the daily papers, politicians who seek political preferment through their benefactions, policemen and reporters who so often figure in print as the guardian angels of the poor—these are not without blame. But our charitable societies must set them a better example before we can hope for an absolute separation between philanthropy and advertising. In the scramble for patronage and financial support, these societies too often resort to devices unworthy of them. Some are always ready to proclaim that the present winter is an exceptionally hard winter for the poor, whether it is so or not. Others prepare tempting bait for fishes with advertising instincts.

The following is an extreme instance, perhaps, of a bait-preparing charity. It comes from London, and is vouched for by the Charity Organisation Review, but careful search might reveal its match on this side of the water. A London wine merchant received this letter from a prominent "lady organizer":

DEAR SIR:—As I know how kind and charitable you are, I venture to ask you to be so good as to send us a small donation of your wines to the bazaar, of which I enclose circular and complimentary tickets, and, being for so good an object as the Children's Free Breakfasts and the Winter Dinners for the Poor, I feel certain you will help us if you possibly can. Any showcards you may entrust me with shall have prominent places on

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the refreshment counter, and the attention of our patronesses shall be drawn to the excellence of your wines. Any contribution, no matter how small, will be gratefully acknowledged by ———. Trusting you will not refuse your generous aid for so good a charity, I remain, etc., etc.

In the first place, you are so “kind and charitable”; in the second place, we will place your showcards prominently, or print your name in big type, or make you a patron, or bribe you in some fashion into being a philanthropist. Though he is not wholly the creation of our charitable enterprise, this accounts, in part, for the philanthropic advertiser. Perhaps if we always appealed to his better self, he would be his better self always.

THE TRUE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT

An unsigned editorial printed in the *Baltimore Charities Record*, December, 1897. The title is supplied by the editors. For Miss Richmond's maturer views, see *Of Christmas Gifts*, in the present volume, page 301.

OF ALL the gracious customs of the Christmas season, the one that we would least willingly let die, perhaps, is the gift-giving custom. It has its unlovely side—the piling of costly possessions upon those who already have more than enough, and the nice adjusting of commercial values in a sordid exchange of presents; but at its best, expressing as it does our pleasure in the ties of kinship, friendship, and human brotherhood, expressing too a delicate consideration for the wishes of others, an insight into their tastes and character, there is something precious and human about the custom which the world could ill afford to lose. Nearest to the Christmas spirit is the gift which can meet with no return; and one of the encouraging signs of the times is the fact that every year in larger numbers our people seek to express their appreciation of the blessings of the season and the blessings of the year by searching out less fortunate fellow-beings upon whom to bestow their gifts. They seek to extend the boundaries of Christmas cheer; and it is in no spirit of criticism that we venture to record here some suggestions which are drawn from practical experience as to the best ways of making the poor happier at Christmas.

First of all, we Anglo-Saxons feel instinctively that everyone should have something good to eat on Christmas Day, and our first thought is likely to turn to a Christmas dinner. The national bird, the turkey, seems to us the right thing for a treat, though many of our poor friends who were born on the other side of the water would greatly prefer bacon and sauerkraut. The same thought, the same effort to adapt our choice to individual tastes, which we exercise in buying gifts for our friends, should be used in

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making gifts to the poor. The true Christmas spirit knows no difference, and the careless gift rather serves to accentuate our alienation than our common brotherhood. If we send clothing for the girl when it is boots for the boy that is needed, we are only making clear our lack of any thorough and hearty interest in the family affairs.

Then, too, there is everything, as we all know, in the way a gift is given. We each one of us like to be recognized as individuals and treated as such. If any one of us fell into extreme poverty, he would not like to be known or treated as "the poor" or even as "the deserving poor." This is the trouble with giving our gifts wholesale in large public distributions, in dinners at a church or a hall. Where, by the by, should a normal human being eat his Christmas dinner if not in his own home? If our gift is to take the form of a dinner, let us send it by all means to the home, and so make that home, however humble, a little center of Christmas cheer. There is something essentially repugnant to one who works much in the homes of the poor, and who knows them as friends, in the idea of a public distribution. The crowd standing in line with baskets, advertising themselves as recipients of charitable bounty, the consequent breaking down of a pride and self-respect more precious than any material gift we can give them, the pushing and shoving and petty jealousies—these are out of keeping with the season. Let us send our gifts, whatever they may be, to the homes of the poor, leaving them, as the wise men of the East did on that first Christmas morning, in the heart of the family circle.

The generous and lavish spirit of the season brings with it some inconveniences, and the story of the young couple who received thirteen silver butter dishes is often repeated on a less pretentious scale at Christmas time in poor homes. Those who put themselves much in evidence are likely to get the lion's share of our bounty, but they are not always the ones who need it most. Our hearts go out to the shrinking poor who are trying to hide their troubles, and it is to them that we would like to bring some gladness, even at the cost of time and trouble in seeking them out. Even then we must not forget to make the gift a fitting one. A widow last Christmas, thinking of the long winter months still before her, said with a sigh over the perishable gifts which had been sent by kind

friends, "If I only had the value of them, it would go a long way toward seeing me through the winter!" Our purpose is not to please ourselves, but to please them; and wastefulness, a disregard of actual needs, does not please them.

We have said nothing about the children, but it would be a strange view of Christmas which left them out. Just as we want the grown folk to have turkeys, we want all the children to have well-filled stockings. Every child that goes to any Sunday school, or mission, or kindergarten, is likely to get a treat. The public school children, too, usually have some Christmas entertainment; but it is true that, multiply agencies as we will and work as diligently as we may, someone is likely to be left out in the cold in a large city like this. It is a thing to be grateful for, that only a very few children are unconnected with any Sunday or day school or sewing school; and we venture to suggest that if kind-hearted folk succeed in finding unbefriended children at this Christmas time and in filling their stockings, those children need friends the year round to bring them into right relations with the schools and other uplifting influences. Let their kindly interest not stop at the stocking, and above all let it find expression *in the home*. We talk about saving the children, but how are we to do it unless we strive to improve the homes in which they spend three-fourths of their time?

Last of all, though Christmas giving should seek no material return, yet at its very best it is the expression of our pleasure in a relation which already exists. Our best Christmas gifts cannot be made to the poor unless we know the poor. If at the Christmas season we look about us to find that we personally know only those who are as well off as ourselves, there is a certain poverty in our own lives. We may wish to extend our gifts beyond our personal acquaintance, and the charitable agents of our large societies can help us to find poor families needing Christmas cheer; but over and above this we should face the New Year with the resolution to enlarge the circle of our acquaintance, so that when another Christmas comes, fewer families may remain unbefriended and dependent upon the Christmas bounty of strangers. Then we can send gifts to our poor friends which express a careful thought for them and will express, moreover, our pleasure in knowing them.

OUR RELATION TO THE CHURCHES

A paper read in 1899 at a monthly meeting of the Board of Managers of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society, in opening a discussion on this subject. It was published in the Baltimore Charities Record for October, 1899, and quoted later in The Good Neighbor.

A CLERGYMAN, who is also the president of a charity organization society, said recently that the Church is the greatest anti-poverty society in the world, because it puts heart into men and so fits them for the struggle of life. This great work of the Church, the heartening of men through education in the life of the spirit, cannot be subordinated to any other function, however humane; for this, the Church's greatest function, is one that makes it the leader and captain of rich and poor alike, while we charity workers are at best only the ambulance corps in the army of civilization, social physicians and nurses more or less skilled in the relief and prevention of distress. The Church furnishes us with the motive for all our work, it heartens us as it heartens many other classes of workers, and sends us forward on life's battlefield to do our allotted part in a campaign that involves wider issues.

I have said that the Church supplies the charitable *motive*, without which our part of the world's work must remain undone. What do we give in return? We are prepared to give *method*, the slowly systematized accumulation of human experiences about charitable work and the way in which it can be most successfully done. These, broadly speaking, are our separate functions, and when we realize how necessarily motive and method belong together, how they fit into each other as the hand fits the plow, we must realize that the churches and the Charity Organization Society have need of each other.

Take a concrete example. A young clergyman is called to a Baltimore church. He has high ideals of what a church should be and do. He earnestly hopes to make his church, to all its mem-

bers and to all with whom it comes in contact, a source of spiritual uplifting. Denominational rivalries seem to him petty. To start an orphanage, or soup kitchen, or a mother's meeting, because the Baptists or the Presbyterians have started one in the same field, appears to him a hopeless confusing of the Church's true aim. He has studied and thought and lived, and knows that the coming of God's Kingdom is not to be hastened by running a church as if it were a department store, in sharp competition with all neighboring places of worship. On the contrary, he feels that the life of a church is strengthened by brotherly contact with every other uplifting agency in the community.

What are some of the initial hindrances to the work of such a minister? In the first place he must overcome the inertia of the men and women in his own flock. Now the natural selfishness of the human heart is best overcome by encouraging every little flickering flame of desire to do good to others, and charitable activities assume a new importance in his eyes, when, having shaken his people out of their smaller selves by his preaching of the Gospel, he realizes the necessity of giving them ample opportunity for the exercise of a newly awakened impulse.

A relief society and other agencies are started in the church, and then his troubles begin. Our minister is a busy man. He is generous of his time and sympathy. In addition to the exacting duties of his pulpit and church activities, the sick, the tempted, and the stricken of his flock make heavy demands upon him. It is not humanly possible for him to guide each stumbling beginner in charity to safe ground, and soon he discovers that the benevolent intentions of his good people are being exercised at the expense of the church's poor, or too often, of some other church's poor, who are growing more and more dependent, and instead of having heart put into them for the struggle of life, are growing less willing to struggle at all. He gets sick at heart when he sees the concrete results of that promiscuous dosing of social diseases which passes in his church for charity.

It is unnecessary to tell the stories of children seven times baptized in different churches, of rent paid five times over, of Protestant fuel and Catholic groceries supplied, while the family earnings go in drink and in Sunday picnics on the Shell Road. The waste of

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money and time would be a small matter, if the moral effect on his own people and on the poor were not so bad. Each gets a distorted view of the other; and the unnatural relations of the dependent poor and the careless givers have gone on so long that any sane and right relation is difficult to establish. On one point he is clear: he knows that his flock will never win Heaven by making other human beings less human. The problem given him is how to turn this desire to do good, this initial charitable impulse, which is so good an impulse in itself, into really useful channels—useful to the poor and to the community, useful, too, to the charitable, for any right relation between the poor and the charitable must enrich the lives of both.

In the solution of this difficulty, with which every thoughtful clergyman is only too familiar, a charity organization society can be of definite service. That church is fortunate that has in its membership workers who are already familiar with the charities and the poor of the city, and are willing, moreover, to give time and patient endeavor in teaching beginners in the church's charities to do their work thoroughly and well. But, lacking such aids, the clergymen may turn to our district organizations—many clergymen have turned to them—and may send to us beginners in church work for training and guidance in charitable service, with the assurance that our one desire is to strengthen their interest in church charity, and not to divert them from it.

I have spoken of the hindrances to a clergyman's work; but the Charity Organization Society, in the effort to live up to a high ideal of service to the churches and the poor, has its troubles too. In the first place we have had to do our work and learn to do it at one and the same time. We feel that intelligent social service in charity is still in its infancy, that our best is a very imperfect and blundering best. But I know of no set of people more anxious to learn and more ready to receive suggestions than we are, and we are bending our best energies to getting more intelligent and devoted agents and volunteers who will regard this work of helping the churches as one of their most important duties.

Then, many people have only one idea of co-operation with the charity organization society. After they have spoilt a family for some time by ill-advised help, they turn it over to us. Their one

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idea of co-operation is to let us do all the "operating," as one of our members has said. We, on the other hand, fall into the opposite error sometimes, and have too little faith in the charitable work of others, taking cases off their hands entirely when we ought to have patience to help them to do the work themselves.

Our greatest difficulty, perhaps, is that we feel a certain duty, a very definite duty indeed, to the needy families with whom our agents and workers become acquainted. We feel that we cannot turn them over to any charitable visitor without being responsible for the result, and when the result is bad, we become cautious—unduly cautious it may be. If the clergymen will realize that our desire to make the poor people known to us permanently better off is a very sincere desire, and that our unwillingness to turn poor families over *en bloc* to other charity workers without certain assurances of careful treatment is not due to our natural crankiness, but to our sense of personal responsibility, then we, on our part, will endeavor to understand better than we have understood in the past the danger, from the church's point of view, of ruthlessly repressing any charitable impulse, however wayward. The charitable beginners who do not, and very naturally do not, see their work from our point of view, who do not realize that relief or any help that is well meant can possibly do harm, are going to continue to be charitable after their own fashion unless we and their pastors can get hold of them, can give them some modern ideas of extreme poverty as a disease requiring treatment and cure. They are going to continue to do poor people positive harm unless they can be brought to a more reasonable and socially helpful view.

What is our clear duty then? Not to turn families over to them and let them do as they please with them. Our duty to our patients cannot be shirked in this way. But, since we cannot possibly do ourselves all the charity work in the homes of the poor that needs so urgently to be done, we must ask the aid of the churches—the chief source of all charitable energy—in directing this energy into really useful channels. We should let no minor details of organization, no question of our duty as opposed to their duty, no minor considerations of any sort, stand in the way of seeking a working basis of hearty co-operation. If beginners very naturally prefer the leadership of the minister who first roused in them an unselfish

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impulse, and look to him for an interest in their work, we should stand ready to help him in guiding their work, and think nothing of who gets the credit, the church or ourselves, so long as the work is well done. If workers, who have been sent from churches to engage in friendly visiting under one of our district boards, become extremely helpful and efficient, and yet leave us to take the leadership in some church charitable work, we should feel that it is clear gain for us to have lost them if they are continuing the good work somewhere else.

This is the spirit we should cultivate, that we have the sincere desire to cultivate. We are absolutely dependent upon the churches in many ways. We look to them as the Water Board, with its elaborate system of water pipes and reservoirs, must look to the uncontaminated springs in the hills that are its sources of supply. The churches, on the other hand, will find us a modern convenience, if no more, and it is to work out some of the details of healthful interdependence between the springs and the water-works of charity that this discussion has been planned for today.¹

The predicament of the clergyman who desires to help his people to be truly charitable concerns everyone of us. Some here will tell, it is hoped, what the Charity Organization Society has already done to that end, and still others will make criticisms and suggestions, that we may learn by conference and by working together, to organize a steady and healthful supply of charitable service to the homes of our poor and needy.

¹ This analogy of the water-works was not original with Miss Richmond, having been elaborated by Josephine Shaw Lowell at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1890.—EDITORS.

THE SETTLEMENT AND FRIENDLY VISITING

(Hitherto Unpublished)

Although written for the Commons, probably in 1899, this paper was never published in its columns or elsewhere as far as can be learned. The title has been supplied by the editors. The term "social worker" on page 123 is used here for the first time by Miss Richmond as far as the editors have been able to discover.

I HAVE been asked by the Commons to write a paper on Friendly Visiting for those in the settlements who visit their poorest neighbors in an unofficial and friendly way. . . . The usual formal instruction in such work sometimes reminds me of the old ways of teaching elocution—ways that, for a long time, brought the word "elocution" and the thing itself into disrepute. When I was a small child I was taught to count "one" after a comma, "two" after a semi-colon, "three" after a colon, and "four" after a period; and, such is the tenacity of early impressions, that I still find myself counting silently sometimes when I read a punctuated sentence. This is bad enough, but it is not so bad as what used to be known as "reading with expression." It was in Chicago, and not so many years ago either, that a visitor to the public schools heard pupils read the story of "Be a Good Girl" after this fashion:

When the words "she stopped to listen" had been read, the pupil placed herself in a listening attitude by throwing her head outward and forward, in which attitude she remained for fully six or seven seconds. One of the pupils read the words, "Katy stood wondering," and proceeded to the next sentence before fully acting her part. But the teacher checked her with the words, "You didn't stand wondering; *stand wondering, Annie.*"

But it was not possible that the world should bear patiently with this sort of thing, and in the revolt, many people went to the other extreme and were ready to declare with Dogberry that reading, like writing, came by nature. These revolutionists discovered a very important side of the truth, but they did not discover the

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whole truth—revolutionists never do. Hampered as we were by bad personal habits, false standards, and congested throats, the more we were determined to be natural the more distressing the result. And it is only since teachers have begun to study the mechanism of the organs of speech and the common mistakes in using them, that we have been able to free ourselves from bad traditions. This once accomplished, teachers are wise enough now to see that the instruction should stop just here, and that to the released pupil the one injunction should be, "express yourself."

The new method of teaching elocution was discovered altogether too late to be of any practical value to me, but at least it helps me to an illustration.

In our intercourse with poorer people are we not hampered without realizing it? Are not the most emancipated of us hampered at every turn by charitable bad habits and superstitions? We may have passed the sentimental and patronizing stage of being charitable "with expression"; we may scorn to count "one" and "two"; or to be bound by the silly rules of a pseudo-scientific charity, but are we quite sure that the old traditions have no dominion over us? I am sure the experience of the settlements would bring fresh proof, if proof were needed, that better views of social relations get into our minds much sooner than they get into our muscles, that muscular conversion is not by one act, but by many and often repeated acts. We think we know better, and, in fact, we do know better, but the old throaty voice reasserts itself, the old ways of moving and breathing come back to us, the old charitable superstitions survive in us with all the vitality of error.

One may be so preoccupied with an ideal of society as to miss altogether the next practicable step for bringing the ideal nearer. I have a strong and ever increasing sympathy with those who long to give the poor more justice and less charity, but it hurts me to find that these earnest souls, when confronted by individual distress, often make the poor more helpless and dependent by their blundering inexperience, by the perpetual reassertion in themselves of the very charitable traditions that in theory they have outgrown. It took me a long time to discover that a strong general conviction was not enough in social work, and that only by patient study of

small details and by an application forever renewed of principles to actual conditions was progress made. Instead of treating my subject in a positive way, therefore, I am going to try to set down as briefly as possible a few of the charitable superstitions against which, as it seems to me, all social servants should be on their guard. I know that into the settlement worker's relation with families around the settlement it often happens that the question of charitable relief does not enter. The poorest working people struggle on without recourse to relief. Even in relations with these families, though, we can be more helpful friends if we know how little charity could really do for them, and how important it is to develop substitutes for charity, in so far as charity has to do with material things. Sometimes, in our impatience with present conditions, we fly to the extreme of thinking that it *ought* to be a perfectly natural thing for us to give to such struggling workers and for them to receive, that there's something wrong with the hearts and heads of people who think differently. Now this view, that charitable relief is a natural thing, and that those who have more can make things even by giving to those who have less, is the view of feudalism, when we consider it historically; but then the history of relief is usually the last thing that social democrats care to consider. In their contempt for the thing in theory they embrace it in practice, and I cannot help thinking that a short course of reading in the history of relief is one of the first steps in winning a genuine freedom from charitable superstitions. Only one who knows this history in detail can long passionately, as every social democrat should, to restrict the use of material relief by developing every substitute for it that human ingenuity and resource can devise. If I could choose a friend for a family fallen into misfortune and asking relief for the first time, I would rather choose for them one who had this practical resourcefulness than one who had a perfect equipment of advanced social theories and nothing more. The former would find the most natural and effective way out, if such a way existed; the other would say that the whole social order was wrong, and must pay a ransom for its wrongness by generous material help to its victims. In addition to being the victims of our present social order, poor families are too often made the victims of such defective logic as this. By the highway

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of a pseudo-scientific economics it lands us in the same bog of charitable superstition in which we find the old-fashioned district visitor and "charity lady" hopelessly struggling. I cannot too strongly urge all who are likely to travel that path to lay hold of actual experience, as it has been recorded for us by earnest students here and in England, and if I commend to their attention the English experience more especially, it is because more complete and painstaking record has been made there than anywhere else. There are readable little books that give the gist of it, like Miss Lonsdale's *The English Poor Laws*, and Mackay's *The State and Charity*. Then the best original document is the Report of the Royal Commission of 1834, now reprinted.

It is impossible to speak of the commonest superstitions about relief in detail, but I must take time to mention one—the superstition that a wise charity will give to "the worthy" and withhold from "the unworthy." "Blessed," says a later-day beatitude, "are the deserving poor, for they shall have flannel petticoats." As a matter of fact, no one is so worthy as to be absolutely relief-proof, and no one is so unworthy as to be unimprovable by relief, if the relief is made subordinate to and a part of a well considered plan for making the recipient permanently better off.

Next to superstitions about relief, the most common mistake is to think of the poor as quite unbefriended save for us, as existing in a vacuum without natural ties, neighbors or other resources. When we show so little imagination, the vacuum, of course, is in our own heads. What are the forces existing in and around the poor home with which the social worker must learn to work in sympathy and for which she must hesitate to furnish any more artificial substitute? Within the family, there is the capacity of each member for affection, training, endeavor, and social development. Outside the immediate family there are relatives and friends. Next to these come the neighborhood forces, including the landlord, tradesmen, former and present employers, pastors and fellow church-members, the doctor, the trade union, the fraternal society, and all the local educational opportunities, besides such civic forces as are represented by the public school teacher, the truant officer, the probation officer, the health officer, the street cleaners, the police, and so forth. Quite outside these, and less

effective than any of these—except in those rare instances where charities contrive by individual effort to become sincerely personal and unofficial in their work—come the benevolent agencies, private and public, that one finds in every large city. A social worker will be more efficient for knowing something about these charities and the way in which, for good or ill, they touch the lives of the families about her. One hears a great deal in these days about co-operation, and it is often lauded as if it were a patent medicine, but the truth under all the talk and all the clumsy schemes is this: A social servant in a modern city, who has no picture in her mind of the city's general scheme of social work, and no conception of the relation of her own little part to the whole, is always getting in her own way and in everybody else's way. She may be a delightful person, but she is sure to act as an insulator, cutting off the families she visits from many healthful streams of influence.

This brings me to the last group of superstitions that I shall mention, to superstitions about the "mission" of the charitable. One of the worst of these is to dream that we can and ought to be a special Providence to the people we know. The fault is not confined to social servants. We all know women who try to be special Providences to their husbands and children; we know others who spoil their best friends by a hungry, absorbing, unco-operative affection that ignores all resources within or without. It was of such people that General Armstrong wrote to his colleagues at Hampton when he warned them that "cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy." It was such a one who, in managing a kindergarten in a poor neighborhood, contrived to turn it into a relief agency, an old clothes bureau, and various other charities in miniature. When her eager pupils, already abnormally familiar with the seamy side of household economy, reported that fuel was needed, fuel was sent; so that the fundamental idea of the kindergarten—the idea of normal development—was quite lost sight of, and parents and children were encouraged to think that little folks ought to be the chief providers. I should be amazed at the way in which charitable people assist in throwing all the burdens upon the woman of the family, if I were not more amazed at the way in which they connive at throwing them on the children. But the resident of the settlement will not be guilty of this blunder.

THE SETTLEMENT AND FRIENDLY VISITING

Thanks, in part at least, to her, the man of the family has been rediscovered.

The beginner who leans to the special Providence role will visit the poor at first with a feverish activity. She will become the victim of a Van Bibber or some other story-book ideal, and will attempt to transform her friends out of hand in a week or two. Failing in this, she is liable to be overwhelmed by the present emergency, to have neither the patience nor the experience to look beyond it and make plans for the future.

There is an axiom that I have found useful in charitable work, and it may be of some service to those in the settlements who are forced, at times, to turn to charities and to charitable methods. The axiom is this: It should be the ideal of every charitable institution to render itself unnecessary. Many very imposing things in the charitable world ring hollow under the test. It is in applying this test that we charity organizers have brought down upon ourselves the accusation of saying "Don't" too much. Doubtless we have used the word blunderingly and out of season, but there is a right time for "Don't," and whenever charity adopts a method or an attitude that is self-perpetuating, then that time has arrived. Of all conceptions of the mission of charity, the most important and the one that still needs to be most dwelt upon is the mission of rendering charity less necessary, of extending its activity only in those self-effacing directions which will develop life's natural resources. I think of friendly visiting always as such a self-effacing labor, and for that reason I like to see it substituted for more official and pretentious forms of social service.

I have spoken of certain bad habits of thinking that are likely to reassert themselves in connection with the charitable side of such work. But, as if we were not beset by superstitions enough of our own, we have to reckon too with the charitable superstitions of the poor. It would be strange indeed if they were the only class that had no mistaken ideals of charity and its mission, and, as a matter of fact, there are certain classes of the poor and certain neighborhoods in which the type of the "charitable lady" is almost as fixed as the type of the stage villain. Variations from the type are not received at once into popular favor.

To return for a moment to the illustration with which I began,

it is conceivable that a student who had freed himself from inherited bad habits of speech and had become a limpid medium for the expression of the thought and feeling within him, might find himself confronted with an audience that was still prejudiced in favor of the old perfervid, highly-colored manner. And it is conceivable that in such a predicament he might be too sensitive to the popular view, and be tempted to give them just what they wanted—a hopelessly sentimental elocutionary “effort.” If, however, in attempting to express himself, he withstood this temptation, and was also quite sure that he had or was something worth expressing, then it is inevitable that, if not at once still in good time, success will come to him—better and truer success.

I have kept strictly to the negative side of my subject, as I promised, but I venture at least the positive assurance that it will be so also with the friendly visitor, whose mind and heart have been emptied of cant and sentimentality, and filled with sympathy and good will. As a pioneer, she may be understood with difficulty at first, perhaps, but none the less she will be understood. Over all barriers of economic standard and social tradition, the human need will recognize the human touch and will respond to it.

REPORT TO THE MAYOR OF BALTIMORE

Miss Richmond attended the National Conference of Charities and Correction held in Cincinnati in 1899 as the city of Baltimore's official delegate. The Mayor's appointment to this honor carried with it the request for a report; and in responding to what was probably a perfunctory requirement, she characteristically seized upon the opportunity to tell the Mayor what was wrong with the city's administration from the point of view of social work, taking pains, of course, to make her criticisms grow out of the discussions she had heard at the conference. The procedure is so characteristic of her, that we include the report in spite of its being purely local and outdated. It was published in *Charities* in June, 1899.

IN NOTIFYING me of my appointment as the city's delegate to the National Conference of Charities and Correction, you instructed me to pay especial attention to those recommendations that seemed to assure the kindest possible treatment to the city's dependents with the least possible waste of the city's money. In following the discussions at the Conference I have been more than ever impressed with the fact that these two things must go together, that a wise economy in charitable expenditure is absolutely necessary if we would give kind and adequate care to those who are the proper wards of the city. I shall endeavor to summarize briefly the views of the Conference on the economical and enlightened administration of municipal charities.

As the basis of administration a strict classification is absolutely necessary. It is not only wasteful but unkind to assume burdens that can be better borne by others. The city should carefully examine into the circumstances of each adult and minor ward, therefore, and should see that those who are legal and proper charges upon other places are sent to their homes, and that those who have relatives able to help are put in communication with them, and that those who have resources either in money or ability to work are discharged from becoming public charges. This work of careful sifting at the portal of the city's charities is a measure

of economy. Such sifting is far more than an economy; it helps to strengthen family ties that a careless public charity can do much to weaken; it discourages laziness and dishonesty, and it clears the way for a more adequate and kindly care of those who are accepted as proper charges. When our public charities accepted everyone and no questions were asked, city officials found it impossible to give kind and adequate care to anyone.

After charges are accepted the principle of strict classification still applies. It is no longer regarded as humane or even as wisely economical to put young and old, the imbecile, the epileptic, the infirm, the able-bodied, the merely dependent, and the petty offender against the law in one institution and under one management. Our own almshouse, though classifying its inmates far more carefully than formerly, should be relieved as soon as possible of the care of all its insane. The insane are being placed in many states in state institutions, and such a transfer in Maryland would be in line with enlightened practice in the care of this unfortunate class. Then our almshouse is still forced to receive imbecile children, because they are not adequately provided for by the state. It is also forced to receive, along with the aged and infirm dependents that are its proper charge, a number of able-bodied petty offenders, who are committed there for habitual begging and vagrancy. These should be committed to the House of Correction, and it is hoped that the law will be so amended by our next legislature, as to save our dependents from contact with this class.

When the insane are all gathered in hospitals where the best expert treatment looking to cure is possible; when the aged, infirm, and helpless members of society are gathered in an almshouse which can be made a real and permanent home for them; when the feeble-minded and epileptic are treated by experts in industrial celibate colonies, where they can be made happier and more useful by the provision of special treatment and work, and where they can also, as a protective measure, be segregated from the community at large; when able-bodied vagrants are detained on an indeterminate sentence in farm colonies where they are given plenty of hard work and a reformatory discipline; when all children who are public wards are trained with special reference to

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making them independent and self-respecting citizens, and as many as possible are placed in country homes under the careful inspection and supervision of public officials—when all these measures, which are advocated by members of the National Conference of Charities, have been adopted in Maryland, we may feel that, by spending more money on preventive measures, and less on a careless, unthinking charity, we are practicing at last that wiser and more far-sighted economy which is also the truest kindness.

The word "prevention" was the keynote of the Conference. It was fully recognized that there is no fixed, unchanging number of destitute, delinquent, and defective members in any community, for by unwise legislation and administration we can increase the number at any time, and by wise legislation and administration we can decrease it. We can decrease the number of physically and mentally diseased by the proper custodial care of the insane and feeble-minded. We can decrease the number of criminals by taking our boys out of the jails, by establishing a separate court for minors, by improving our reformatories, by adopting the indeterminate sentence, and by extending the probation system for first offenders. We can decrease the number of the destitute in many ways.

As about one-fourth of all the destitution in our large cities can be traced to sickness, health measures are the most valuable preventives. One of the strongest papers read at the Conference advocated the prevention and treatment of contagious diseases by our municipalities. Besides a general hospital for contagious diseases, the Board of Health needs wider powers. It was stated in the paper that every case of consumption was contracted by more or less direct contact with some other case. All our charities can testify that the spread of this disease causes destitution, and yet our own city, like many others, is depending on a few private citizens, who, after a hard struggle, have established a small private hospital for consumptives to check as best they can the spread of this prolific cause of distress and suffering.

Another cause of destitution is unwise philanthropy, which, increasing in volume with the size and wealth of the city, often makes more dependents than it relieves. Only when all our private charities realize the importance of curative measures, and the importance of working in hearty co-operation with each other

and with the municipality to make the poor permanently better off, will this cause be removed. The charity organization societies represented at the Conference discussed many phases of prevention, among others the legal protection of the poor from those who impose upon their ignorance by extorting usurious interest for loans, by selling them adulterated foods, and by other sharp practices.

The Massachusetts law, requiring that all chattel loan companies shall have a special license, and risk the loss of this license by dishonorable business methods, seems to meet the difficulty in part; but though legislation can abate the evil, it seems powerless to destroy it, and the organization of loan companies by public-spirited citizens was strongly urged by the Conference.

It is one of the encouraging signs of the times that men of affairs and men of learning are becoming more and more interested in questions involving the welfare of the poor, that they are "lending their brains out" as well as giving their money, in order to make this a better world for the poor to live in. Baltimore has many such public-spirited citizens, though no community can have too many; and the advances made during the last decade in both the public and private charities of our city encourage them to look forward, with the help of the new charter framed during your administration, to still greater advances in the near future. So far as I was able to gather from the earnest deliberations of the National Conference, these advances should be made along the line of more careful classification of the city's dependents and more attention to measures of wise prevention.

WHAT IS CHARITY ORGANIZATION?

A paper written during Miss Richmond's last year in Baltimore, in which she sums up the contemporary philosophy and stage of development in the C. O. S. movement. It was published in the Charities Review for January, 1900.

THIS is no new question; during the last twenty years it has been asked and answered many times. But all live and growing things elude definition, and when we are able to say to everyone's satisfaction precisely what charity organization is, then our charity organization societies will have had their day. Still, a working definition of some rough sort is necessary, even though we be forced continually to revise it. The writer is aware that this present attempt to restate the familiar truths of charity organization, with reference to the problems of today, will be in need almost immediately of revision.

AIMS

Every human institution is an effort to meet some human need. What human need does charity organization strive to meet? It is to be feared that nine out of every ten persons would reply, charity organization meets the need of the public for protection against imposture and waste in charity. One of the earlier statements published in this country announced that the two germinal principles of charity organization were entire dissociation from all questions of creed and no direct administration of relief. No imposture, no waste, no proselytizing, no relief—these were the “thou shalt not’s” of our old testament. But charity organization brought a positive affirmation into the world, in answer to a positive need, or we should not still be thinking and writing about it after all these years.

The affirmation of charity organization is this: Charity is a great spiritual force. Too often, for lack of knowledge and organization, it has been a blind force, cursing where it would bless,

destroying where it would heal. Nevertheless, the vision we see and proclaim is the vision of a purified and enlightened charity, capable of infinite development, capable of becoming a great social force. This spirit of charity, so widely diffused among high and low, abroad everywhere in the world and everywhere so helpless and ineffectual still, stirs our imaginations and conquers our impatience. We long to make the loving heart of the world a more effectual instrument for the world's redemption. In a word, the message of charity organization is the message of the undeveloped possibilities of charity; the human need that it strives to meet is the need of a more strenuous charitable ideal.

Two very different attitudes of mind made such a message necessary. In the first place, charity had suffered from the complacent way in which people were accustomed to think of their own work and their own good intentions. When the royal poor law commission of 1834 sent circulars of inquiry to overseers of the poor, one of these replied as follows: "It will never do we any good to alter the law in our parish, as our parishes very small and there is no probabilitis of alter our kearse at all. There is no persons fitter to manage the parish better than ourselves.—T.T., oversear." This attitude of mind . . . is still common enough, but it was a more stubborn and full-blown growth thirty years ago, when charity organization began. Wherever it still appears, there is no more effectual barrier to charitable development. In charity we have none of the self-acting checks of the commercial world. There the automatic action of business laws would have driven "T.T." to the wall very quickly, or else would have convinced him in spite of himself that there was every "probabilitis" of altering his "kearse."

In sharp contrast to the attitude of "T.T.," but almost as fatal to any real development of charity, was the attitude of the economists, who were inclined to regard all charitable endeavor as a mischievous interference with the operation of natural laws. There were many earnest men, not theorists at all, who were depressed by their practical experience of the effects of benevolent action. They saw that relief reduced wages and rendered the lot of the independent laborer less endurable; they saw that alms distributed among the semi-dependent only increased their dependence and

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their misery. Some of these men were driven to preach a gospel of despair, and to proclaim that charity was a failure.

But the time was ripe for another affirmation, for a declaration of faith, and a definite plan of campaign. And, as often happens, those who were most depressed by the evils of the time were the first to suggest a remedy.

In 1866, when Edward Denison was still a visitor for the society for the relief of distress, he wrote to a friend that he saw how perfectly useless were doles of bread and meat. "All the men," he wrote again a little later, "who really give themselves most trouble about the poor are the most alive to the terrible evils of the so-called charity which pours money into the haunts of misery and vice every winter." This was from Stepney, one of those great London wastes of humanity, where Denison had gone to live and work. It was here that he found a positive program and began to organize schools, night classes, workingmen's institutes, and sanitary reforms. "Lend them your brains; help them to help themselves," he advised, and flung himself eagerly into this work of developing charity by developing substitutes for relief.

The outlook was at once difficult and inspiring. "Does it seem to you pedantic and unreal," asks one of his last letters, "that I should say—what is truly the fact—that the drama of humanity in its present phase strikes me as surpassing the interest of all possible poetry and fiction in its sublimity, its intensity, in all that appeals to whatever of us is not material? It is like looking on at a most exciting play, only a million times better. Alas! I pronounce my own doom in speaking of looking on—no one ought to have time to look on; but just now you know I am obliged to." Worn out prematurely by this very intensity of interest, Denison died only two months after this was written. A little earlier, in 1869, the first charity organization society had been started in London. Denison had little to do with the formal organization of this society, but no one had more to do with shaping its ideals. It is interesting to note, in passing, that he was also the John Baptist of the social settlement movement.

The new organization believed as earnestly as Denison did in developing all possible substitutes for relief, but it found another and more immediately pressing task thrust upon it. Substitutes

for relief could gain no foothold so long as relief itself in larger quantities continued to be poured out without plan or purpose, or intercommunication, by agencies both religious and secular, both public and private. Relief, as Denison recognized, had its beneficent uses as a part of plans for improvement and progress; but relief given either too mechanically or too impulsively, and unaccompanied by this thoughtful planning, not only demoralized the poor by weakening their power of self-helpfulness, but it also cut them off from the sympathy of their fellow-men. It was a common fault of careless givers to complain bitterly of those very faults in the poor which they themselves had fostered, and this inevitable disillusion of the thoughtlessly charitable hindered the growth of the charitable spirit. The organization of relief, therefore, seemed quite as important as the organization of substitutes for relief.

ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIEF

What do we mean by the organization of relief? Many charity organizationists feel that our movement is not very happily named, for when we say that we wish to see charity and charitable relief "organized," we convey to the uninitiated little idea of what we mean. Popularly speaking, things are "organized" when they have a president, and secretary, and managers, with audited accounts and an office. Charitable relief is supposed to be very well organized when it is honestly administered, avoids duplicating the work of other relief agencies, and is not wasted on arrant impostors. Perhaps this is as heavy a freight of meaning as we reasonably may expect any one word to carry; but relief is not organized in the charity organization sense of the word if it is permitted to check the development of the charitable spirit among the poor or among the charitable themselves. It checks charity if it is separated from personal relations with the poor, or is used as a substitute for such relations. If it relieves people of any share of just responsibility toward relatives, friends, fellow church-members, employes, or other less favored acquaintances, it checks charity. Any form of organized relief that ignores these dangers, or does not strive earnestly to minimize them, is itself more dangerous than disorganized relief possibly can be.

All our large American cities have general relief societies, hold-

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ing in trust funds for supplying material relief after investigation, to those who cannot be helped from more natural and personal sources. Whatever the future may do for us in the development of substitutes for relief and the wider diffusion of the charitable spirit, it is beyond dispute that these societies are now an absolute necessity. If the view here expressed concerning relief be a correct one, they have undertaken a difficult task, which they are discharging, in many instances, with conspicuous ability and devotion. There is still open to these societies a wide field of charitable usefulness in devising better forms of relief. These are still suprisingly crude, and the literature of the subject is very meager. Everybody has been doing relief work, but no one is able, apparently, to formulate any very helpful suggestions as to how it should be done.

In still another way these societies can render a great service to the cause of charity. It has been said that every charity organization society should strive to render itself unnecessary. Our relief societies, too, should strive to render themselves in time unnecessary; and they will do this best and serve their highest purpose, by resisting the commercial tendency toward consolidation. The commercial ideal is a very misleading one in charity. If the sole object of charity were to get relief distributed promptly and economically, then we might advocate the establishment of a relief trust. It is important that relief work should be well done; but it is more important that charitable people should themselves learn to do charitable work in a truly charitable way.

All this has a practical bearing upon charity organization, for, since our charity organization societies and relief societies have been learning so much from each other and have come to have so many convictions in common, people have been asking, why not consolidate? If, as has been demonstrated, the work of both can be done better by close co-operation, why not become one society? To anyone who knows little about the work of either, this suggestion is likely to seem eminently practical. But the detail work of a charity organization society, as described in the remaining pages of this paper, finds many hindrances without the additional hindrance of a relief fund. That such a fund is a serious hindrance to the work of organizing a city's charity we have the overwhelming evidence of twenty years of experiment in proof. It cuts off co-

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operation with other relief agencies, it leaves undone the task of diverting the smaller streams of relief into useful channels, it hampers the ingenuity of workers in developing substitutes for relief. These are the psychological effects of a large relief fund upon the imaginations of the charitable; and their recurrent operations would seem to be almost as clearly defined as is the operation of Gresham's law in the world of finance, and as little capable of being set aside.

Turning from the discussion of first principles to methods of work, let us consider these briefly under the familiar divisions of co-operation, investigation, registration, constructive work, friendly visiting, and education. Principles are the same everywhere, but methods must vary. No attempt is made in the present paper to consider the methods best adapted to small towns, though this is a very important part of the subject—one deserving of more careful study than anyone has yet given it.

CO-OPERATION

Young workers, who know nothing of the conditions of twenty years ago are unable to measure justly what charity organization has accomplished in this country. The hindrances have been many. The stubborn attitude of "T.T." has appeared in unexpected places—in ourselves, for instance. Then sectarianism was another drawback. We smile now, when we read Gurteen's solemn warnings against admitting clergymen to membership in the charity organization, but all the earlier statements are filled with warnings against proselytizing, and the leaders of the new movement seemed to regard this as its gravest danger. How fortunate it is for the churches and for charity that all this is changed! Another hindrance was the inertia of large vested interests and endowments. A man may still bequeath his millions in such a way that they become very effectual barriers to charitable development, and one service that charity organization should render the community is to publish, after conference, a list of actual needs still to be met by endowment.

But the most obvious hindrances to development were the rivalry and unfriendliness formerly too common among charities. In its

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very form of organization, therefore, the new movement emphasized the importance of working together. Some of our American societies adopted the name of "associated charities" to give prominence to the fact that this was no new and rival charity added to the long list, but a new development merely, of the old established agencies.

The form of organization by districts gave additional emphasis to this fundamental principle. A city was divided into workable territories, and the district office placed in each was understood to belong to the churches of all denominations, to the charities of the district, and to its charitable citizens. This office was to be their common meeting ground in all matters in which conference was desirable. Through such an office the volunteer and paid force of the society became familiar with local conditions among the poor, and made acquaintance with the local public servants—the police, the school teachers, the sanitary inspectors, and all those neighborhood influences of many varied sorts which, for better or worse, mold the lives of the poor far more than our charities mold them. The district system transforms co-operation from a scheme into a living reality, and the actual working together of individuals over small tasks, breaking down prejudice, as it does, and imparting better ideals of charity, is the best possible form of co-operation.

INVESTIGATION

We have seen that charity organizationists found the charitable spirit widely diffused abroad everywhere in the world, but everywhere helpless and ineffectual. The chief reason for this inefficiency was the divorce of charitable endeavor from the actual facts of life. The lives and needs of the poor were known only in sentimental caricature, and so well were we satisfied with the cheap counterfeit that we grudged time and money spent in learning the truth. As though charity could possibly be anything but cruelly uncharitable without the truth!

This part of charity organization, the work of painstaking, systematic investigation, should be treated in no apologetic spirit by its advocates. If the methods of charity organization are sometimes as ineffectual as the methods they replaced, the cause is here. We do not believe in thorough investigation heartily enough. We

speak of it as a necessary evil, and in a spirit of compromise, find out but little, because in our unbelief it is irksome to us to find out anything. There is one thing worse than no investigation at all, and that is the investigation which stops as soon as it has discovered something damaging or something favorable, and so can make a show of knowledge.

Honest investigation means a sincere, unbiased searching for the whole truth, including not merely the dry facts, but that setting of circumstance and opportunity in which the facts exist. "The word investigation means such different things in the mouths of different persons," says a London worker.

In one, it means infinite pains on the part of many people, careful correspondence, repeated interviews, a personal exercise of thought and interest, of patience and ingenuity—all this leading up to some wise plan for lasting benefit. In another it means a word or two of reference, and a label of "deserving" or "undeserving" attached to a fellow-creature. The label does not help; we must put it aside, and go on finding out whether any good can be done or not. In nothing is the difference between skilled and unskilled work more manifest than in the possession or lack of a power of contrivance in the treatment of a difficult case. The art of finding out what to do is one to which some seem never to attain, but it is really little else than that persevering industry which will ask every question, think out every detail, write every letter, and pay every visit that can possibly throw light on the subject.

It is obvious that societies organized on the district plan, and in close touch not only with other charities but with all the local sources of information, have certain natural advantages as investigators. One of the most valuable of the detailed services rendered by charity organization is this painstaking collecting of facts about cases of need for those charitably interested. But no part of its work tests more thoroughly the convictions and devotion of its workers. Skill in this comes not alone from experience, but from right feeling and a clear grasp of fundamental principles. Investigations made by our societies in the early days, as we return to them now on old record cards, seem childishy crude; and one advantage of the charity organization habit of putting everything down in black and white is that we are continually learning in this way from our own blunders.

Two cautions with regard to investigation may be mentioned

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in passing. Objection has been made to the monopoly of relief-giving by any relief agency; there are equally grave objections to the monopoly of investigation by a charity organization society. The educational value of investigation to the investigator is great. On the other hand, a society that tried to do all the investigating which needed to be done, could give little time to the treatment of cases, and investigations are corrected and improved by the experience that comes with treatment. It would seem to be established that charity organization does its best work when it bears the burden of experiment and initiative, but shuns every form of monopoly. Another danger of investigation is that in discovering the truth about individual applicants we may convey to inquirers a false impression of the poor. Charitable people in their inexperience often generalize hastily from one or two unfavorable reports, and infer that fraud and imposture are the rule instead of the exception. We should make clear the exceptional character of our reports, and we should never cease repeating that we investigate applicants, not to find them out, but to find out how to help them.

REGISTRATION

One of the earliest methods of co-operation introduced by charity organization was a system of recording the charitable relief of various agencies at a central office, and of forwarding to these agencies, in return, all information received that was likely to be of service to them. The device was simply an adaptation to charitable needs of a system of exchange now practiced by almost every modern institution. Libraries, hospitals, public departments, labor bureaus, colleges, and universities, all use some form of registration, but no method adopted by charity organization has been so absurdly misunderstood. Registration is not an attempt to control the action of the registering agencies; it is not an attempt to brand the poor as paupers. Far from exposing the recipients of charity to publicity, the system guards them from it, and was devised in part for that purpose. Save to those who are already interested in some given case, the records are as impersonal as the records of the United States census, and are much more carefully guarded than is usual with other charitable records. Where registration has been given a fair trial, which is in only two or three of our cities, it has

been a valuable aid to intelligent co-operation in the treatment of needy families; and those who know the actual practical workings of the system have difficulty in understanding the prejudice against it. But the census arouses the same opposition from untrained minds; only those who have some conception of society as a whole will co-operate heartily in the effort to collect the data that seem to them individually so personal and so private.

Another form of registration is the systematic recording of charities, their objects, and the general information concerning them. The larger charity organization societies publish directories of the charities of their several cities, arranged with special reference to facilitating co-operation. And in two or three of the great centers of population, where fraudulent charitable schemes are able sometimes to gain great headway, the local charity organization societies do a genuine service by investigating and reporting upon new charities. Agencies owing their existence in many instances to anything but charitable motives are in this way cut off from public support, while the organization of those agencies is stimulated, which by meeting a real need, develop the charitable impulse.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

All this collecting and sifting of data is constructive work in the sense that it makes way for the free and unobstructed play of the charitable spirit. But our charity organization societies have done more than prepare the way; they have thrown themselves with enthusiasm into all those forms of charitable activity which serve as effective substitutes for relief. They have developed thrift agencies, such as stamp savings, home savings, and provident loan societies; they have developed workrooms and other forms of industrial training; they have been leaders in tenement-house reform and improved sanitation; they have aided the movements for the protection of neglected childhood, by resisting the needless breaking up of families and by securing compulsory education and child-labor laws. Their influence upon legislation has not been confined to the work of organizing relief by suppressing street-begging and vagrancy, and abolishing public outdoor relief. They have advocated many other measures of reform. Recently they have tried to protect the poor by public regulation of the chattel loan com-

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panies, pawn-shops, and intelligence offices. They have gone so far and have shown themselves so friendly to social changes which clearly will make the poor better off, that they have been criticized for not going farther. But charity organization has never pretended to have a complete social program. It recognizes gladly that there are other and more powerful social forces in the world that are working for its regeneration; but it affirms that charity too is a great social force. Its own task is to do what it can to make this force more effective, and it will not abandon this task for any other, however attractive. In the accomplishment of its chosen work it co-operates heartily with workers of every variety of social belief.

Even in its own field, charity organization claims no monopoly, for a number of other agencies, such as the state charities aid associations and the more progressive state boards of charities, divide with it now its difficult task. This division of work cannot always be defined with absolute clearness, but the field peculiar to our charity organization societies would seem to be the organization of charity, as distinguished from the organization of charities. What people feel and believe and, from deepest conviction, must do, when confronted with the woe of the world, that is charity. The institutions that they have built up, often from this profound conviction, but often too from very different motives, those are charities. Charitable institutions and societies need to be reformed, and no one can ignore the great service done to charity by such reformations. But institutions do not stay reformed unless the individuals controlling them are themselves controlled by a compelling love for the needy, and this love is not a compelling love at all unless it is fed by intimate knowledge of and contact with the lives of the poor.

FRIENDLY VISITING

Everything connected with charity organization—its method of co-operation, of investigation, and of registration—tends to bring to light opportunities for good, constructive work in the homes of the poor; and every part of its work, from the minutest detail up to the widest educational propaganda, assumes new significance to the worker who has used these opportunities for constructive work, as a means of giving to the charitable “completer and completer

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entrance into the lives of the suffering and needy." Denison saw one side of this opportunity when he wrote years ago, "How many thousands of paupers have lived and died, and been buried at public expense, whom a little friendly advice, a little search for friends, or relations, some pains taken to find proper work, when the first application to the board (of poor law guardians) was made, would have lifted out of the mire and set on the rock of honest industry!" And Phillips Brooks saw the other side of the opportunity when he wrote of a vision of what the relations of the rich and poor in a great city may become, a vision "in which no soul shall be satisfied until, to some other soul which is personally its care it shall be giving the best that God has given it, making use of all nobler gifts richly and freely, but always with a purpose, never lost sight of, never forgotten, of bringing character, the life of God, into the life of one more of His children."

Our societies neglect their greatest opportunity to develop charity when they neglect to organize groups of volunteer visitors to the homes of the poor. The chief purpose of friendly visiting is often misunderstood. It is not the meeting of present emergencies, but the development of the charitable spirit through personal contact and the establishing of friendly relations. That blunders are made in such relations, that they are not uniformly successful and helpful, has been remarked with solemn iteration. But no form of human relation, friendship not excluded, is uniformly successful, and it would be astonishing indeed if a form of friendliness that had been so generally neglected were an exception. Some claim that friendly relations between people of different incomes, different surroundings, and different ethical standards are impossible. To this we can only reply that some of our societies have been the means of bringing many people of widely different social standards into continuous friendly relation through friendly visiting; our experience extends over twenty years and has passed the stage of experiment. We have not found these differences of income and manners and ethical ideals an insurmountable barrier to mutually helpful acquaintance. The differences are too great; we long to see them grow less as time goes on; but to exaggerate their importance is to check the development of that very spirit which will help, as we believe, to destroy differences.

WHAT IS CHARITY ORGANIZATION?

EDUCATION

A society with a force of volunteer visitors under enthusiastic and intelligent leadership strengthens its educational work in two ways. Every visitor who acquires convictions as well as experience becomes a center of educational influence in the community, and all the work of the society and of its paid workers is stimulated and improved by close contact with such earnest volunteers.

Education must be the watchword of our societies, if they are to aid in the development of charity. Charitable specialists are inclined to have a certain contempt for what they call "amateurs" in charity. This attitude, though easy to understand, would be an inconsistent one for an agent of a charity organization society, who should have infinite patience with every impulse, every little flickering flame of interest that is sincerely charitable. This educational motive has prompted our societies to use freely all the usual methods of propaganda. They publish books and pamphlets, they establish periodicals, they hold frequent public meetings, they make their way into pulpits, theological seminaries, and universities, and recently they have organized a school of philanthropy. Students of sociology owe to charity organization their most trustworthy data concerning the causes of poverty; and this co-operation is opening new avenues for the development of charity.

This has been an attempt to state the aims and methods rather than the results of charity organization. We have seen that the human need which it strives to meet is the need of a more strenuous and socially helpful ideal in charity. Has it met this need? Is it meeting it? A strong case could be made for the affirmative by the simple statement of work actually accomplished by individual societies. But the charity organizationist is inclined, from the very nature of his creed, to look to the future. Failures there have been, and partial successes not a few. But if we keep our aim clearly in view and never permit ourselves to be swamped by details, charity organization will play an important part in the further development of the charitable spirit; and the charitable spirit, as we believe, is going to make this world of ours a better world to live in.

AFTER HOURS

THE papers in the remainder of this section are primarily concerned with other subjects than social work, though most of them lead back to it here and there. They amply prove that Miss Richmond's cultural interests exceeded the bounds of her daily tasks. Her chief avocation was the ardent study of English literature but she learned to read French during these same over-filled years in Baltimore.

In the effort to improve her style in writing, she studied attentively such books as *English Composition* by Barrett Wendell, professor of English at Harvard, her copy of which is full of marked passages. Some of his suggestions regarding the occurrence of long and short, loose and periodic sentences in English prose excited her curiosity, and we find her, about 1895, making a rather elaborate search, counting and listing examples from selected authors from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. She sent her tables of results to Professor Wendell, and received from him an amazed and grateful reply: "Such faithful work as they involve is something beyond the limit of my rather morbid patience. They bring me, thus, my first assurance of what I have instinctively rather than deliberately or scientifically held for years to be a general fact . . . your results seem to me almost conclusive." He was not the last to thank Miss Richmond for slipping a solid groundwork of fact under unsupported theories.

She remained all her life a devotee of poetry—and how she could read it aloud! Her acquaintance with the valleys of minor poetry was as comprehensive as her knowledge of the cloud-capped heights where the Great Ones dwell. A *Plea for Poetry*, the first paper of the series of essays on aesthetics which follows, was written for working girls and should be read in connection with a later discussion in *Marginal Notes*, of poetic criticism in its relation to social work. It gives us a moving glimpse into the intellectual deprivation of her own life as a girl, and the passion with which she,

. . . being hungry, fed on food
The fat of heart despise.

AFTER HOURS

The Idle Philanthropist papers were published as unsigned editorials in the Baltimore Charities Record. Written undoubtedly to lighten the prevailing tone of that publication, they contribute materially to round out the picture of this ardent young spirit. When she was only twenty-two, she had said, in a paper on Juvenile Literature,

It is not much that one individual can accomplish against this great evil, [the reading of degrading literature] but when we remember what has been done by individual effort in the beginnings of all reform, we have no right to despair; and, certainly, in any question that involves the welfare of our human kind, the position of neutrality is a false one.

In these later papers, she is still crusading—for a more democratic use of opportunities of culture, for the idea that the poor are not by their poverty prevented from having artistic cravings and appreciations. It is evident from these three papers—one on painting, one on music, and one on arts and crafts,—how much more at home she was during this period in music than in the graphic arts. Later, she was to develop as cultivated perceptions in the one field as in the other; but at this period her judgments of pictorial art seemed moral rather than æsthetic. With Miss Richmond, to find an interest was synonymous with wanting to share it; she was active in promoting courses of concerts with spoken explanations in connection with her church; and in her campaign to improve the quality of public concerts in Baltimore, she wrote to that dean of the American orchestra, Theodore Thomas himself, from whom she secured a number of suggested programs together with approval of her plan.

The Vacation Notes illustrate a tendency of hers that was to become marked in later years. In her reading, she was always exploring fields which seemed remote from social work, and yet finding and bringing back suggestive ideas, apt analogies, new possibilities in technique. Here it is meteorology; later it was jurisprudence, medicine, history, biography, electro-dynamics—the list seems endless!

In Hospital is avowed autobiography—the only instance of it in all Miss Richmond's writings. It recounts her experiences while a typhoid fever patient in Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1894. Some

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years later, she was induced to allow its publication over her initials alone.

There are no papers during the Philadelphia years which are exactly comparable to these; but the thread is taken up again during the later New York years; and the Idle Philanthropist reappears, older, wiser, and more mellow, in the papers entitled Marginal Notes.¹

¹ See p. 494 of the present volume.

A PLEA FOR POETRY

A paper read before the Myrtle Club, and published in July, 1893, in *Far and Near*, a journal of the Association of Working Girls' Societies.

THE forewoman of a large factory once said to me, in speaking of a possible course of study for the women working under her: "We don't want any poetry; that's not practical." It is a frequent assumption that "poetical" and "practical" are contradictory terms, though the lives of some everyday people seem to me to prove the contrary. To illustrate: A woman, whose work carried her into the business houses near the waterfront of a large city, came down the narrow street one warm afternoon, picking her way between tar-barrels and hurrying draymen. Her employment was not congenial, but it demanded a certain cheerfulness and readiness, and her then depressed mood meant failure. Someone who passed said to another, "But Shakespeare, you know . . .," and the rest of the sentence was lost. That one word was enough, however. The sordid sights and sounds, the sun-baked walls and ill-smelling street seemed to slip away from her, and for a few moments she walked the forest with Rosalind and saw Portia stand beneath Italian skies. All that goodly company of Shakespeare's people came trooping through her thoughts, a lark mounted to heaven's gate, and she caught a glimpse of tree branches in autumn air:

"Bare, ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang."

It was like a cooling draught to a tired pilgrim, and her work was done all the better that day for this renewal of faith that bread-winning was not all of life.

A friend of mine was cashier at one time in a business establishment, working twelve and thirteen hours a day. The work never used more than one side of her brain, if so much, and the other side made many excursions, during those long hours of confinement, into the world of poetry. "When I get away at last, and walk out — Terrace after nine o'clock at night," she once wrote,

"I can feel the wind blow high, I see the stars come trooping out, and could cry aloud with Caliban, 'Hey-day, Freedom!'" The work grew harder and the hours longer until at last, even our philosopher protested. One Saturday night there was an interview with her employer, and Sunday had to be lived through with the prospect ahead of no work and no money. "I was blue enough this morning when I started for my walk," she wrote, "but there was a procession of those high, cool, cirrus clouds in the sky, 'Shepherded by the slow, unwilling wind,' do you remember Shelley's phrase?—and I had a dumb feeling of comfort. Somehow the clouds put my troubles in their right place, and that happened to be no very important one." It is difficult to make my point clear in this case without telling what I have no right to tell; but the girl's spirit might easily have been broken and I am quite sure that her sincere love for poetry saved her from this misfortune, and made such measure of success as she has since attained to a possible thing.

Emerson used to say that a sense of humor was the sure mark of sanity; and humor is so eminently sane, I suppose, because it helps us to keep our mental balance against the world's hard knocks. In an almost equal degree, poetry is a sane and wholesome influence, because it brings us around after the day's work is done to the other and more lasting side of things, and so preserves in us that sense of proportion which is said to be the essence of wisdom. Change is rest, and this may account for the small apparent refreshment which the study of poetic literature brings to those who regard it as a social duty; but when I ask myself what we, the busy people with scant leisure, most need, I am inclined to think that *more poetry* should be the answer. Without making any attempt at formal definition, let us consider for a moment what poetry really is. When men were moved by very intimate or by high thoughts, they spontaneously expressed themselves in a form of measured or rhythmic speech. It is well to emphasize the naturalness of it because we are too apt to think of poetry as an artificial thing, arbitrarily measured by the caprice of the poet. In its very essence it is no such thing; for the early minstrels who were our first poets, and whose songs of love and war still stir the heart, were entirely untrained, finding the rhythm which fitted the

A PLEA FOR POETRY

thought because the rhythm and the thought were related in the very nature of things.

We do not realize what a universal thing this sense of rhythm is. The central sun of our system beats out its light and heat with a measured din which would deafen us were we near enough to hear, and the little baby in the cradle drops off to sleep to the rhythmic note of a mother's lullaby. One little lady of my acquaintance, whose first tooth was still a matter of conjecture, was not only soothed by music, but certain rhythms used to make her intensely alive.

Sally in the *garden*, sifting, *sifting*,
Sally in the *garden*, sifting *sand*,

transformed her into a bounding, squirming image of delight. That same sense of rhythm became her chief aid later in the difficult art of walking, and may it lead her, later still, into an intimate acquaintance with those high and impassioned thoughts of the world which, almost invariably, have found expression in the measured, rhythmic speech of verse!

There is a fixed relation between what we admire and what we are, and perhaps this is why a taste held in common for this or that poet is such a good basis for friendship. Friendship is a progressive state and cannot end here, but one might find it hard to make a better beginning. And in all human relations—as daughter, wife, or mother—poetry is an unconscious help. Mr. Gilder is profoundly right when he claims there is some connection between the increased activity of our divorce courts and our neglect of the poets. Poetry has yet another use in that it serves the dwellers in cities as a bridge to the outdoor world. One who never spent a month in the country until long after she was grown, learned to watch the meeting of earth and sky, to mark the seasons' changes in the branches of city trees, through an early habit of memorizing favorite bits of verse, and of associating them with what she saw.

Let one who really cares for any poetry whatever, if it be only four lines, make those four lines hers, and she may be sure of added power to appreciate life and to live it worthily. One does not need time for this memorizing. The hurried morning hour will serve, with your verses pinned to the dressing glass. Strengthen your

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memory of them by reciting them to yourself as you walk to and from work, and you have just so much clear gain.

As to what one should memorize, the choice must be guided largely by one's individual taste; but it is well to take only the *best* that one likes, and to have some reason for the liking. There are several poems meaning a great deal to the writer which she is quite sure will never have an enduring fame. She has this sense of private ownership in one of Amy Levy's poems and in several of Edith Thomas', and these unknown friends of our book world come to have a very special place in our lives as time goes on.

To sum up then, poetry can give us better than anything else, perhaps, a true sense of balance, can keep us wholesome, well proportioned, all-round people. In our relations with those dearest to us it can help to preserve this same poise, and unlocks for us besides the treasures of God's out-of-doors.

The genuine poetry-lover will resent every word of this, as an attempt to justify the existence of flowers by instancing the manufacture of honey. The heart of the matter has not been touched, for it involves the relations of the human soul to its tenement. One may think of this life of ours as an oriental dwelling, where the tenant toils through the heat and stress of his working day—all work made possible by the thought that when night comes, a stairway shall lead him to the roof-top and the quiet stars. There may he

Cross a step or two of dubious twilight,
Come out on the other side—the novel
Silent silver lights and darks undreamed of.

NOTES OF AN IDLE PHILANTHROPIST

The three brief papers in this group appeared during 1894 as unsigned editorials in the Baltimore Charities Record.

A VERY clever woman once said that she was tempted to make a list of those of her friends who had been ruined by philanthropy. But it has been pointed out that no nation ever perished through an excess of brotherly love; and we may reasonably doubt whether any individual ever was ruined through this cause either. There is a chance, however, that the friends of this particular lady had lost, in the exercise of their philanthropic instincts, that sense of proportion which is said to be the very essence of wisdom; in this case, her overstatement was more than justified. Perhaps one of them had organized a band to make warm clothing for the destitute, and may have come to feel, in the innocence of her heart, that the multiplication of such bands and the distribution of such clothing in assorted sizes was the only way to hasten the millennium; perhaps another had given her best thought to the management of a foundling asylum, and had learned to regard the degraded conditions which manufacture foundlings as part of the Divine plan. Such distorted zeal is a strain not only upon friendship, but upon philanthropy itself, and it is safe to say that the charitable people who do not recognize the limitations of benevolence are mischievous members of society.

Those who read the charitable signs of the times with some care, predict that all charitable work which has to do with material relief must become more and more apologetic as time goes on. The poor who need food and shelter in Baltimore today must be cared for in some way, but the conviction grows that the lazy and the vicious would better, for their own sake, go hungry to bed, and that their homes—the breeding-places of an unwholesome generation—should not be maintained at charitable expense. Even for the struggling poor, charitable relief is a dangerous kindness, and the need of personal contact and personal responsibility on the part of all givers is wisely emphasized by our large societies.

The dangers of meddling with a man's wholesome struggle to win the bare necessities of life are so evident that it is unprofitable to dwell upon them, but one turns with a sense of relief to a department of philanthropy in which our giving is clear gain. What we ought to give the poor is their *luxuries*, as Samuel Barnett states it. If we see to it that these luxuries are of the right kind, there is no danger of pauperizing the recipient, for he receives no more than he is capable of putting to good use. In fact, we can never—the richest of us—pay for our best luxuries. Someone else has given generously in order that the book, the picture, the symphony may make our lives richer; and not only are we in receipt of doles from George Peabody and Mr. Walters and Mr. Higginson, but to every artist the world over whose gifts have reached us through these generous almoners. The debt remains, and must remain, unpaid. Here at least we meet the poorest on equal terms. And yet, how persistently we strive to make the terms unequal by seizing all this bounty for ourselves, making the absurd assumption that the world of art was meant for us only; just as if we were not all admitted, save a gifted few, on sufferance.

Of those who pay their half-dollar once a year or oftener and go to enjoy Mr. Walters' art treasures, some think with satisfaction and some with shame that the money will be used to purchase a bit of coal or a bag of flour for a group of unfortunates somewhere in our back streets. Who knows but some of these poor people might win new courage, live more vividly and so more successfully, from a refreshing hour spent among the pictures? We have little faith in the power and beauty of the things we pretend to admire unless we can believe it. A new wonder in the meeting of trees and sky, a new interest in the aspect of the whole visible world, a keener guess at the meaning of things—pictures alone can give us these.

Have you noticed, now,
Yon cullion's hanging face? A bit of chalk,
And trust me but you should, though!

One who has felt vaguely the injustice of putting beautiful things where they can never be seen by many people is glad to know that Boston and New York have established annual Free Loan Exhibitions in parts of the city easily accessible to hard-worked people

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with little leisure or means for long journeys to the up-town galleries. The catalogue of the South End Free Art Exhibition, which is before me, shows canvases of Perrault, Hunt, Monet, and Inness. A Boston newspaper records the average daily attendance of 1,500 visitors. Ballots were cast for the favorite pictures, and one small boy remarked, as he cast his vote for a large Inness, "The Pine Grove": "It must have taken a good deal of nerve to have painted that!"

In the valuable collection of essays entitled *Practicable Socialism*, now unfortunately out of print, Mrs. Barnett tells of a loan exhibition in Whitechapel where the comments and criticisms were as unsophisticated and pithy as this small boy's. Oxford students were present each evening at the Whitechapel exhibition, to act as guides and volunteer information. One incident of these explanations, as told by Mrs. Barnett, is so significant that I quote it.

Mr. Schmalz's picture of "Forever" had one evening been beautifully explained, the room being crowded by some of the humblest people, who received the explanation with interest, but in silence. The picture represented a dying girl to whom her lover had been playing his lute, until, dropping it, he seemed to be telling her with impassioned words that his love is stronger than death, and that, in spite of the grave and separation, he will love her *forever*. I was standing outside the exhibition in half-darkness, when two girls, hatless, with one shawl between them thrown round both their shoulders, came out. They might not be living the worst life; if not, they were low down enough to be familiar with it and to see in it only the relation between men and women. The idea of love lasting beyond this life, making eternity real, a spiritual bond between man and woman, had not occurred to them until the picture with the simple story was shown them. "Real beautiful, ain't it all?" said one. "Ay, fine, but that 'Forever,' I did take on with that," was the answer.

In this hour of central relief committees, and stoneyards, and wayfarers' shelters, it may seem impertinent to even suggest that the poor have vague cravings, undeveloped tastes which are not satisfied by the wise administration of material relief. An Idle Philanthropist—his very title being a contradiction in terms—is contradictory enough to think that if we had given more thought to the *luxuries* years ago, the necessities might have learned to take care of themselves by this time.

Someone has remarked that the aggregation of human beings in large towns, so fatal to art in many ways, has been distinctly favorable to musical culture, which thrives best in places where people can meet continually and in great numbers. The aggregation of human beings in large towns!—the phrase carries dismal suggestion to anyone familiar with the netherside of things; for New York's Mulberry Bend, Boston's North End, and our own Marsh Market Space are the too obvious results of aggregation. If, however, musical culture is one of the compensations for this overcrowding, it is worth while to ask how far the poor, upon whom the disadvantages of aggregation press hardest, benefit by the improvement in musical taste. That we ourselves are better off is certainly not because we instantly recognized and responded to better things when we heard them. Anyone who knows America's musical history can testify how gradually our taste was developed, and can trace this development to certain definite causes quite outside ourselves. In an order which varies somewhat, the chief causes were these: first, the faith held by a few master musicians, notably Theodore Thomas, that we were not incurably dull, and that carefully selected programs would train our ears; second, the endowment by public-spirited men of conservatories and popular music schools, which became local centers of training; third, the organization of oratorio and choral societies; and last, the maintenance by a wealthy Bostonian of an altogether admirable orchestra, which visits our chief cities, though not nearly so often as we could wish.

It is an undisputed fact that many people who attend our symphony concerts with great regularity get no pleasure from them; their musical stupidity is beyond cure. But is it not monstrously unfair to assume this of a whole class? This is what we do in Baltimore, however, when our City Council appropriates \$3,900 for music in the parks during the summer and expends it in maintaining a public nuisance there. On August 24, 1893, the leader of the park band announced the following program, which had been selected with especial care, he stated, as the last of the season:

March, "Our Lieutenant," P. C. Orem; Overture, "Rienzi," Wagner; Selection, "Giralda," Adam; Cornet Solo, "Seaflower,"

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Rollinson; Medley Overture, "Up to Date," Dewitt; Selection, "Simon Boccanegra," Verdi; Burlesque Rondo, "A Comical Concert," C. Godfrey; March, "The Beau Ideal," Sousa; Overture, "Stradella," Flotow; Grand Fantasia, "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp," Rollinson; Selection, "La Traviata," Verdi; Waltz, "Promenade," Gungi; Grand Selection, "Rigoletto," Verdi; Cuckoo and Cricket Polka, Herzog.

Two of the fourteen selections are passably good; for the others, to quote Mr. Edmund Gurney, "it cannot seem pedantic to wish to exclude from every program to the end of time, pieces which give no ray of melodic delight, and which leave no single hearer with the slightest desire ever to hear or think of them again." The writer is not aware that anyone had ever protested against this undemocratic assumption of our city fathers that people who are intelligent enough to vote are not intelligent enough to learn to care for good music. The fallacy is widespread; we are ready to impose upon the people the gravest responsibilities of citizenship, but we reserve the refining influences of beautiful things for ourselves.

The truth about popular music has been admirably stated by Mr. Gurney in his Plea for a Permanent Band for the East End. He says:

The common idea that there is a sort of incompatibility between *good* music and *popular* music (or *populace* music) depends on the undoubted fact that music exists which cannot be denied to be good, but which can only in the millennium become popular. But if there is one thing which I would assert with more confidence than another, it is this: that though you may easily give a rough English audience music too *difficult* for them, you can never give them music too *good* for them. I would not shrink from an extreme test. Take the roughest audience and try them with the most vulgar, bouncing, and obtrusively "popular" composition, and then with some perfectly quiet piece of divine tune—for instance, Brahms' *Death of Nelson* and Handel's *Love in Her Eyes*—each to be sung as well as possible. It is just possible that the former might get more applause on the first hearing; if it continued to do so on the third I would be content never to say a word more about music.

We are accustomed to speak irreverently of English musical standards. Can we afford to do so in the light of some of their recent achievements? Certainly the measure of either a man's or a

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nation's appreciation of art should be faith in its universal significance. Even in that severest of all harmonious pleasures, concerted chamber music, the People's Concert Society of London has won popular recognition, giving concerts in East London to large audiences. "It has occurred," the Society reports, "that every instrumental number in a program has been encored; single concerted movements have been so on several occasions; while violin or violoncello solos, when first-rate, elicit unbounded enthusiasm."

In France, the Orpheonist Societies, male choruses of workmen who come to rehearsal in their blouses, have done much to elevate the popular standard. An unsigned article in the *Atlantic* several years ago, after reviewing the classical concerts of the season in Paris, adds:

The large proportion of poor people in them all is a very interesting and touching element: hundreds of men who cannot afford to pay for a seat come in before the great work of the program—most often one of Beethoven's symphonies—and stand through it, many of them through the entire performance. A very pathetic group is the common one of a shabbily dressed young couple with a baby.

Surely it cannot be that the American workingman is the only one incapable of musical training. "My boy," wailed a poor mother, "was that fond of music it took him straight to the bad!" And no wonder, for music, apart from the dreariness of tawdry gospel hymn tunes, meant for him the drink shop and the low concert hall. No wonder that the more respectable of our very poor regard any manifestation of unusual musical sensibility in their children as a misfortune. It is our own neglect that allows the noblest of all the arts to have such dread associations for them.

What can we do to make amends in our own city? First of all, reform those park programs. Then, since it is not unusual for some of our churches to give organ recitals to pay off the church debt, let them pay a higher debt by engaging the three or four good organists in Baltimore to give a series of recitals on week nights.¹ Explanatory programs, prepared with great care, should be printed for the auditors, and the numbers should be varied by good vocal

¹ Since this was written, a free organ recital with vocal music has been given to a large audience at St. Peter's P. E. Church. It is hoped that this was only the first of many such recitals, and that the programs will be arranged in future with especial reference to their educational value.

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music. Our Oratorio Society drags along a crippled existence for lack of public interest and support; its services to church music, and the admirable training which it has given free to hundreds who could not have paid should no longer remain unrecognized. Symphony concerts are necessarily expensive, but our Peabody Conservatory might give its recitals and quartette concerts at hours when working people could come. The public schools could be made a most effective help, if the instruction were not confined to teaching the children to "sing out." Perhaps a fair measure of our interest in musical culture generally would be the number of music-loving Baltimoreans who have ever given the question of vocal training in the public schools a moment's thought.

Some may have already shrewdly guessed that an Idle Philanthropist is indeed "idle," in the earlier sense of "foolish," if he hopes to bring in the millennium by such means as these. There is no question of the millennium, however, but of the day after tomorrow, when, if the dreams of modern philanthropy come true, the poor will be depositors in the Provident Savings Bank without exception, and will devote their leisure to the study of sanitary reform. Cleanliness and thrift are admirable aids to living, but they are not life itself, and there is a point of view, though we commonly ignore it, from which this prospect for the day after tomorrow seems lifeless and dreary.

III

Since the writer of these Notes has read and thought more about the subject of them, he has felt that some of the earlier paragraphs of the series stand greatly in need of revision. A recent essay of Mr. Bernard Bosanquet's on Luxury and Refinement has convicted him of sin in denominating music and pictures "luxuries." The distinction made in the essay has also an important bearing on industrial education, and as it is proposed to say something of that subject in this paper, it may be well to explain Mr. Bosanquet's position, though he is in no sense responsible, of course, for the deductions which follow.

He claims for Luxury a tendency toward the superfluous and exclusive; for Refinement that vitality which raises to a higher power the necessary and universal. Our Luxuries may easily

include pleasures which help to brutalize us, and they are quite certain to restrict our sympathies by setting up unnecessary barriers between class and class. Refinements, on the contrary, by deepening our insight, wear away these barriers. Our material possessions, under this classification, may be said to divide themselves into those which give pleasure through exclusive possession merely, and those which please us, in part at least, through our sympathy with the pleasure of the maker in his work. Applying the distinction to Baltimore's houses, drawing-rooms, streets—the whole social paraphernalia of her citizens—she shares the fate of all modern cities in making a very poor showing from every point of view, save the commercial point of view of expenditure. To make such things as fill, for the most part, her square miles of surface, is slavery; to live with them conduces to mental paralysis, for the joylessness of the labor involved in their manufacture reacts on the purchasers. A vast network of complicity is made plain by this view of life's trappings.

The word complicity is used to convey some idea of responsibility, not alone on the part of the rich, who set the fashions (for the fashions so decreed are followed by only a comparatively small company), but responsibility on the part of the masses of men and women, whose likes and dislikes can and do affect so disastrously the industrial and social life of the world. Machine-made furniture, imitation fabrics, badly printed books, ill-shaped pottery, houses built in blocks—these things should fail to satisfy, not because they offend a fastidious taste, but because no work should give delight which it was slavery to do. Few pleasures in life compare with the pleasure of the worker in his work, when it can be made his medium of expression; and to cut off this power of expressiveness from even the meanest of the minor arts is to make the world appreciably poorer.

Taste, then, has a practical bearing upon the problems of education and philanthropy, and the Idle Philanthropist's special grievance (what is a philanthropist without a grievance?) has been that educators and charity workers are too sordidly utilitarian. Refinements have been regarded as demoralizing things which might put extravagant ideas in the heads of the people or make

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them indolent. It is unnecessary to say that Mr. Bosanquet does not take this view. He tells us:

The simple but careful regard for what is best in life, which accompanies a true devotedness to the beautiful, can make itself felt within the narrowest means and tends to plain and methodical management. . . . The careless or ill-balanced temper which permits or indulges in commonplace ornament or pretentious ugliness, tends to be accompanied by folly and extravagance, for it has no conception of life as a whole. Just as it is the thrifty housewife who can show the best clothed and best nourished family, so the mind that is enthusiastic in the cause of beauty will be that which is endowed with self-restraint and unity of purpose to control expenditure most efficiently. In fact, as we see every day, ugliness is not at its worst where resources are narrowest.

And again:

The highest stage of refinement is reached when we have so subordinated nature to ourselves, have so subjected our mastery over it to distinctively human aims, that material things become expressive of our minds and responsive to our moods. . . . The value of it is that it means vitality. Far from being languid or effeminate, it depends upon a strong life, such as leaves a mark on its surroundings.

Granting the general indifference to these aims, what is the remedy? First, the individual reformer should strive to disentangle himself from that vicious circle of false tastes which industrial civilization has drawn around him, and get a new view of the proportions of things. Once emancipated, he will see that industrial education is to become not merely man's means of maintenance, but a chief source of his happiness, the teacher of the very art of living. Teachers in our industrial schools must have a keener perception of beauty, and must aim to develop that perception in their pupils. No technical skill will compensate for a teacher's dullness to the relations borne by any given industry to those principles of honesty, significance, and beauty which underlie all industries.

But one may turn with profit from precept to example, and, fortunately, a few examples exist of what those who have held this view have accomplished. Nothing of its kind in this country is quite comparable with the work of the Home Arts and Industries Association of London. This society was organized to teach workingmen and their children such minor arts as wood-carving, inlaying, metal repoussé, basket-making, leather work, bookbinding, hand-

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weaving, bent iron work and mosaic setting. It has over 500 classes in Great Britain, with a central office in London from which instructors are sent to the teachers of classes, many of whom are volunteers. This work of instructing the teachers and furnishing them with suitable models, designs, and tools, is the most important work of the Association. The results vary in excellence with the natural ability of the teachers, but the standard is raised by annual exhibitions of the best work, and by keeping the connection with the central management as close as possible. In some counties the work has been so successfully organized that the county councils have continued the classes as part of their system of education. Many of the classes are held in cottages or in the village school-room, and are attended by lads who have worked in the fields all day or in the workshops. In certain neighborhoods the Association has been successful in reviving some local handicraft for which the natives have inherited an aptitude.

So far as it is possible to judge from the outside, the managers of the Home Arts and Industries have been successful in keeping their educational aims clearly defined. "To aim in education at quick returns, at results commercially available is simply to court failure," says one of their publications and, in another place, the same writer adds:

I understand it to be the distinct duty of the teacher . . . to make familiar by well-chosen examples, the modifications undergone by the beauty of nature in passing into the beauty of decorative art. Here, for instance, is a description which I have heard of a lesson given by a lady who has a singular faculty of teaching. She used to show her pupils a drawing of a flower in a botany book (the class was held in the winter—she would prefer to use the flower itself), and obtain their suggestions as to conventionalizing it into a decorative design; she criticized their suggestions, made suggestions of her own, and at last decided upon a form which she drew on the blackboard; the class then molded it in clay, and finally carved it in wood.

Another circular of instructions contains this suggestion:

It will be possible for them to see that ornament becomes actually a disfigurement if it is applied wrongly or without deference to the character of the object to be decorated. I have more than once found that I could bring this idea home to a class by quoting an example of bad decoration that occurred in the illustrated lamp catalogue of a large firm. In the

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design in question a metal snake was coiled against the wall, attached presumably by its tail, while a heavy lamp was hung from its mouth. Even a rustic pupil could see that the pliable body of a snake was not suitably employed as a gas-bracket.

And one more quotation:

Such a movement as this is essentially two-sided. A good teacher, it is said, will always be a learner; and it must be brought home to all of us who are interested in the progress of education that in the mission which we find so fascinating, of educating the working classes, there is involved the corresponding mission of educating ourselves.

Here one returns to the starting point—the reformer must be reformed. One of the wisest friends of industrial education in America has said that any general and effective training in industries was impossible until we had trained at least one generation of teachers.

Oh, if we draw a circle premature,
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure,
Bad is our bargain!

VACATION NOTES OF AN IDLE PHILANTHROPIST

Like the preceding papers, this appeared as an unsigned editorial in the Baltimore Charities Record, in October, 1897.

EVERY year it becomes more difficult for a philanthropist to take a holiday. Time was when even Mr. Howells (a literary man with perilously philanthropic leanings) could enjoy the picturesqueness of Quebec's narrow and crooked streets without a qualm; but one risks nothing in the prediction that, in this year of anxious self-questioning A. D. 1897, he could do no such thing. The people of the Upper Town have so clearly the best of it, that he would find it impossible now to stand on Dufferin Terrace in the morning sunlight and look out upon the incomparable sweep and sparkle of the St. Lawrence beyond the quaint roofs of the Lower Town without disturbing thoughts of drainage and ventilation. It would no longer be a question of attractively grouped old shanties, but of ill-housed poor. Someone has pointed out that an appreciation of the picturesque is dependent upon perspective, so that the tumble-down cottage is never picturesque to its occupant. Now, the trouble with the philanthropist is that he is always taking the occupant's point of view, and this bad habit so grows upon him that it is not too much to claim that he is rapidly losing all sense of the picturesque. An apostle of the beautiful the philanthropist still may be, but of the picturesque never!

In the center of each French-Canadian settlement tower the twin spires of the Catholic church. As one comes upon these out-of-the-way villages from the river, the church seems to have drawn the houses around it as a magnet draws pins and needles. Yet even here, remote from the railroad and any large city, a charitable problem at once crops up. The half dozen English-speaking families in a French-Canadian town can always tell of renegades who turn Protestants every winter when charitable relief is plentiful, and then go back to their own fold at Easter. Instead of "fair-weather Christians," these might be called foul-weather Protestants.

VACATION NOTES OF AN IDLE PHILANTHROPIST

If you try to escape from philanthropy through light literature, take warning. That door is barred. Out of ten modern novels in your trunk, the chances are that nine will be "sociological." Life itself may be a serious business, yet there are alleviations. Not so with the sociological novel, which is compact of unalleviated vexation. Even the essayists are not safe. Take Mr. Zangwill, for instance, or rather *don't* take him, for Without Prejudice proves to be full of references to things charitable. Under a thin veil of whimsicality, here are all the old problems.

Years ago, an Idle Philanthropist made the discovery that beggars, tramps, and vagrants were all victims of the gambling mania, and now here is Mr. Zangwill with the twin discovery that those who give to beggars are victims of the gambling mania. In his Defence of Gambling, he tells us,

If I give to beggars, it is purely from the gambling spirit. What are the odds against the man being a scamp? If they are short, or if the betting is level, I incline to the side of mercy. The money is of so much more consequence to him than to me, if the beggar is genuine, that the speculation is well warranted. I know how wrong it is from the point of view of the Charity Organization Society, but I am a man, not a bureau of beneficence. Few of us, I fancy, escape this godly gambling.

It is refreshing to find a defender of indiscriminating alms who can call things by their right names, but having seen so far, what a pity that he cannot see a step farther, and realize that, in this form of gambling, human lives are the counters; that the money which is "of so much more consequence" to the beggar may indeed be of such supreme consequence to him as to rob him of health, manhood, life itself.

One summer, an idle Philanthropist, searching the Mercantile Library for books free from philanthropic taint, happened upon several volumes on the weather, and carried them off in triumph to the country. Here was a field where organized charity was not; the philanthropists had inherited the earth, but the land of the sky was surely free of them. Never was there a greater mistake. It is true that in the old days before the Weather Bureau, though gentlemen used to enter the record of thermometer and barometer in their diaries with neatness and regularity, yet the wind continued

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to blow where it listed. But along came a meddlesome discoverer, who found a way to get ahead of the weather by taking co-operative observations the world over, and then, from the registered results, contrived to predict the course of the air currents. The history of the Weather Bureau and of the charity organization movement proved to be as like as two peas, even in the detail of popular prejudice, which found both organizations an unnecessary extravagance, and abused both roundly when they succeeded and when they failed. Mistakes the Weather Bureau made undoubtedly, and yet "a generation of our population has grown up, accustomed to look for and use" its forecasts. More than 80 per cent of these forecasts come true. Disasters on the lakes and along the coast are averted, and on sea and land life and property to the value of many millions yearly are saved by the Bureau's timely warnings. There is no better illustration of the value of organized observation, investigation, and record—of what some people like to call "red tape." And there is no better illustration of the unintelligent criticism which such faithful service will always bring down upon itself from some quarters. Many people who read the weather reports in the daily papers still think of them as mere guess work, because some local shower has been overlooked, or the predicted cold wave has not immediately arrived, but those who are wiser recognize the limitations of this distinctly human institution, and yet find its predictions useful. It is so with our charity organization societies. They are not infallible, and yet they have saved so much waste of money, time, energy, and life in their twenty years of activity, that the charity worker who refuses to use them will soon be thought as eccentric as the mariner who puts to sea with no better safeguard against the elements than a few old proverbs and popular bits of weather lore.

IN HOSPITAL

This paper, which recalls the experience and emotions recorded in William Ernest Henley's series of poems under the same title, was published in the *American Journal of Nursing* in October, 1901, over the initials "M. E. R."

I. LOW FEVER

THERE was a "service of song" at the Methodist chapel across the way. As the noise came through my open window I could imagine the chapel interior—the air palpitating around the gas-burners, the unvarying type of face in the perspiring congregation, the cheap attempts at decoration, and the stifling smell of the place. On the hottest night of midsummer they were singing the delights of the Heavenly Jerusalem—

To be there, to be there,
Oh, what must it be to be there!

So the words ran, as the stiff, untrained throats of the singers failing at the higher notes of the refrain, flattened in horrible discord.

Sickness destroys one's power of resistance to external impressions, I suppose, for as I lay there, helpless to get away, the Heaven they sang of seemed insistently near.

Pain was not so bad, after all, though my head and side throbbed furiously; and there might be worse than to lie in the dark in a strange room, consumed with thirst. Who was that invalid, I wondered, who made a practice of cataloguing all the small pleasantnesses of her daily life, recalling them in the night watches? The way a bird cocks his head on one side when he looks at you, the shock of cool fresh water in the morning, the first dip into a new magazine as you cut the leaves—these, as I recalled them, were some of the things she cared to record. But I recalled them with difficulty, could not realize them at all, for that intruding conception of a Heaven all tinsel and noise.

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It had been a fatal year for typhoids. Perhaps a lurking fear of being ridiculous had saved me, so far, from taking my condition too seriously; but fever plays queer pranks with one's brain, and for a bad minute, the fear, not of death itself, but of going to an orthodox Heaven, held me as in a vise.

I struggled to get free. Why not make my own catalogue of pleasantnesses? That very afternoon, as the stretcher was lifted from the ambulance, had it not been a pleasant thing to look up and recognize the particular beauty of the sky which follows a cloudless summer day? The high-hanging clouds were becoming visible, but delicately so; they were just beginning to make ready for the splendors of a late sunset. It was only a brief glimpse—in a moment the bearers were carrying me along the hospital corridors; but really to see the sky one must look it squarely in the face, and the best way to do that is to lie flat upon one's back. Then, by contrast with the throaty noises of that congregation across the way, what a pleasant thing had always been the moment of suspense when Arthur Nikisch stood above his men with baton raised, and every trained muscle, every disciplined will, was alert to give with purity the first full, satisfying tone in the strings. A moment later, when the first beat had been given, the first stroke made, how the nerves vibrated in sympathy along one's spine and to one's finger-tips! There was another pleasure, and a still better one—to sit in a corner in the dusk and hear A—— touch the piano; to know just what she was thinking—but that thought had too many associations, and sent me drifting helplessly.

The woman next door could not sleep. She kept up a moaning, broken by whispered complaints to her attendant. The ward was wakeful, apparently; for though the chapel people had turned out the lights and gone home long ago, and the clock had struck ten and then half-past with what seemed a long night between, every few minutes a bell would ring summoning the nurse, and far off a man howled continually in uncontrollable agony. Somehow I did not mind his noise as much as I did my neighbor's—he could not help it, poor fellow.

Moonlight streamed into the corridor and slanted through my open door across a section of the floor. The outside world was breathlessly still, but a contagious unrest seemed to pervade the

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hospital. I listened intently for each sound, waited to be shaken by it, then turned and tossed and listened again.

It seemed so long since the nurse had been near me to arrange my pillow or bring me a drink, and the unspent hours of the night stretched endlessly far before. Even those church people might have made an agreeable diversion now. But that was the nurse's light tread along the hall, and I heard the cool tinkle of ice in a glass. Had she passed my door, I should have weakly cried, I think; but no, she came in, the tinkling growing clearer and clearer. Talk of symphony orchestras! The pleasantest music in the world is made by a lump of ice in a glass.

II. DOCTOR'S ROUNDS

When one is lying in such unaccustomed helplessness, a hint of helplessness outside means panic. The almost military discipline of the hospital is, therefore, the patient's best prop. In so far as the extreme heat relaxes this discipline—some of the force usually being away, house-cleaning in progress, and quiet more difficult to maintain—just so far is the patient's recovery retarded. My room was at the end of the downstairs or women's ward, and convalescents and their friends gathered on the veranda outside to compare notes about all the diseases they had ever known. Under this strain my temperature was mounting steadily, when the doctor had me moved upstairs to a quieter room in the men's wing. When their pain was unbearable the men howled, but they talked very little. My satisfaction in the change seemed to afford the doctor some amusement, but then, though I hardly was conscious of it at the time, he afforded me amusement too.

The doctor, his assistant, and the head nurse go the rounds together just after breakfast. There is a certain order of procedure which is, I believe, invariable. The doctor raps, enters, shakes hands with the patient, sits down; the nurse stands at the foot of the bed, instruction-book and pencil in hand; and the assistant, carrying an ink-bottle and the record of your case, stands by the mantel, ready to write down new symptoms.

On the first morning the doctor entered as if he were coming into a drawing-room, and paused with an alert air, ready to take the smallest hint. I got the impression of an athletic figure and

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capable head—still young and smooth-faced, but with a not very satisfactory mouth. Capable of subtlety, he yet was about to make the initial mistake of an indulgent manner. Was I thirsty? Well, I might have all the water I wanted; the nurse would please put that down. And did I care for aerated waters? Well (with an air of conceding much), there was no objection to the indulgence, the nurse might put that down also. At which I did not laugh in his face, because laughing was too great an exertion.

I was in a half-stupor during the week that followed. A direct question seemed worse than a blow, and the man who called "Hucklebays!" a block away, and the other man who ground a piano-organ beyond the hospital enclosure, were no longer merely the sources of street noise. They marched across my line of life and back again, making queer, crooked turns in my dim consciousness; they advanced and retreated in waves of colored sound; between them it was to be settled whether I should live or die.

III. HIGH FEVER

Why did you say—that night so long ago?
We speed so fast, though, I could never hear;
Our steeds drag headlong through the molten air;
The white track blinds me, and the whole world throbs
With pain—a senseless, brute, ignoble pain. . . .
Are you still there? Do not come near, nor look,
But just in pity tell me why you ever said—
Faster, faster, lash the horses on!
The wind blows hotter and the throbbing grows,
But Hell itself can no new horrors hold
To match these surging, upturned heads. They sink,
They rise, they crowd upon us here—a sea
Of tragic faces, loathsome, terrible,
And your face too! Time was when just your look
Made heaven. Ah, when was that? Ages ago,
I think. You died since then and never said—
Why did you ever say—in pity tell—
Nay, but I *will* know, grappling you and Death.

I would not break your arm, dear nurse. Yes,
Your hand is cooling; hold it there awhile.

IN HOSPITAL

IV. DETACHMENT

When a fever at last burns low, and the patient has had no solid food for weeks, there comes a period of clear-headedness, of keen sensation, during which, if one were only stronger—tantalizing thought—one certainly must be far cleverer than common. When this period came for me, I lay long hours of the summer days quietly thinking. The mood was one of detachment. I had no desire to establish relations with the people who moved in and out my sick-room, for old memories were my company—old memories of books, places, and people. These I read anew with quickened insight, new standards of measure. Some such experience everyone has had, I suppose, in the moment between sleeping and waking, when a vexing question will seem luminously clear, only to be obscured again by the shock of contact with reality. Happily, no such disillusioning test was to be applied to my invalid thoughts. I believed in them then and I believe in them now, though of what they were about I have no very clear recollection.

A period of such beatific self-content could not last long. It was succeeded by a craving for books, or not so much for books as for one particular form of literary thought and expression. All reading was still denied me, so there was ample time to think out the details of this form. It must be prose, but imaginative and finely done; not fiction either, for fiction would be too much like fact. Some prose study was what I wanted, and I tried to think of all the essayists in turn. The eighteenth-century men were too artificial. Macaulay's sledge-hammer periods were out of the question, Lamb's whimsicalness spoilt him for the time, Arnold was too controversial, Emerson too thin-blooded, and De Quincey, who might have done very well, escaped my mind.

When it was grudgingly conceded that A—— might read to me an hour a day, she came with a bundle of new magazines. They seemed so inadequate to the occasion that my face betrayed me. I tried to explain what I had in my mind, and though I was incoherent enough to have puzzled anyone else, the right book was promptly at hand the next day. With the first sentences I knew that here was what I wanted. A high, weather-stained wall in a sculptor's yard, the cool close of summer at Valenciennes as the eighteenth century begins, and then the growth of Watteau's art

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traced step by step in the journal of a girl of the Provinces, his cousin. He had, she says, in her effort to catch the distinguishing characteristic of his style, his "cleanly preferences." What an admirable trait, so far removed from the brutality of false emphasis of high fever! It seemed the secret through all that delightful book, as A—— read it to me on three successive afternoons, of Pater's own style. But one progresses rapidly from this stage. Before *Imaginary Portraits* was finished I had begun to watch the people about me, and my first step back into the world of men and women had been taken.

V. CONVALESCENCE

One of the nurses was a rich Philadelphia widow in her second year of training. The world and its allurements had palled upon her, and she proposed to dedicate herself to the slums. She could not have been more than thirty; one of your warm-cheeked brunettes and good to look upon—or she would have been good-looking had she never moved or spoken; her Delsartian gestures and the self-conscious modulations of her voice filled one with distrust of the bloom.

Sentimentality had marked her for its own. I knew it by the lifted eyebrows and the frown of pain between them as she counted my pulse and adjusted my pillow. I knew it by the guarded yet confidential tone in which she referred to Marcella. Five of her friends had sent her copies of the book, and were foolish enough to think her like the heroine.

No wonder the world failed to satisfy her! But the slums must fail too. I pictured the cowed awe with which so much manner must at first oppress them, and later on the savage force of their revolt.

Passively to have received the ministrations of such a nurse for long, the humor of the situation must have worn off—it must have become intolerable; but, happily, I escaped this. My own nurse was somewhat angular—she stooped, in fact—but there was a merry twinkle in her eyes, especially when they lighted on the widow, which gave assurance that one might trust her to take hold of life by the right handle. She laughed at me and my returning appetite, and fostered my interest in the hospital life by graphic

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little sketches of her associates and of the other patients. By the time I was promoted to a wheel-chair I knew something about each one of these.

There was the poor fellow from Canada to whom she had carried a cluster of my bunch-berries as a reminder of home. He had been very ill with the fever and a sister had come to nurse him. When he was well enough to be read to, the sister went into town to get some attractive literature, and brought back Stead's *If Christ Should Come to Chicago*. Then there was the old German organist who had never missed a service for fifty years, and waking one morning to find one side paralyzed, had received this stroke of fortune with the petulant surprise of a small child. I had known his playing—a dry, scholastic style—and had seen a text book of his on counter-point and thorough-bass. It appeared that the old gentleman was also a student of the Swedenborgian metaphysics, but these studies had failed to prepare him for the turn of events which suddenly had flung him on his back. It seemed to him altogether unreasonable, unprecedented. He was a troublesome patient, always ringing his bell and demanding the impossible, but I noticed that the nurses liked him. They seemed to feel that his unworldliness had received a shock; that one who had spent his life with the abstractions of musical mathematics and of the seven spheres needed time to readjust himself to the hard facts of life. . . .

My nurse said that there were not so many "characters" in a pay ward, and that nursing in a free ward was for that reason more interesting work. There was an Irishman in the free surgical ward, she told me, for whom was prescribed two ounces of sherry daily after dinner. There was little hope that he could get well, but the sherry was always occasion for a toast, and he would propose his nurse's health in such a speech as only an Irishman can make.

I never saw him, but the patient for whom I had the friendliest feeling was a German in the free surgical. Death for him was only a question of a few weeks. He had no relatives or friends, but a fellow-countryman had agreed to pay his funeral expenses. This was not only a satisfaction to him—it was a source of the greatest pride. Whenever he had a bad turn he would always see to it that a letter was dispatched to prepare his benefactor for the worst. In the year and more of his sickness he had become an excellent judge

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of nursing, and his rebuke to the nurse who omitted the smallest item of his toilet was dignified but scathing.

Whatever had brought him to this pass (and he was silent on the subject) inefficiency certainly was not the cause. He selected the capable people on the hospital staff with an unfailing instinct, and their sympathy went out to him in return. Hopeless as his state was, he wasted not one moment in vain regrets, but gathering his remaining strength, faced death with no smallest decency of life neglected. Absolutely clean and well-brushed he must be to the end, and then—a respectable burial.

I thought of him on my last night in the ward. Evidently my time to die had not come, as I was to be dismissed, cured, on the morrow; but when it did I should be glad to bear myself as well, should envy him his quiet and unfailing courage.

PART THREE

PHILADELPHIA, 1900-1909

Pushed upward by our interest in some retail task toward wholesale remedy for evils of the same class, we are pulled back, our remedy once secured, into the particular again, to complete the work so begun. The healthy and well-rounded reform movement usually begins in the retail method and returns to it again, forming . . . a complete circle.

FROM THE RETAIL METHOD OF REFORM

PART THREE

PHILADELPHIA, 1900-1909

INTRODUCTION

IN ACCEPTING the offer of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity¹ Miss Richmond wrote: "The charity of a city is a living, breathing thing, not to be poured like plaster into a mold imparted from without, but to be developed reverently from within."

The situation which had been laid before her was fraught with peculiar difficulties. The Philadelphia Society, organized in 1878, had in the beginning as fine a start as any society in the country, and for the first ten years of its existence had held a leading position in its field. It had waged an effective battle against mendicancy and other untoward conditions, had done pioneer work in compulsory school attendance and industrial training, had created the "Assembly," a general conference on social problems of the city, which in many ways anticipated the Councils of Social Agencies of today, and had published the *Monthly Register*, the first journal of social and civic work to have national circulation. Its form of organization was, however, highly decentralized; it was in reality scarcely more than a loose federation of independent "ward associations" which raised and disbursed relief within their own local limits, each association developing its own program and standards of work. The same people who organized the new society had been active in bringing about the abandonment of the costly and ineffective system of public outdoor relief in the city of Philadelphia. They believed that the needs of the poor could be met by stimulating self-help, by securing employment for them, and by raising relief chiefly from "natural" sources. This proved an impracticable program, here as elsewhere. In the effort to secure relief funds

¹ Now called The Family Society of Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, 1900-1909

from other agencies, and to keep the total amount spent for relief as low as possible, considerable ill-feeling developed toward the Society.

These two causes—decentralization with no uniform supervision or standards, and failure to provide an adequate substitute for the public relief which had been abolished, combined to bring about a decay in the Society's position of leadership, so that as the end of the nineteenth century approached it had become, as its present general secretary describes, little more than "a clutter of unwieldy mechanism," doling out from its local offices "ten-cent pieces in relief on rainy days, and maintaining two miserable lodging houses."

There were efforts from time to time on the part of the more far-seeing among the board members to remedy the faulty organization; but they accomplished little; and in the late nineties, discouragement had progressed so far that there came to be talk of disbanding the Society. Reorganization was the course decided upon, however, by a few stout hearts on the Board, and in the fall of 1900, Miss Richmond came to the Philadelphia Society as general secretary. Miss Zilpha D. Smith, writing to her in September of 1900, was evidently made anxious by the extensive plans she was making, in view of her slender store of health. After detailed advice as to rest and the avoidance of overstrain, Miss Smith says:

There are some of your plans that I should want to delay or change. You have undertaken, first to learn to know seventeen district associations and help them to work together; second, to reorganize the Central Office and make it helpful to the district associations and to other societies; third, to edit "Charity" [sic]; and fourth, to help the Civic Club to make a directory; which is enough and more than enough for the wisest and strongest worker.

As to Miss Richmond's tendency to take on more than she ought in the way of speaking and writing, her friend continues:

Is there not danger of your getting into the same difficulty that you had in Baltimore? . . . Speaking and writing as well as you do is very apt to discourage others from doing it instead of drawing them out. Everyone thinks you do it easily, and expects more and more of it from you without realizing the time and strength that it takes. . . .

INTRODUCTION

Then follow detailed suggestions as to securing the participation of others of the staff, ending with the characteristic wish:

I hope you will soon find some good Central Office workers with plenty of backbone and a genius for dealing with people.

The new general secretary found many problems confronting her. The Board was still dominated by the thinking of those who had shaped the Society's policies in earlier days, and the situation was in no way eased by the appointment to membership upon it of the retiring general secretary! New material had to be introduced as painlessly as possible, into both the Board and the staff, and this caused apprehension and unrest. Reorganization is never a gracious task. Miss Richmond had naturally no close personal friends in Philadelphia who might have helped her through the first lonely and fatiguing months. Once more she turned to reading for intimate companionship, and she used to say afterward that it was only with the aid of George Meredith's writings that she got through the first winter!

But she was fortunate in the group of supporters who rallied to her without delay. Among them were members of families known in Philadelphia for social vision as well as for social position; and their backing was invaluable to her. No small part of her success in Philadelphia lay in her power to lead and inspire a group of volunteers in such a way as to weld them into a permanent body in support of the principles in which she believed. According to one of her associates:

Reorganization of the Society for Organizing Charity was accomplished with amazing quickness and thoroughness. Every source of information, past and present, written and oral, was consulted by the secretary for her enlightenment as to the Society's condition, needs, and resources—actual and potential. Within a few months after she assumed office she had, through establishing a special fund, secured several "workers-in-training"; she held weekly classes for their instruction; introduced a new case record form which was the basis of the form in present use; re-staffed the Society's Central Office; reorganized two district offices; secured approval of architect's plans for the erection of a new model Wayfarers' Lodge; introduced a system of letter appeals to possible new contributors. For years the Society had talked of some of these "reforms."¹

¹ Rupert, Ethel, "Philadelphia, 1900-1909." In *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 330.

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Miss Richmond herself adds a graphic touch in recalling the early reorganization:

To take a district office in which the superintendent could not go out in bad weather, and during the winter usually gave ten cents or a quarter to each applicant, and turn this into a place where the average is nine visits to each family; to take another district office that had not been entered by a member of the local committee for fifteen months and make it a center where volunteer workers come and go daily and where from fifteen to twenty of them meet weekly with the superintendent to get things done for poor people; to take still another district office, one in the Italian quarter, where the superintendent disliked and discriminated against Italians, and place this work in charge of a sympathetic woman who speaks their language and has the gift of interesting others in their peculiar difficulties—to do these things is not easy, and they make very little appeal to the eye when done, but some of us would rather give our days to getting them done than to any other task in the world.¹

In her dark little office—it had formerly been a hall-bedroom—she was accessible to all and sundry who wanted to see her: clients, social workers, or members of the public. She found time to do some case work herself, perhaps, for demonstration purposes; and they still tell in Philadelphia how she secured for a baker whose wife insisted on visiting his places of employment, causing him to lose job after job, a position as cook at a monastery, beyond whose gates no woman was allowed to come. The tale goes on to relate that the wife came to the office to accuse Miss Richmond of interference. She brought with her, for reasons not stated, a pet guinea-pig, wrapped in her shawl. Miss Richmond paid no attention to the complaint, but devoted herself to the guinea-pig, whereupon its owner melted, and Miss Richmond was able for the first time to have a real interview with the woman, on the basis of a mutual interest in the little animal.

Each year during her stay was to see more gains consolidated and new advances planned. Our purpose here is not, however, to give a complete biography, but rather to touch upon events significant in her development as a writer and as a leader. The most outstanding of her achievements in Philadelphia was, no doubt, the one to which she had set her hand—the modernizing and unifying of the congeries of agencies that was known as the

¹ From *A New Year Letter*, a printed appeal for funds, 1906.

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Society for Organizing Charity, and the bringing of some sort of order out of the "tangle of good intent" into which the city's charities had fallen. To this end she devoted much time to the mechanics of the job—record forms, central registration, appeal-letters; and in this way she became known outside of Philadelphia as a person with practical ideas to spare. The requests for help from other cities led first to a monthly exchange of such material between societies, and then to the organization of the Field Department of Charities of which Miss Richmond became editor in 1905.

But she will be even longer remembered in Philadelphia for her leadership in attacking various civic evils, and in promoting social legislation. The City Party, an organization to expose and fight the corruptions in the city government developed a Women's Committee, which was the first organization of women in Philadelphia with an aggressive program in local politics. Miss Richmond became a member, and prepared some of its literature. The campaign resulted in an "overwhelming victory for the City Party . . . the women [were] entitled to a very considerable share of the credit for the successful outcome."¹ Philadelphia was purged for the time being, the "gas steal" prevented, and the Pennsylvania legislature the next year took the lesson to heart and passed a number of reform bills.

If the revolution of 1905 had had no other outcome, the action of the special session of the legislature would have distinctly made it worthwhile, and justified all the energy and time and service expended.²

Miss Richmond never sought personal publicity, however, and although she took part in many reforms, it was usually behind the scenes, influencing and motivating others to action and letting them fill the public eye. In reorganizing her own board and staff, she adopted no violent "clean-up" methods; but introduced able persons in strategic positions, saw that they were armed with information, inspired them with her own zeal for improvement, and then let nature take her course! She could be outspoken wherever she thought that would be useful, but in the main, her remarkable

¹ Woodruff, C. R., "Practical Municipal Progress." In *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 12, November, 1906, p. 194.

² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

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results were secured by the more tactful method of *private* outspokenness, and by a real process of education rather than by attempts at domination. A colleague says of her:

Miss Richmond originated or was otherwise closely identified with every sound movement for social betterment and progress undertaken in this city and state during the nine years of her incumbency. It is the unanimous testimony of everyone familiar with that period that hers was frequently the controlling mind and usually the guiding hand that shaped all such matters. She led in securing passage of wife desertion and non-support legislation; in forming the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee which secured child labor legislation; in establishing the Juvenile Court, the Children's Bureau, and in shaping the program of the Seybert Institution. She led in the Housing Investigation in 1905 and promoted organization of the Housing Association; she set in motion the movement that resulted in legislation providing institutional care for feeble-minded women and children. Miss Richmond built up close co-operation with the Board of Education and the Public Education Association; assisted in re-organization of the Children's Aid Society and the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty; secured passage of a bill providing for a voluntary commission to study and report upon Pennsylvania's vicious system of state subsidies to private charities (a bill which the Governor refused to sign); organized public meetings to consider social legislation; aroused city officials to enforce the laws against street-begging; stressed the need for greater public interest in the management of Philadelphia's public charities, citing the work of the New York State Charities Aid Association and thus laying the groundwork which led to organization of the present Public Charities Association. She promoted the movement in 1909 to organize the Pennsylvania State Conference of Social Work; led in organization of the Philadelphia Social Workers' Club and in the movement for a Charities Building; started central registration of cases. She contributed the Society's facilities for training and supervising paid "investigators" for a group of day nurseries; for a children's home; for the Philadelphia Hospital, Department of Mental Diseases. On the other hand, Miss Richmond's knowledge and skill were equally effective in preventing development of many unsound projects; in calming public excitement at times of panics and strikes.¹

It must not be thought that all this was accomplished without difficulty and opposition, some from the sentimentalists who abhorred "scientific charity," some from the politicians who saw prerogatives threatened, and some, unfortunately, from social theorists whose motives were of the best, but whose views were diver-

¹ Rupert, Ethel, "Philadelphia, 1900-1909." In *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 331.

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gent from those of the case work group. During the first decade of the twentieth century, there were arising in schools and colleges, a group of social theories which seemed to run directly counter to the philosophy of the charity organization movement. The early exponents of the demand for social justice regarded all work with individuals as mere palliative effort. They were after something more fundamental—the “abolition of poverty!” If industrial and social conditions were reformed, man, being essentially sound, could be relied on to take care of his own adjustments. It was a glorious concept, and the source of many fruitful social reforms; but it overlooked the essential oneness of case work and mass effort, so finely argued by Miss Richmond in her paper entitled *The Retail Method of Reform*.¹ Part of the ebb in popularity of the charity organization movement just after the turn of the last century is undoubtedly due to these new ideas. Before long, the inherent strength of the case work program had begun to appear, reinforced by mental hygiene with its still newer emphasis upon individual differences and adjustments, but during Miss Richmond’s stay in Philadelphia, the case workers were laboring in the trough between two waves. She recalls eloquently the discouragements of this period in *Possibilities of the Art of Helping*.²

In Baltimore, Miss Richmond had learned to be an able general secretary; in Philadelphia she became a community leader and teacher. But this was not done at the expense of diffusing the aims and energies of the Society. Her own interests were manifold; but she led the Society for Organizing Charity firmly back to first principles, and made it for the first time in its history a case work organization. The “miserable lodging houses” were replaced by buildings that were models of their kind, but in the main, the Society under Miss Richmond’s leadership was content to point out community needs, and further the organization of special groups to study a field or correct a condition, rather than to mobilize its own resources to that end. When such activities were undertaken as a part of the Society’s own program, its practice was, to quote an observer, “to wean the child as soon as possible in order that it might not be hampered in promoting the next thing needed.” This centripetal function—the budding off and setting free of new so-

¹ See p. 214 of the present volume.

² See p. 584 of the present volume.

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cial agencies—was, of course, characteristic of the period and of the charity organization societies in general. Only through this means were they able to fulfil their duty to the community, while keeping themselves free to develop their own peculiar field of family case work.

Miss Richmond was honored by being chosen one of the American delegates to the Cuban Conference of Charities and Correction held in Havana in 1902. She gave there a paper on First Principles in the Relief of Distress which, written for an audience wholly uninstructed in such matters, was naturally quite simple in content, and is not included in this volume. This glimpse of foreign lands was followed in the summer of 1903, by her first and only trip across the Atlantic. With a party of friends she spent several weeks in England and Scotland. While in London, she renewed acquaintance with Mr. Loch, visiting him and his wife at their home in Oxshott, Surrey. The skeleton diary of her trip gives this delightful outline of the Sunday in June which she spent with them (further mention of which is made in her paper on Sir Charles Stewart Loch).¹

- Breakfast on the lawn
- Mr. Loch's little service
 - Isaiah
 - Water Babies
 - Prayers
- Mr. Loch's new article
- Mr. and Mrs. Bosanquet to tea
- Walk with Mrs. Loch
- Reading from Ionica²

She was not fortunate enough to meet Octavia Hill, the dean of English social workers, but called on her sister, Miranda. Her diary while in London shows a judicious mixture of time spent in picture galleries, concerts, and sightseeing with visits to the social settlements, inspections of workhouses and institutions, and sessions with the district committees of the London Charity Organisation Society.

Miss Richmond was a constant attendant at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and at Portland, Oregon, in 1905, she organized a campaign which brought the Conference to

¹ See p. 557 of the present volume.

² Cory, William, *Ionica*. George Allen, London, 1891.

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Philadelphia the following year. "I sent a dispatch [to Philadelphia] just after the vote was taken," she told the Conference next day, "and there were three words of the permitted ten unused. No woman, I believe, ever countenances such waste, so I added the three words, 'Tired but happy.' . . . Our Pennsylvania delegation found that the argument carrying most weight with you was the argument of a city aroused, at last, and struggling bravely to cast off the shackles of the gang. Since Philadelphia showed this desire to help herself, every member of this conference, true to its traditions, was eager to help her."

Trained in the Baltimore Society, which would have none of general relief funds, and which raised nearly all its relief by appeals for special cases, Miss Richmond found it hard to accept the Philadelphia plan of relief giving. Although her views on relief as on many other matters, changed somewhat with the changing times, she continued to distrust the large, centrally administered relief fund, whether in public or private hands. This is brought out in her paper, *The Mine Fields*.¹

In teaching and training, Miss Richmond was developing the "case method" afterward so widely adopted in the teaching of social case work. She taught frequently at the Summer School of Applied Philanthropy in New York, and after it changed to a full-time basis, she continued to give courses there in the winter. In 1906 she gave a six weeks' course at the University of Pennsylvania, which probably led indirectly to the establishment of the present Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work.

Although she was busier in more different directions during the Philadelphia days than at any time in her life, she also found time for a wider range of friendships. She was considerably before the public, and she was sought out by others than the social work group. Writers and artists were numbered among her friends, particularly the latter. She had a pleasant acquaintance with a colony of artists, and at least one of the connections formed through this group developed into a close and life-long friendship. Philadelphia offered even more opportunities to music lovers than Baltimore; and Miss Richmond became a faithful attendant at the concerts of the Symphony Orchestra. Reading as an avocation

¹ See p. 460 of the present volume.

had to be largely concentrated into the summer vacation period, part of which she usually spent in some quiet spot near the city, reading voraciously. From one of these retreats, she wrote to a friend:

I've been moving my books, papers and writing materials into a room they have just given me—a vacant school room, with a globe, six blackboards and two Lucia della Robbias. I feel a desire to follow the example of other sinners and write my name on the inside of the desk. The tiny bookshelf now contains seven of my little modern Reader's Bibles, for I hope to make some headway with the Old Testament this summer, a Revised Version, Boswell, the Oxford Book of Verse that you have seen, two volumes of Meredith's Poems, Bliss Perry on Walt Whitman, Dickinson on the Greek View of Life, Gosse on Ibsen, Schumann's Letters, and Baedeker's U. S. You say that Münsterberg sounds like winter reading, but in winter I read the lightest trash I can get hold of, usually, and what little other reading I do is done in summer when I am less busy, though there's nothing very heavy, or shoppy either, about this summer's outfit.

It is perhaps not surprising that Miss Richmond's output of articles and speeches of importance during the ten years in Philadelphia was small, particularly from 1902 to 1906. The reasons are not far to seek; she was absorbed during the earlier years in problems of reorganization, and during the latter part of this "dry season" for papers, she was throwing a great deal of her energy into the child labor campaign. Much of her writing perforce took the form of appeals and publicity material (see note, page 245). She wrote several chapters of a book on Social Work in Families, but this was never completed and published, although in Social Diagnosis she reverted in part to the same subject. In 1907, however, she wrote *The Good Neighbor*,¹ which required relatively little study and research. The book was designed to inform the general public about the aims and methods of social work, and about the ways in which a good citizen might co-operate with and utilize the social resources of his community. This little book, published in 1907, was eagerly seized upon by social workers. Its popular style made it a valuable document for use in publicity; and a special Philadelphia edition of ten thousand copies was distributed to clergymen, physicians, teachers, judges, lawyers, police officers, magistrates, civic bodies, and others of the city.

¹ *The Good Neighbor in the Modern City*. J. B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, 1907.

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Miss Richmond's connection with the Field Department of Charities (later Charities and the Commons) from 1905 to 1909, made her a national figure in the charity organization field. When the Russell Sage Foundation was organized in 1907, the extension of this movement was felt by its officers and board to be a proper function for the new Foundation to undertake; and early in 1909, by amicable arrangement with Charities and the Commons, the Charity Organization Department¹ of the Foundation was projected, to take over the work of the Field Department, Miss Richmond being appointed as its director. She began her new work in the autumn of the same year, leaving the Philadelphia Society firmly established.

¹ For a fuller account of the Charity Organization Department, see Appendix C.

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A paper presented at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1901.

ABOUT the year 1880, it occurred to different groups of people in a number of American cities to start a new charity. This was, in itself, no unusual thing, but their reason was peculiar. They started a new charity because there were so many already. Religious and secular activity in philanthropy had created, in our large cities, many different agencies. However well these may have been organized internally, they were not organized with reference to each other, and this fact led to the formation of charity organization societies.

The seal of the New York society illustrates its chief object. The seal represents a chain each link of which is some form of charitable activity. The links are marked "official and private relief," "churches and missions," "relief societies," "homes and asylums," "hospitals and dispensaries," "friendly visitation," "provident schemes and fresh air"; and then, binding these links together in a circle, is a band inscribed "Charity Organization Society of the City of New York."

This conception of co-operation would seem to be broad enough and difficult enough of realization to satisfy anyone, but it has been immeasurably broadened by the charitable practice of every successful charity organization society. Co-operation on the official side, as it concerns the relations of charitable bodies, is still very important; but co-operation as a working principle applicable to every act of the charity worker is fundamental. It may be well, therefore, to consider this daily habit of co-operation in some detail before turning to the question of co-operation among charities.

I. CO-OPERATION WITH THE POOR AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

When one points out that the field of charitable co-operation is not limited to charities alone, but extends to everything affecting



MARY E. RICHMOND, 1900

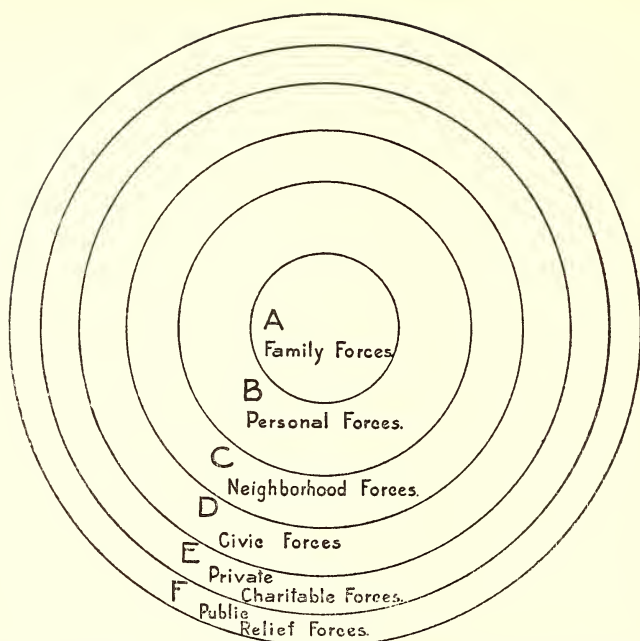
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the life of the poor, and to the poor themselves, the proposition seems almost self-evident; but its hearty acceptance marks an important and comparatively recent change in charitable ways of thinking.

The success of this more personal conception of co-operation depends upon the attitude of mind of the individual worker. That first moment in which any applicant and any charity agent confront each other is a solemn one, for the applicant's future depends in no small degree upon what the agent happens to *think* about the resources of charity. The record of one such interview has been brought to my attention, in which, after the usual names, ages, and so forth, the agent had made this entry: "Nothing unfavorable could be found out about this family. Gave fifty cents." That closed the record, but it led to interesting speculations as to the worker's point of view.

The series of circles on the following page, with the accompanying list of forces, is an attempt to picture, though in very crude fashion, the resources of the modern charity worker in his efforts to befriend families in distress. The family life is pictured by a circle at the center. Then surrounding this are circles representing, first, the personal forces that lie outside the family, but nearest to it; [next,] the neighborhood forces, the civic forces, the private charitable forces, and, last, the public relief forces of the community. The resources of which the untrained and unskilful exclusively think—the groceries, fuel, clothing, and cash at the charity worker's command—are only a small part of his actual resources, of course; and even the list given under this diagram is very incomplete. It may be indefinitely extended for any given city.

The diagram assumes three things: First, that the charity worker really knows the family he is trying to help. A painstaking investigation is supposed to have brought to light the resources mentioned in the diagram in so far as they affect the given family. Second, that, in choosing forces with which to co-operate, the worker will select those that are nearest to the family and most natural for them rather than the forces that lie nearest to and are most natural for him. Third,—and may the day be hastened when this explanation is no longer necessary!—it is assumed that not for



A.—Family Forces.

Capacity of each member for
Affection.
Training.
Endeavor.
Social development.

B.—Personal Forces.

Kindred.
Friends.

C.—Neighborhood Forces.

Neighbors, landlords, tradesmen.
Former and present employers.
Clergymen, Sunday-school teachers, fellow church members.
Doctors.
Trade-unions, fraternal and benefit societies, social clubs, fellow-workmen.
Libraries, educational clubs, classes, settlements, etc.
Thrift agencies, savings-banks, stamp-savings, building and loan associations.

D.—Civic Forces.

School-teachers, truant officers.
Police, police magistrates, probation officers, reformatories.

Health department, sanitary inspectors, factory inspectors.
Postmen.
Parks, baths, etc.

E.—Private Charitable Forces.

Charity organization society.
Church of denomination to which family belongs.
Benevolent individuals.
National, special, and general relief societies.
Charitable employment agencies and work-rooms.
Fresh-air society, children's aid society, society for protection of children, children's homes, etc.
District nurses, sick-diet kitchens, dispensaries, hospitals, etc.
Society for suppression of vice, prisoner's aid society, etc.

F.—Public Relief Forces.

Almshouses.
Outdoor poor department.
Public hospitals and dispensaries.

DIAGRAM OF FORCES WITH WHICH THE CHARITY WORKER MAY CO-OPERATE

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one moment has he allowed the completion of his investigation or the drawing up of his plan of co-operation to interfere with the prompt relief of urgent need.

All city families, rich and poor alike, are surrounded by the forces indicated within these circles; and the failure of the four groups of forces—family, personal, neighborhood, and civic—to resist the downward pull of gravitation would render any family dependent. In every family asking charitable aid, therefore, the natural resources have so far failed as to send its members crashing down through circles B, C, D, to E, the circle of private charity. The problem of charity is to get them back into A again by rallying the forces that lie between. It has sometimes seemed worthwhile in puzzling cases to advise the charity agent to go to work as deliberately as this: Taking the list of forces in each circle, to check off each one that has been tried, and then make a note of ways in which to use the others. The device is mechanical; but, when a family continues long in E, the football of circumstance, helped “a little” by many agencies and individuals, and taught to believe that a wretched appearance and dependent attitude will make the most effective appeal, then any device seems justified that will help to restore the family to independence and self-respect.

Let us consider the contents of these circles, bearing in mind that the best force to use, other things being equal, is the force that lies nearest the family.

Circle A, Family Forces. The first resource of charity, and the one most commonly overlooked, is within the needy family itself. The charity worker's first question should be: What powers of self-help are there here that may at once take the place of charitable relief, or else may be developed by charity to take its place hereafter? What is the capacity of each member for endeavor, for training, for social development, for affection? Is anyone able-bodied? If so, the able-bodiedness is in itself a resource to be developed. Can anyone be taught to earn more or to earn? Can anyone here be helped to more effective living by a social pleasure that I can throw in his way? Is there any affection latent here that I can appeal to, and so put new heart into a discouraged worker?

In other words, what the family can do, what it can learn, what it can enjoy, what it can feel—these are the important things. In

these we have the greatest resource of charity and the most important field of co-operation. The charity worker with the co-operative spirit is always thinking of things he can do together *with* the family, and the worker who lacks this spirit can think only of things to do *for* them.

The development of aids to this department of co-operation should be encouraged in every possible way. We need more manual training, more social clubs, more charities with the thought of education in them; and, above all, we need to have the family idea emphasized in all such work. The old cry of "Save the children!" must be superseded by the new cry of "Save the family!" for we cannot save the one without the other.

Circle B, Personal Forces. All who have established relations with the family that are genuinely personal, though they may be classified in the diagram under neighborhood or civic or charitable forces, deserve to be included in this circle. The Church, for instance, may become a personal force of the greatest potency, touching the life of the family more nearly than any save the nearest kindred; but, too often, it allows itself to drop to circle E, where it is regarded by the poor as merely a source of supplies.

This circle of personal forces is the strategic point in charity work, but charities may be prevented from entering it by two lacks—lack of personal knowledge of the poor and lack of personal interest. We have all been the victims of the official who protects himself by a highly impersonal manner; and even when we have understood we have been offended. The poor, who do not understand, are doubly offended when the charity worker's attitude is impersonal. It is possible, of course, to let our insistence upon personal service degenerate into cant. Not all personal service is effective; it may be unquestionably personal and also very mischievous. But, after making due allowance for the note of exaggeration, what impersonal service can ever be effective in dependent families? There may be whole classes of dependents whose lot could be bettered by wholesale measures. But family problems are so complex, they demand such careful manipulation; and that charity will be most successful in dealing with them which so arranges its work as to avoid overcrowding any one worker with too many details. The most successful continuous work will usually be done by vol-

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unteers acting under intelligent leadership and with a trained paid agent.

The Boston Associated Charities regards 125 new families a year as the limit that can be successfully cared for by one trained agent working with a group of volunteers. Charitable work so arranged and done in the right spirit becomes a personal force in the lives of the poor. Placed securely in circle B, it is in a position to co-operate effectively with the family and with its friends and neighbors.

Relatives sometimes lose sight of their less fortunate kindred through no deliberate neglect; and kindred should always be turned to, not only for relief, but for information and advice. Their suggestions are often most useful.

The Fulham Committee of the London Charity Organisation Society made an interesting analysis a few years ago of the sources of relief in pension cases. It was found that 29 per cent of the pension money administered by them was obtained from charitable individuals who were strangers to the pensioners, 22 per cent came from old employers, 16 per cent from charities, 13 per cent from friends, 12 per cent from relatives, 6 per cent from clubs, and 2 per cent from the clergy. The large percentages from relatives, friends, and old employers are very striking; but we must remember, in comparing this work with our own, that many ties of kindred are severed in this country by the sweep of the Atlantic Ocean, and that the relations of employer, neighbor, and fellow-workman are all rendered less permanent by our migratory habits. English charity can develop the resources of neighborhood and of kindred more easily. It is well to note, however, that England has also furnished us with some striking examples of a perverted charitable practice in this regard. Just before the reform of the English poor law the following bill was presented by an overseer to be paid out of the rates:

To Elizabeth W., a present for her kindness to her father	5s. 0d.
To Lucy A., for looking after her mother when ill	3s. 6d.
To Mary A., for sitting up at night with her father	2s. 0d.

Let local conditions be what they may, they can always be made worse by a charity official with such views as these.

Circle C, Neighborhood Forces. Families often receive a great

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deal of neighborly help before becoming applicants for charity. The local tradesmen and landlords, especially those who sublet, have given credit, neighbors have been kind and helpful; and these local resources have been more or less exhausted before the aid of charity has been called in. On the other hand, the neighborhood feeling seems to die out in sections of the city in which charitable relief is most obtainable. During the blizzard of 1899, charity workers in Baltimore found three times as many cases of absolute destitution on the side of the city in which were situated most of the well-to-do residences and rich churches.

With sophisticated people the pressure of social influence regulating their standard of life and conduct comes not so much from the immediate neighborhood in which they live as from a wider circle of friendship and acquaintance. But the unsophisticated are still very sensitive to neighborhood influences. The social settlement is one of the forces that have recognized and made good use of this fact.

A wise use of the neighborhood forces is also the basis of success in the district plan adopted by our larger charity organization societies. The district agent and district committee that know best the normal life of their district will deal most wisely with its abnormal conditions. A good background of experience of the normal life of poor people is a district agent's best safeguard against mistake. Then, too, the friendly acquaintance with doctors and employers and tradesmen, the quiet coming and going about one's daily work, bring with it the best possible co-operation of an unofficial kind. The good agent reads the interplay of social forces within his district as from an open book, and no impatience with the mischievous and evil tendencies working therein can blind him to the human and hopeful side.

Circle D, Civic Forces. The civic representatives within the district are important neighborhood forces. For better or worse, they wield an influence that no charity equals; for better, because good teachers, good policemen, all good city officials coming in contact with the poor, are doing a quiet and effective service in their behalf that many charitable people have no conception of; for worse, because the poor are so entirely at the mercy of bad officials. A district agent will need all his courage and faith when he finds that

policy-shops, "speakeasies," and immoral houses are receiving in his district the protection of the police and of the magistrates. Sometimes he is fairly overwhelmed by a sense of the shamelessness of civic power so used against the most helpless class of citizens, and nothing seems worthwhile until all these agents of corruption can be swept away by a general uprising of good people. But the worst thing about good people is their unwillingness to work hard at small tasks, and district work is made up of a multiplicity of small tasks. The corrupt politician's success is due to the fact that he has worked hard at the weary details of building up a district plan of his own. The ward worker needs no diagrams to explain to him a method of co-operation with which he has long been familiar. It is time that the charitable took a leaf from their book, and used for a good purpose the neighborhood forces that these self-seekers have employed with such energy and persistence.

But individual officials are often better than the system under which they work. The reformer loses nothing by recognizing this fact. In a sense, they are victims, too; and no one of them can be too insignificant to be worth winning over to wise views about charitable relief. One of the most helpful neighborhood workers that the writer ever met was a Tammany truant officer, and a part of his helpfulness could be traced to the patience and tact of the charity organization agent in his district.

Circle E, Private Charitable Forces. The relation of the forces within circle E to each other is so important a part of this subject that its treatment is reserved for a separate section. The question that most concerns us here is the order in which charitable agencies should be used in the care of needy families. Some of the best work can be done with applicants that have asked for charitable aid for the first time, if the agency appealed to is careful to protect these from contact with many charities, and secure the needed aid from the most natural sources. But in another and large class of families natural sources are insufficient; and the family's own capacities can be developed, if at all, only very slowly and with great patience. These families must be given relief, and in some cases for a long while. And here we have one of the most important problems of co-operation; for the *way* in which this help is given—its source, its amount, its degree of flexibility, its greater or lesser

association with friendly influences, its insistence upon or neglect of possible self-help—all these things decide whether the relief shall be a strong lever to uplift the family or a dead weight to drag it down. The unintelligent administration of private relief has drawn many a family into permanent dependence in circle F upon public relief.

When, therefore, a choice of sources of help must be made, it cannot be too often repeated that we should choose the charitable sources best adapted to deal adequately with the particular need, and not the sources that we ourselves happen to like or find it easiest to use. Charity workers get into the habit of using certain combinations of agencies that come readily to mind or that give them little trouble. For any given family there is only one best possible combination, there are a dozen second bests. It is our duty to find the best.

If a family has held membership in a church for a long while and has regarded the church as a part of its normal life, then that church becomes a perfectly natural and neighborly source of help when the family is in distress. But, where all church connection has lapsed, a church of the denomination to which one or both heads of the family formerly belonged is a more natural source of help than a general relief society. The national organizations for relief also take precedence of general relief societies. And better than either (though this is still a disputed question) is relief procured from a charitable stranger, who will contribute a sum for a specific purpose, and take an interest in the result of its expenditure.

Circle F, Public Relief Forces. Public relief is the best possible form of relief for some classes of dependents; but there are many reasons, into which it is impossible to enter here, for believing that public relief to families (public outdoor relief, as it is usually called) is, of all forms of relief, the most difficult to use as an incentive to self-help and independence. A number of our larger cities have abolished public outdoor relief, and others are trying to do so; but, wherever it still exists, the charity worker should strive to keep poor families "off the overseers' books" and out of circle F.

Those who have labored long in charitable work may be inclined

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to question a classification of social forces that places charity so low in the scale. But this diagram takes no account of the large classes of dependents and defectives not living in families. To most of these charity must be, so far as we can now see, the only resource. The hopeful thing about family life is that it is surrounded by so many resources besides those that can be described as charitable. The recognition of this fact, while it imposes upon charity a more delicate and self-effacing task, greatly enlarges the field and the importance of its operations. So far from belittling charity, this view would seem to strengthen its claim to recognition as a great social force.

From the charity worker who reported of a family, "Nothing unfavorable; gave fifty cents," up to the best modern type of professional worker, who patiently strives to develop by co-operation all possibilities of help within and without the family, is a far cry. One wonders how long the charitable public will tolerate paid agents of the first type, who are nothing but dispensers of ineffectual doles, when it is now possible to secure the services of devoted and well-trained men and women whose treatment of distress would be helpful and thorough. One wonders, too, how long the work of a charitable society will be measured by the number of tons, pounds, or yards of stuff that it had dispensed. The only test of charitable work in families is the test suggested in this analysis of charity's resources; namely, the number of families lifted out of circle E and placed beyond the need of charity in a normal family life.

II. CO-OPERATION AMONG CHARITIES

To say that the charities of a community should work together harmoniously is to make a statement so obvious that it sounds almost foolish, but to bring about this harmonious relation is a task so stupendous that only workers of large faith and tireless patience can succeed in it. Heart-sick must the charity worker often be who is striving with all his might to make dependent families independent, for he must find himself thwarted at many a turn by a philanthropic activity that is as irresponsible and mischievous as it is well-meaning.

Let us suppose that he has just succeeded, after repeated failures,

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in persuading the heads of a begging family to take honest work, when at the critical moment a new charitable sewing circle or an aid society discovers the family, lavishes supplies upon them, and the old speculative fever is rekindled. Or suppose he has secured a place for the eldest girl, where she will not earn at once, but where she will learn a good trade; and then the leading relief society suddenly decides to make aid conditional upon this child's earning something immediately at work in which there is no future for her. Or suppose the curly-headed boy, who has been kept from school and sent out to beg, has been so successful in winning money from thoughtless passers-by that he has fallen into bad ways, and the charity worker feels that the boy's salvation depends upon a complete change; but at this juncture the magistrate and the church visitor, touched by the tears of his mother, who needs "his earnings," help to get him off, and the family fortunes continue to drift. But one does not have to suppose such things; they are occurring all around us every day. They are not so bad as they were. The tide has turned, but they are still bad enough.

Not so many years ago the charitable situation was like this: Conceive of twenty doctors dosing the same case at the same time, without consultation and each in his own way. Our medical code of ethics forbids such a state of things, but its results could be no more disastrous among the sick than were our charitable practices among the poor. In none of the large cities was there any charitable code of ethics—in some there is none today—and a sort of philanthropic free riot prevailed. Figures may give us some conception of the magnitude of the danger. New York's new directory of charities describes for Manhattan and the Bronx nearly 2,300 separate agencies, and for Brooklyn another 1,000. Boston has 1,000, Baltimore about 900, Philadelphia about 2,400. If, in these cities, each charity continued to do that which was right in its own eyes, and recognized no obligation to others working in the same field, the poor would suffer cruelly. All other arguments for charitable co-operation sink into insignificance beside this one, that our unwillingness to pull together causes such unnecessary suffering among the poor.

Fortunately the tide has turned. Every city having a live charity organization society is supplied with an agency that will

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gladly serve as a means of communication among charities. No one has any excuse now for working in the dark, for the facts may be had. Only those who know intimately the history of earlier years can realize what this has accomplished. To young workers, just joining the ranks, many things must still seem disheartening; and it is a pity that they cannot grasp at once the significance of these slow changes, for the long view would be cheering. In nothing would the change seem so marked as in our willingness to co-operate with the poor themselves and with their neighbors.

The writer has been tempted to change the series of circles illustrating the forces with which we may co-operate into a second diagram, showing the view of a charity director of the old unco-operative type. In the second figure the central circle of the series would be occupied by the director himself; the next would contain his charitable society; the next, the subscribers to the same; the next, the big figures that make such an impression on the subscribers; and, last of all, somewhere on the remote circumference—little known and little understood—would appear the poor people, the beneficiaries of his charity.

Now the secret of effective co-operation is to bring about a revolution in this attitude of mind. The attitude is not so common as it used to be; but, wherever it still exists, there is no more effective bar to co-operation. It is not enough for charities to refrain from saying disagreeable things about each other; it is not enough for them to make commercial contracts dividing the burdens of investigation or relief. Real co-operation implies the hearty working together of those who are striving, with convictions held in common, toward some definite object. We have already seen that this definite object should be the restoration of as many poor families as possible to a position of independence. Someone has said that the greatest discovery of modern education is the child. We might paraphrase this by saying that the greatest discovery of modern charity is the poor family. That Scriptural lesson in proportion points the way for us: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." When charities seek first the restoration of the dependent with energy and devotion, all the details of co-operation, falling easily and naturally into their right places, shall be added unto them.

If the highest co-operation is based upon agreement as to principles, such agreement is still a matter of slow growth. We must not expect people to change suddenly their whole theory with regard to poverty and its relief, because it does not happen to agree with ours. But out of a sincere interest in the poor, and a working together over individual problems, may come this higher co-operation if we take pains to make our treatment of every individual family a means to this end. Thoroughly efficient case work becomes our best stepping-stone. The patient unravelling of each individual problem, the quiet avoidance of showy schemes and boastful talk, the willingness to serve both the co-operative and the unco-operative, will surely win not only respect but fellowship in the long run. It is best to say very little to other charitable bodies about co-operating until the habit is well established in our own daily practice; and, even then, the less formally we begin the better.

"We are willing enough," says Mrs. Dunn Gardner, writing of her London fellow-workers, "to have a try to organize some large institution, or local charity, or parish meeting, or benevolent society; but, when it becomes a question of organizing individuals—that is to say, of convincing them, one by one, that our principles are true, and of inducing them to guide their action by these principles—we are most of us inclined to shirk the task. I believe myself that the wholesale system of doing things is as false when applied to organization as when applied to relief, and that important bodies can only be won over to our side by carefully and thoroughly dealing with the individuals who compose them."

No one should be astonished to find that the method of dealing thoroughly with each poor family, as it has been described in this paper, applies equally well to our dealings with charities. To co-operate with the poor, we must know them. This is the first step in co-operating with a charity—to know its history, its objects, and its limitations. We reveal our lack of interest and sympathy when we ask charities to do things that they were never intended to do. An energetic young doctor once said to the writer, "I just hated your society when I was on our hospital staff, for it always fell to my lot to visit the applicants for admission; and one of your agents, whose district was at the other end of the city, was forever writing about people whom I found to be in the last stages of some incur-

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able disease." The agent in question has a thousand virtues; but the ability to put herself in another's place, to understand the limitations of a poor family or of a charity, was not one of them. She had the misfortune to be an insulator, and co-operation did not thrive in that particular district until she had resigned.

If we were to formulate the experience acquired from working with the poor into three maxims about working with the charitable, the first maxim would be that we must know a charity before we can co-operate with it. We must give ourselves up to a sympathetic appreciation of whatever is best in it before we can hope to get the best out of it. And the second maxim would grow naturally out of the first. When we have turned over to another charity a task that is clearly theirs, we must trust them to do it, and do it well. People often get unduly nervous about their work, and want either to do it all themselves or else to supervise it very closely. This state of mind kills co-operation. We must trust others; and, in the third place, we must teach them to trust us by a scrupulous care in keeping our promises. If we have said that we will do a thing, it should be known to be as good as done.

Humiliating to acknowledge, but beyond dispute, is the fact that the charitable subscriber is a cause of strife. The subscriber himself is not wholly without blame. In his efforts to escape from the appeals of two agencies, whose work is more or less closely allied, he has been known to say to each that he prefers to give to the other. Then the charities (being, like the subscriber, distinctly human) have become embittered against each other by these tactics. If their directors would only reason the matter out, they must realize that there is no fixed sum set aside by any community for charitable purposes. The amount can be increased or decreased at any time. It does not follow that, as the work of one charity becomes better and more favorably known, the subscriptions to others will fall off. Good work well done and intelligently explained wins financial support; and it may be affirmed with equal certainty that an unfriendly attitude among a city's charities loses financial support to every one of them. Such rivalry becomes a public scandal; all thoughtful people are disgusted by it. Wherever the impression has got abroad that the leading charities of a community will not co-operate with each other, and that their

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work, in consequence, is antiquated in method and unfortunate in result, the younger generation of givers are rapidly becoming alienated from all charitable interests. They are refusing to serve on charitable boards, and are withholding their money from benevolent objects. To put the question on the lowest possible plane, it *pays* charities to be co-operative. Another bar to charitable co-operation, when we are foolish enough to permit him to become such, is the applicant. Sometimes he is stupid, and repeats messages incorrectly. Sometimes he is shrewd, and seeks his own advantage in getting two agencies at loggerheads. We should avoid sending an applicant from one charity office to another. It is bad for him, in the first place; and when we send him home instead, we can communicate directly with the agency, state our reasons for so doing more clearly, and secure more intelligent action.

Turning from this more negative side of the subject, let us assume that charities have so far developed a corporate conscience that they are, for the most part, sincerely anxious to put poor people beyond the need of charity. For the most part, they are anxious; but their anxiety must make them jealously watchful of results before they will discover that one of the obstacles to this end is a lack of systematic communication among charities engaged in any form of relief work in families. When they make this discovery, they will not be satisfied that poor families shall escape from the dangers of duplicated and unrelated relief by a happy accident. They will not be satisfied until some means of confidential communication has been established among charities, assuring to each agency a prompt report of what the others are doing in each family.

Registration of relief, as it is called, has been highly developed in a few cities, and with good results. The objections to it have proven in actual practice to be unimportant or mistaken. In Boston, where many agencies that held aloof at first have been induced to try it, nearly 40,000 confidential reports were received last year. Writing of the results of this exchange, Miss Frances Morse says,

We find registration justifying the belief of its projectors that it would afford positive information, would prevent the overlapping of relief, would

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save waste of time and effort by enabling societies to narrow their field and thus make their work more thorough, would detect imposture, and would make it possible so to map out the city that one could see what neighborhoods were most in need of improvement.

Another need that the co-operative spirit develops is a good directory of the charitable resources of the community. Such a book is indispensable to good work in a large city; for through it agencies may learn to avoid irritating blunders, and use each other more intelligently. A directory of charities is useful in two other ways. It brings to light needs that are not yet met by charity, so that existing agencies may work together to keep these needs before charitable testators and donors. It also shows in what direction the further development of charity is unnecessary. Often out of the sincerest desire to do good, and often, too, out of professional, denominational, or social rivalry, agencies are created for which there is no real need. People seem to have a passion for bringing charities into the world, and then leaving them without support. The death rate among these weaklings is very heavy. Of all the charities established in Baltimore in four years, it was discovered that 55 per cent had died within that time. The loss in money, time, and good temper that this implies would have justified the community in charging a large debit against charity's account.

The co-operative spirit at work is an eminently practical spirit. Not satisfied with suppressing charities where they are not needed and developing them where they are, it will plan a division of labor among existing agencies upon the basis of allotting to each the part that it is best fitted to take. We have all recognized a certain child-like and engaging quality in Bottom's cry, "Let me play the lion, too." But when we see charities engaged in combining a home for the aged with an orphan asylum, or the feeding of the homeless with the placing-out of children, or every imaginable sort of work with the relief of destitute families, we feel, like Peter Quince, that it is "enough to hang us all," and would say with him, "You can play no part but Pyramus." Then, if we are wise, we shall add (for Quince had the co-operative spirit), "Pyramus is a sweet-faced man; a proper man as one shall see in a summer's day; a most lovely, gentlemanlike man: therefore, you must needs play Pyramus." This queer combination of unrelated work in one society

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is the survival of a cruder stage of development. As our charity becomes more highly organized, it must disappear.

We have passed hastily in review some methods of charitable co-operation—co-operation with the poor, with the forces that surround them, co-operation among charities in the treatment of the individual case, in the registration of relief, in the development and repression of charitable activity, and in the division of labor. We have seen that the highest and best co-operation is based upon a hearty acceptance of certain principles underlying charitable action; but if two charities agree about anything, they can and should co-operate. It is not necessary to wait until they agree about everything. By making the most of their agreements and minimizing their differences, they acquire the habit of co-operation; and only after this habit has been acquired can they hope to secure that basis of agreement upon which large charitable and legislative reforms are founded. An improvised co-operation is seldom effective, for the lack of real cohesion among agencies hastily called together to ward off some legislative danger is too apparent. But when these same agencies have established the habit of working together over smaller tasks, they march upon Albany or Harrisburg or Springfield or Boston or Annapolis with every chance of victory. The first larger fruits of the co-operative spirit, as shown in better child-saving and better housing laws, give promise of a more abundant yield in the future.

The fruit will not be sound, however, unless it spring from the good ground of the individual case. We have had large crops of legislative bad fruit from those who have insisted upon beginning at the other end. Charitable co-operation begins and ends in an intimate knowledge of the needs of individual poor people and in the patient endeavor to make them permanently better off.

ENGLISH NOTES

Published in *Charities*, October 3, 1903. Some of the observations recorded here, and others gathered on the same visit to England, are used again in the paper on Sir Charles Stewart Loch, included in this volume, page 557.

ONE grimy street in Whitechapel was quite lighted up we found by the large mosaic on the outer wall of St. Jude's Church. The subject was Watts' "Time, Death and Judgment"; and that time and death and judgment had all been working together for the betterment of Whitechapel was brought home to us by a remark of the Toynbee Hall resident who showed us through the settlement. We were going on from there to inspect the cheap lodging-houses, under the guidance of a special officer.

"Well," the resident said, "you will find things wonderfully decent by comparison with the Whitechapel of twenty or even ten years ago."

"Where have all the bad people gone?" we asked.

"A good many of them are dead," was the reply.

He meant, of course, that the younger generation were having a better chance.

It did not just happen so. The younger generation are having a better chance because certain people have taken infinite pains. The settlement people have taken pains to discover neighborhood possibilities and then interpret them to the larger city. The charity organization people have taken pains to remodel charitable and poor-law relief agencies, to transform them from engines of destruction into sources of genuine helpfulness. Then the local government (and this, of course, strikes an American more than anything) has not exhausted every atom of civic energy in the effort to keep fairly honest. It is also efficient—at least, as we saw the supervision exercised over the lower type of lodging-houses, the strict police and sanitary regulation, it seemed efficient.

Probably there were many who regarded the old Whitechapel as a necessary evil, as the expression of those other necessary evils,

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ignorance, vice, and pauperism. The new Whitechapel is far from being a paradise, but it is an effective answer to the necessary evil philosophers.

In the light of what has been accomplished the city of London over, no one need despair, and yet there are many difficulties to be faced. The chief of these to a charity organizationist is the popular reaction in favor of lavish public outdoor relief. England's charitable difficulties, strange to say, are those of a democracy to even a greater degree than our own. The administration of the poor law is in the hands of elected guardians, and it is no unusual thing for guardians to pledge themselves before election to a lavish policy. In this way it is possible for a newly elected board to undo the patient labor of years in a few months, repauperizing a depauperized union. With a corresponding relaxing of self-help and of friendly help, the sufferings of the poor increase steadily with the increased expenditure. The number of "lax" unions, as they are called, has increased in London during the last decade. For quiet heroism, commend us to those faithful representatives of the London Charity Organisation Society who have continued as the minority members of "lax" boards of guardians, and have won, at last, laboriously and by sheer force of character and experience, some recognition for a more enlightened policy.

This enlightened policy seeks, however, to reinstate the workhouse as the great test of destitution, carrying out the intention of the framers of the Act of 1834. While such a return would be far preferable to the present tendency, one cannot help wondering whether the real need is not for an entirely new program based on the charitable experience of the last twenty-five years. Fowle has pointed out that the workhouse test kills the spirit of investigation, and one feels that the use of such automatic checks is contrary to the spirit of our modern charity, which aims, rather, to work in close relation to the ever varying and ever suggestive facts of each case. This does not mean, of course, that there are no great principles underlying the treatment of all cases, but that they elude expression in self-acting devices.

The English workhouses, conforming to modern standards of decency, are becoming more and more comfortable. Indeed, the newest and best seemed to at least one visitor like a large hotel,

with hospital and nursery attachments. The modern instinct is probably right in refusing to tolerate niggardliness and discomfort for the sake of their deterrent effects, but these new workhouse plants seem far in advance of the system under which they are administered. Unless they are to become a new and very serious menace to the independence of the people, should not their administrators have much larger powers of control over admissions and discharges? And should they not be guided in the exercise of these powers by a much more thorough knowledge of the facts? Such changes presuppose intelligence and devotion in the administrators, but reformers who agree about nothing else agree that the present unit of administration must be changed, and it may be that a more centralized authority could be entrusted with larger powers.

Whatever the answer to these questions may be, all are agreed that the need of the hour is education for the people of democratic England in their charitable duties, and a large committee organized by the London Charity Organisation Society—a committee of professors and bishops, of settlement workers and poor-law reformers—is about to undertake a part of this task. It is interesting to see what different forms this idea of training in the art of charity takes in different parts of the world. We are familiar with the New York form, and its latest development, the new winter course; there is reason to believe that Chicago will announce very soon a quite different plan; and the London scheme differs from both.

In the first place, it is more comprehensive. The two years' course about to be inaugurated this autumn in London "assumes a standard of work and intelligence such as might be expected from honor and the better class students at universities," but it is contemplated that the plan shall include, later on, courses for "men and women who are unaccustomed to any abstract thinking," though ready as paid workers "to take up practical work and the study of methods." Two other groups are also to receive separate consideration—candidates for the priesthood, and the poor-law officials.

The regular two years' course will include lectures on the structure of society, on sociology, and on "points of special importance in relation to social development and administration." Practical

demonstration parallel to the course will be given in the district offices of the Charity Organisation Society, where some experienced leader will make the connection between practice and theory by illustrating the lectures with case papers, old and new. The student will be expected to take actual part in the business of the office—its interviews, correspondence, visits, development of plans of help, and the carrying out of the same. Then the district as a whole and in its normal aspects will be considered, and other district administrative machinery, especially that of the poor law and the schools, will be studied at first hand.

It is too early to discuss for publication the details of this important departure of the London Society, but one could not attend the meetings in which these details were considered this summer without wishing to pass on one's sense of satisfaction in the very propitious beginnings.

The old question of hospital and out-patient abuse has come up in London in a somewhat less discouraging form at last. For many years we have divided, here as there, into those who believe that free medicine pauperizes, and those who believe that it does not. It is conceivable that people may honestly differ about this, but not conceivable that they should differ as to the pauperizing effect of the *wrong* medicine. And are not the wrong treatment, the wrong medicine, and the wasteful use of an opportunity all inevitable under the pressure upon medical charities of an unsifted mass of applicants?

Investigation, therefore, is what we need, not investigation of the old rule of thumb variety, such as we have been urging too long upon our American hospitals, but investigation looking to the intelligent use of every agency that can aid in effecting a cure. To the general practitioner, let us leave the work that he can do and the patient can pay him to do it; then must follow, to the patient that cannot pay, the best of medical care, nevertheless, and under conditions that make cure possible; to the non-medical relief agencies, an appeal to make such conditions possible; and to all useful forces, within and without the family life, a perpetual adjustment looking to cure.

The London Charity Organisation Society has helped to bring about this relating of medical charities to other social forces through

its close co-operation with almoners appointed by certain hospitals. The term "almoner" describes but imperfectly to American ears the duties of one who must interview the applicants of an out-patient department, must visit their homes, and must know and use all charitable agencies that could "render the treatment of the medical staff more effective"; and yet these and no less are the duties of almoners as defined by three London hospitals.

The effect of this sifting and adjusting upon hospital efficiency is apparent.

One almoner reports:

Out of twenty out-patient books, taken at random from the shelf, three cases were for admission, one was to be watched with a query as to admission later on, one was to be X-rayed, two were sent up for special advice, three were for operation, four needed prolonged treatment (one being locomotor ataxia, and one tubercular knee), one was evidently a puzzle, and five only needed no particular consideration.

A second almoner writes:

The more one works in an out-patient department the more one becomes convinced of the necessity of seeking causes in the home. And one thinks hopelessly and sadly of the waste, misuse and abuse of the out-patient and casual department of hospitals, where the advertisements that gallons of medicine and thousands of miles of bandages are being used is considered a good bait to attract the contributions of the public, but where there is no one to see these are used to the best advantage.

Here is the workhouse difficulty in a different form—the difficulty, namely, of devising a system of administration that shall be quite as good as the physical plant. Assuming that the medical plant is good, how shall we give it social adjustment? The London almoner seems to be finding the answer.

An American charity worker who loves London said recently, that the two most interesting spots in the whole city were the National Gallery and 15 Buckingham Street. The speaker was not an antiquarian interested in the vexed question of whether the present Buckingham Street house is a part of old York House or a new house of the Restoration period; nor was she a historian, seeking data about Peter the Great, who may have lived in this very house during his visit to London; nor did the fact that Dickens once lived there bring her a pilgrim to this shrine. In fact, it was a

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place of special interest to her solely because for thirty-four years it had been the home of the Charity Organisation Society.

Those who wish to visit the Society in its old home, however, must go soon. Still, for a year or two, perhaps, they may attend a meeting of the Central Council in the oak-panelled chamber on the second floor, or may take tea in the Denison clubrooms at the top of the house. Should they do the former, they cannot fail to gather some data for their own private and comparative study of national traits as displayed at meetings. Should they do the latter, they are likely to hear some good, unaffected, and human talk. But if they delay too long, they must be content to have the picture without its frame, for there is every likelihood that the Society's friends will build for it a new home in another quarter of the city.

It was a member of the London Society, traveling in America, who confided to a friend that charity organizationists wherever he found them the world over, were the salt of the earth. This sentiment will be regarded as rather highly colored in more than one quarter, but immediately after three weeks spent in visiting London district committees, perhaps one may be pardoned for echoing it with heartiness.

PHILADELPHIA'S PHILANTHROPIC GIANT

This paper appeared as an editorial in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, September 3, 1903, under a title less piquant, but less likely to offend the citizenry of the City of Brotherly Love—"Philadelphia Charities: Their Activities and Needs." It was reprinted in Charities, and under the title used here it formed part of the annual report for 1903 of the Society for Organizing Charity.

THE writer never thinks of Philadelphia's charitable activities without being forcibly reminded of the great, lumbering giant of the fairy tales—a rather stupid giant, it must be confessed, of a splendid strength, but of a strength that is still too wastefully and wantonly exercised.

His eye is forever saying to his hand, "I have no need of thee," and his head to his feet, "I have no need of you." His movements are very like the movements of an untrained child, whose muscles are imperfectly under control, whose members have not yet been co-ordinated.

This simile of the giant may seem fantastic and far-fetched to those who do not know the facts; but what are the facts? Members of the Civic Club have just done us the great service of getting them together in a well classified directory, so that only a little arithmetic is needed to arrive at our giant's proportions.

For more than two centuries Philadelphia has had the habit of founding charitable institutions and of making public bequests. At the present moment we have 96 separate charities for the relief of the sick, 78 homes for adults, 62 children's charities, 103 relief societies, 47 moral reform agencies, 50 physical and sanitary reform agencies, 180 social improvement agencies, 105 educational charities, 4 legal protection charities, 20 humane societies, 865 churches and missions, and 265 other religious associations. It is evident that our local giant is one of no mean proportion.

CHARITIES LACK CO-ORDINATION

Of course, other cities have their philanthropic giants too. The writer has just returned from an inspection of the London giant,

who is, indeed, fearfully and wonderfully made. But when one sees the dragons with which he must contend over there—dragons of hereditary pauperism, dragons of poor law relief, dragons of stupidly complicated laws and traditions—one wonders why we, who are so happily and entirely free from all this, do not make greater progress than we are making.

The explanation lies in the lack of co-ordination among our charities. Our giant has not outgrown his strength, but he has outgrown his skill and his intelligence. Dropping the figure, and stating it quite baldly, our good intentions are excelled only by our careless wastefulness. We could do so much more both to prevent and to cure distress in Philadelphia if only we would put a little more trouble and brains into it!

To point out faults is always ungracious, and to praise the charities of Philadelphia is an easier task, but it may be worthwhile, nevertheless, to name some of these sources of charitable waste quite specifically.

One is struck, first of all, with the fact that in business none of the waste could continue. Business provides an automatic check by which the inefficient and the careless must sooner or later go to the wall; but the only check upon bad management in charity is the intelligently critical interest of the giving public, and the giving public does not, as yet, feel the responsibility. If it did, the begging letter writers, the professional promoters, the self-appointed missionaries, the numerous fraudulent charities and the still more numerous charities that mean well, but are quite inefficient, would all be forced to go out of business.

BEGGING LETTER WRITERS

The begging letter writer is known to every man or woman with a large correspondence. Sometimes his oldest boy is named after you; sometimes his youngest is about to be christened and will be named after you; sometimes he has known your sainted grandfather; or, as happened recently in this city, his little boy is slowly recovering from the disease that, recently, you have recovered from, and there is no food in the house—only the writer of this last letter was found, upon inquiry, to be a dapper bachelor in a frock coat and a top hat.

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For the most part there is a dreary monotony about these letters. They abound in pious phrases, but they are not very clever. Why should they be clever, when cleverness is not necessary? The writers get a living by them, in some cases a good living, and this in face of the fact that the Society for Organizing Charity offers to visit every such applicant promptly upon the request of any citizen, and that the Society, as now organized, can guarantee the careful, painstaking treatment of each appeal upon its merits, quite free from snap judgment or any unkindness.

Another social parasite, though not so easily recognized as such, is the professional promoter of charitable entertainments who sends good-looking young women to business offices to sell tickets, and often arranges with one of our local charities to give it half the proceeds for the use of its name. Even if honestly carried out, the bargain is an unholy one, for there is no way of knowing how many tickets are sold or how much money is received; and surely directors of charities who turn such irresponsible people loose upon the giving public are taking a grave responsibility. One such promoter is known to be operating in Philadelphia at the present time. She has acknowledged that Philadelphia is one of the best cities in the country for this kind of enterprise. All good citizens will be pleased when charity promoters become less appreciative of this city's merits. There is only one way in which to deal with these ticket sellers. Unless they are personally known to you, refuse to buy their tickets and entrust no money to their keeping.

THE SELF-APPOINTED MISSIONARY

Still another stumbling block is the self-appointed missionary. Sometimes his work is simply inefficient, sometimes it is fraudulent, but, in any case, he is quite irresponsible, accounting to no one for what he collects, and fixing the value of his own services at whatever figure he sees fit.

That men who are notoriously unfit for any position of trust can start charities, can spend a good part of their time in collecting funds for the same, and then can dare to neglect and abuse the homeless people and little children that they are supposed to shelter almost passes belief; but that these things are happening in Philadelphia today is a matter of current knowledge. Let the courts

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do what they may to correct such abuses, the real remedy must still rest with the givers. Such scoundrels may be exposed repeatedly, and yet they often contrive to persuade new groups of kind-hearted givers to trust them.

Only a week or two ago two colored men are known to have collected \$10 from a Philadelphia business man for an industrial school. At the address given a few children were sewing bags of coarse sacking to be sold to manufacturers. This constituted the industrial training.

The so-called founders are irresponsible men who have "founded" other charities. And the waste of encouraging such adventurers continues in spite of the fact that a telephone message or a letter would bring from any representative general charity a full report on such appeals. Several of our larger charities make such investigations for any responsible citizen without charge.

The exposure of fraud is a thankless and difficult task, but a task of still greater difficulty is the frank criticism of well-meaning charities that manufacture the very distress that they are supposed to relieve. The day is past, however, when good intentions and nothing else can be regarded as an adequate charitable outfit. Some people have a mania for starting new charities and new subscription lists. They may or may not give themselves, but they are forever asking others to give to some new cause that is represented by them, in neatly printed appeals, to be the one thing needful to set the world straight. These chronic organizers soon tire of the scheme and pass on to another; but the mere fact that our business men respond to such new demands multiplies them. These defunct charities, dead so soon after birth, and the others that are not yet dead but should be, are a heavy drain on our charitable strength.

TOO MANY SMALL INSTITUTIONS

Another wasteful result of chronic organizing is the multiplication of small institutions that have the same class of objects. As one witty Philadelphian is in the habit of saying, whenever we are interested in an old woman or an old man for whom we cannot immediately find a home, we found a new one.

These institutions are multiplied through social, professional,

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and denominational disagreements. Two doctors disagree, and straightway we have a new hospital. Two social leaders fall out, and another orphanage is the result. As to denominational rivalries in charity, they are a public scandal. And when honest men fall out, rogues do not get their due—on the contrary, they prosper.

This enumeration of his difficulties might lead one to suppose that Philadelphia's philanthropic giant was indeed at his last gasp. In reality he is full of life. He is still childishly incapable of using his great power to the best advantage, but there are signs that he is beginning to realize this and to put himself in training.

Occasionally we get a glimpse of what he can accomplish when, even for a brief while, he is thoroughly aroused. When, for instance, the question of licensing liquor selling in Fairmount Park was before the legislature, he went to Harrisburg in such power that the political manipulators fled before his face. No longer a helpless giant, whose members were at war with one another, but a highly organized being, filled with purpose and determination, he became a power (for that moment at least) against which no evil could make effectual stand.

How can we transform this champion of the moment into a valiant giant always? The process is simple enough. We must give to his development a little of the serious attention that we give to our sports, and a little of the common sense that we put into our business. We should insist upon the employment of intelligent charity workers almost as vigorously as we would insist upon the employment of a good skipper in a yacht race. We should refuse to invest our charitable cash without a full knowledge of the facts as strenuously as we would refuse to invest business funds without such knowledge.

Let us stop injuring beggars by giving them our small change, let us prosecute the wolves in sheep's clothing who prey upon our good impulses, and let us run the professional promoters out of town. Let us be just as alert and exacting in our relations with charities as in our relations with any other human institutions, and then to the agencies, that stand the test and work faithfully to make this city of ours a better place for the poor to live in, let us give and give generously.

THE RETAIL METHOD OF REFORM

An address given before the Ethical Culture Society of Philadelphia, April 17, 1905, and published in January, 1906, in the *International Journal of Ethics*. The outspoken criticisms of wholesale methods contained in it provoked some ill-feeling, and Miss Richmond felt obliged to say in the *Public Ledger* on the day following her speech:

"I did not mean to imply that I regarded American charity as a failure, and should like to correct any impression to that effect that has been created. I speak from extended experience with certain American charities when I say that, compared with work of similar aim in other countries, ours are things of which Americans may well feel proud.

"What I tried to say to the Society was that America has been very successful in the wholesale processes of production and of legislation. She cannot be equally successful in the retail processes of consumption and administration unless her citizens get the retail methods into their muscles by working hard at small tasks first. They do not take kindly to this sort of thing, because of habit and temperament, and they can hardly begin in a better school than that of charity, where of necessity, things are done at retail if they be well done at all. So, you see, I was merely recommending charity work as a remedy for failures in other lines, and not as a failure in itself, by any means."

This is one of Miss Richmond's important speeches; but since it was not published in a periodical usually consulted by social workers, the editors wish to call particular attention to it.

THERE are many ways of being a reformer, but in this attempted defense of the retail method, it will be convenient roughly to divide all the ways into "wholesale" and "retail," and to describe, at the very outset, four kinds of reformers who practice one or the other of these two methods of reform.

1. There are those who bury themselves in particulars. Given a certain spiritual fervor and capacity for self-sacrifice, these make up a majority of the noble army of saints and martyrs; given a certain defect of social imagination, they constitute the rank and file of those who, in our day, are described vaguely as trying "to do good."

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The sins of this class are obvious enough. They will care tenderly for the fever-stricken without seeking to remove the cause of the fever. They will raise funds to assist in keeping immigrants in large cities that do not need their labor; they will supplement wages by charitable relief and wonder why workers are not better paid; they will connive at placing young children at work long before they have developed either the physical or the mental capacity to succeed in industry; they will support the drunken and diseased father of a rapidly increasing family in idleness because they "cannot let his children suffer." But it is unnecessary to enlarge upon defects that have made this particular class of retailers the easy mark not only of the economist but of the charity organizationist and of the social agitator; they have had to hear the truth about themselves from all three, and are driven, at last, into a fairly apologetic attitude.

2. Then there are those whose temperaments send them to the other extreme, who are buried in generalizations. Given a certain degree of spiritual or imaginative fervor, these make up a majority of the world's poets and prophets; given a certain vagueness and inability to deal with the concrete, they constitute the rank and file of our reformers with a hobby.¹ Agreed in little else, they usually may be identified by their fine contempt for the retail method. Members of one of the State Women Suffrage Associations illustrated this condition of mind neatly when they replied to a request for some particular service made by a Consumer's League that they must decline to co-operate because, if women only had the suffrage, there would be no need for Consumers' Leagues.

3. Again, there are those who, while constitutionally inclined to the general, are led by the depth of their interest to overcome a certain repugnance toward the concrete. There are few finer tests of sincerity than this, that a man deliberately turns his life athwart its natural bent to deepen the reality of his conviction; and these reformers of large vision content to toil at relatively small tasks are indeed the very salt of the earth.

4. But the order of march for most minds is from the particular

¹ Recent eruptions in the literature of social reform would seem to prove that "yellow" statisticians belong to this group.

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to the general. Beginning with just the obvious human interest in A and B, and the impulse to help these two unfortunates out of their troubles with such means as lie readily at hand, the inadequacy of these means should become apparent, and where it does, the larger issues involved press themselves one by one upon our attention.

This is the natural order for most of us, but the natural order goes a step farther. Pushed upward by our interest in some retail task toward a wholesale remedy for evils of the same class, we are pulled back, our remedy once secured, into the particular again, to complete the work there begun. The healthy and well-rounded reform movement usually begins in the retail method and returns to it again, forming in the two curves of its upward push and downward pull a complete circle.

This double movement bears so important a part in the justification of the retail method that it may be worthwhile to turn aside and illustrate it in some detail by two reforms, by the Anti-Slavery and by the Child Labor movements—the one having its rise in America more than a hundred years ago, the other a very recent development on this side of the water. And it is necessary in the limits of this paper to consider no more than the conscious effort of individuals, ignoring those economic forces that in their titanic play have thrown their weight now for and now against slavery, now for and now against the exploitation of childhood.

To one who had been accustomed to think of anti-slavery sentiment in the North as manufactured by the Boston Anti-Slavery Society and by "Uncle Tom's Cabin," an elderly friend gave a new view not long ago, when she told of the pride and deep interest with which as a child she shared the secret that there were runaway slaves in the barn, and was permitted to see the frightened creatures. The risk taken by her brother, who drove them after dark to Benjamin Lundy's, the next station on the Underground Railroad, and their own pitiful plight, appealed to everything that was loyal and compassionate in her nature; and the experience, repeated many times in those years long before the Civil War, must account very largely for her own lifelong interest and the interest of her descendants in the Negro race.

Professor Siebert, the most trustworthy historian of the Under-

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ground Railroad,¹ traces to this particular retail method the widest social and political consequences. He claims, and makes good his case, that from small and tentative beginnings this method of rescue grew to a large secret system by which thousands of slaves yearly were passed on to freedom, and, both in their passage and pursuit, created a sentiment that finally destroyed slavery. Men may have said, and probably did say that such rescuing was futile, that it was saving the South from a slave-insurrection by withdrawing the most desperate and enterprising element; and that at best those rescued were only a few compared with the many that remained. But Siebert shows a very direct connection between the rescues and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and between that law and the Civil War. One biographer of Lincoln declares that, during the days immediately preceding the Emancipation Proclamation, the auction block and whip-lash of the old New Orleans slave market, which he had visited as a lad, were ever before the great President's eyes.

But neither the Emancipation Proclamation nor the Fifteenth Amendment could make of the Negro a free man; his initiation into freedom has been a slow retail process—still far from completed—in the working out of which many devoted people have borne a part, though none in these later years, so wise and statesman-like a part as Mr. Booker Washington. Up from Slavery is a study in the retail method.

The writer of this paper has had a minor share in the Child Labor campaign so recently closed in Pennsylvania. Prohibition has been extended from factory work to many other occupations; the age limit has been raised from thirteen to fourteen; the old premium upon false swearing which accepted the parent's statement of age as final has been replaced by careful evidence requirements; and night work is regulated under the age of sixteen for the first time, though with certain important and disgraceful exceptions forced into the law by the politically powerful glass industry.

The campaign was an instructive one. For seven months before the new bill was drafted, schedules of individual working children had been gathered in from those who knew them in clubs, classes, homes, and reformatories. At one stage the movement was nearly

¹ Siebert, Wilbur H., *The Underground Railroad*. The Macmillan Co., 1898.

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wrecked by a group of reformers who tried to foist upon it a separate reform, though an important one—the movement for a shorter working day. Enthusiasm for raising the age one year was easily aroused; it was warmly advocated by those who opposed all effective enforcement features. They were prepared to say, in effect, make the age anything you please, provided you do not worry us with these tiresome details about birth and baptismal certificates, about evidence of the school attendance and all the rest.

The bill became a law, but let no one imagine that child labor reforms have been secured in Pennsylvania; they have been made possible, but their securing must be by a tedious retail process upon which the friends of the law have just entered. The movement drew its best life from an interest in individual children, and it returns to them again, watching and safeguarding their interests, explaining the law and its enforcement to their employers, teachers, and parents, co-operating with the factory inspectors and with the school authorities who now issue employment certificates, seeking out any individual cases of undue hardship caused by the sudden change, and making it possible for the children to remain in school without causing suffering in the family, enlisting a larger corps of friends and intelligent supporters for the schools to which the children are sent back, informing the public about the iniquity of night work—all of these retail tasks are opening up before a committee some of whose members were innocent enough to suppose that their task was one of a few months at most.

Is it not possible to trace through these two movements the method of development in a vital process? First, you begin to care for a small group of burden-bearers, and then, before you know it, you have acquired definite convictions as to the means of their emancipation and are committed to a program. Your generalization grows upon you, you begin to see its larger bearings and ally yourself with others who are likeminded. You secure a new law or a new interpretation of an old one; you make some impression upon public opinion; and then, if you are in earnest, you do not stop there, you are pushed onward by the force of your convictions back into the retail method again, to see that your generalization does its full work, that it is effectively and completely applied. Your

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experience has swept you around in a circle, but your return is a return with a difference; your minor key of doubt and restless searching is changed to the major of assured conviction, and to the working out of that conviction quietly and persistently. It is possible, of course, to join the ranks of reform at any station along the road, but the man who has taken the whole journey, be it on a great mission or a small one, has had a genuine experience; he has allied himself with a world process, has brought forth "new good, new beauty, from the old."

But why insist upon what is, perhaps, an undisputed thing? Why not dwell upon the other and equally obvious truth that there are still a great many people in this world who are so buried in pottering details that they need to be driven out of them by some sort of intellectual explosive? The writer is content to leave that task to the many who are now publishing books, articles, and broadsides about social questions, for we find twenty of them who are ready to tell us what to do about everything for one who can tell us clearly what to do about anything. And there are several good reasons for believing that America's great need today is a new respect for small tasks and small beginnings. We are wasteful consumers and bad administrators, and if ever a nation needed to be put to school to retail processes, it is ours.

Our two greatest failures are not unaccounted for. The century behind us has been one of vast improvement in the processes of production—even the campaign orator cannot exaggerate the facts—but economists are beginning to point out that this ratio of improvement in production cannot continue, that our people must begin to perfect the processes of consumption in which they have been so notoriously wasteful and inept. Production, infinitely divided in process, has become more and more wholesale; consumption, not thus divisible, is in the nature of things a retail process.

Then the century behind us has been a century of law making. We have been too busy building up in our new communities a system of legal enactments to develop an equally elaborate system of enforcement. On the side of administration, especially in our larger centers of population, we are confessedly weak. But the enactment of law is a wholesale process, its enforcement is a retail

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process; and into this particular retail process, the process of administration, we shall need to throw all the strength and virtue there is in us for many years to come.

As one practical suggestion, growing out of these considerations, the time has arrived more deliberately and systematically than ever before to put our young people to school at such retail methods of social service as will lead to fruitful generalizations later on and so back to their retail working out. The process must be got into their muscles early; it must include a thorough drill in doing small things well, for our present generation is drunk with big figures, and their instructors must understand the relation of small things to large, must believe, moreover, that good volunteer service is a most important part of good government in a democracy.

During this last decade more especially, our national habit of thought has exalted the expert and the professional at the expense of the volunteer. By those who hold the extreme of this view, it is assumed that only officials should be permitted to be charitable. The idea is essentially undemocratic and false, and there are some signs of a healthy reaction. The new School for Social Workers in Boston had an enrollment last year in which two-thirds of the regular students were volunteers. Mrs. Herbert Parsons is pleading for a more intelligent use of young women of leisure as volunteer workers in our educational system and in children's institutions.¹ An English visitor has just pointed out² the great advantages in the use of volunteer probation officers, and it would seem, if Miss Bartlett is reporting the Indianapolis experience accurately, that a juvenile court having not only 113 men (lawyers, doctors, ministers, men of business) as its volunteer probation officers, but a judge and chief probation officer capable of guiding and interpreting their work, was indeed building for the future. Plans for the further development of child-saving in Indianapolis will knit themselves into the community life and be modified by that life in a wholesome way that no expert handling of things in remote corners could ever accomplish.

It has been the writer's privilege to see the beginnings of success-

¹ Parsons, Elsie Clews, "A Plan for Girls with Nothing to Do." In *Charities*, March 4, 1905.

² Bartlett, Lucy C., "The Value of Volunteers in Probation Work." In *Charities*, July 29, 1905.

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ful municipal reform movements in several cities, but their success has been their ending wherever the ground has not been well prepared beforehand by the careful organization of smaller social tasks. When Seth Low was elected Mayor of New York, he selected for his private secretary a man who had lived for many years in a settlement on the East Side; he selected for his Commissioner of Public Charities one who had served his apprenticeship in a voluntary organization interested in visiting public institutions; he selected for the new Tenement House Department two men who had served long and faithfully, the one as a volunteer, the other as a paid worker in the Charity Organization Society; and he selected for important posts in other departments men who, like these, had "run with the footmen" without becoming weary, and so were prepared to "contend with horses." It is true that Tammany returned to power in two years' time, and that some of the good work accomplished by these officials was undone, but Tammany is a rebuked and chastened Tammany at present, and a new use has been discovered for our voluntary organizations. They furnish in our boss-ridden cities some continuity of policy and effort, and establish a very useful sort of endless chain when to them return the efficient officials turned out by ungrateful municipalities. In office or out these men are in this way given an opportunity to use the experience they have gained for the public good. The retail method of these social service agencies that try to provide good leadership for volunteers must seem to such officials, in its slow unfolding, the only way of establishing a broader basis for administrative efficiency.

"Stick to the individual case," said a wise charity organization leader to one about to assume leadership. "Let nothing drive you away from it, for, rightly handled, there's the whole of social reform in it." The whole of social reform is in the retail method, when we follow faithfully wherever its careful working out may lead.

A TANGLE OF GOOD INTENT

This paper showing the hopeless confusion that existed in Pennsylvania in the giving of public subsidies to private institutions, was published in *Charities* in 1905, and reprinted as an appendix to the annual report of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity the same year. While local in application, the paper describes conditions that have not ceased to plague many of our commonwealths; and it is a good illustration of Miss Richmond's methods when she went purposefully to work to gather and marshal facts. Many of the reforms which she advocated are now accomplished in Pennsylvania—a Department of Public Welfare replacing an ineffective State Board of Charities, and a state budget system being in existence with hospital expenditures on a per capita basis.

THE three most important acts of the legislature's biennial meeting at Harrisburg were not charitable. They will affect the welfare of the poor, however, more than any strictly charitable legislation ever has; for one was an act reorganizing the public school system of Philadelphia, and the other two regulated the employment of children between fourteen and sixteen, the first in all establishments, and the second in coal mines. These child labor laws, with their very satisfactory enforcement features, were explained in *Charities* for June 10, so they are merely mentioned here as substantial gains which should be placed to the credit side of the legislative ledger.

On the debit side belong the defeat in committee of an excellent housing bill for the city of Philadelphia, and the still more hopeless confusion of the question of public subsidies to private charities—a matter of such importance to the state's charitable wards as to deserve explanation in some detail.

In his message to the legislature, Governor Pennypacker called attention to the necessity (1) for more detailed investigation of the needs of private charities applying for state aid, and (2) for more supervision of the expenditure of public moneys contributed for their support. "It is unfair," he said, "that the burden of investigation should be imposed upon the committees upon appropria-

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tions of the senate and house. . . . No matter how long and late they labor at the task, the results in the nature of things must be imperfect. The time is insufficient and only interested parties appear before them. The efforts of members to secure these appropriations for institutions in the districts they represent are a hindrance to and interfere with general legislation." One of the duties of the State Board of Public Charities is to inquire into applications for state aid, and charities intending to apply for the same are required to notify the board before November 1st in order that its recommendations may be transmitted to the legislature in January. This rule is not strictly observed; a number of charities apply to the legislature direct, and that the state board's recommendations are little regarded by that body is shown by the following table:

APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1905 AND 1906 TO CHARITABLE AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

	Asked of state board	Recom- mended by state board	Voted by legislature	No. of bills	Approved by governor
State institutions (3 penitentiaries, 8 hospitals for insane, 7 hospitals for the injured, 1 reform school, 1 institution for deaf, 2 institutions for feeble-minded, 1 board of charities, 1 industrial school, 1 soldiers' home)	\$5,446,880.65	\$4,448,499.65	\$7,370,563.65	27	\$6,199,203.65
Semi-state institutions (1 reform school, 1 institution for feeble-minded, 2 institutions for blind, 3 institutions for deaf and dumb) . .	1,170,424.10	1,099,824.10	1,098,124.00	7	1,041,250.00
Private hospitals	7,350,357.34	3,413,600.00	4,715,250.00	116	3,522,800.00
Private homes and miscellaneous charities	1,065,800.00	453,000.00	709,500.00	78	495,000.00
	\$15,033,462.09	\$9,414,923.75	\$13,893,437.65	228	\$11,258,253.65

These figures were compiled from an analysis of newspaper lists only, the official lists not being available, but they will show with sufficient accuracy the very ingenious way in which the legislature has found a solution of its difficulties.

BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE AND THE GOVERNOR

All through November and December, the Board of Public Charities was busy scrutinizing statistics and hearing delegations from the 219 institutions applying for aid, with the result of a

\$5,600,000 cut in the amounts asked for. Of the 461 house bills introduced in the first three days of the session, 234 were measures appropriating over \$17,000,000, and a few weeks later the committee on appropriations appointed four sub-committees to inspect institutions applying for aid. During the rest of the legislative session the whole committee sat two or three times a week, sometimes extending its sittings until after two o'clock in the morning. In addition to the 194 private charities whose appropriation bills were passed by the legislature, a number of others must have sent delegations of prominent citizens to appear before the committee. The net result of these visitations, inspections and hearings was the passage of charitable appropriation bills granting nearly four and a half millions more than the amounts recommended by the state board. These and the educational and miscellaneous appropriation bills were several million dollars in excess of the state's estimated income for the next two years, and upon the governor's shoulders was cast the disagreeable duty of disappointing the representative citizens and the many worthy charities that they represented by cutting down the appropriations within the state's income. He had not visited the charities applying or heard their delegations. In the month after the legislature's adjournment all bills must be passed upon, and he could not be expected to give any large share of this time to the consideration of the 228 charitable appropriation bills; but as a matter of fact, it was left to him and to him alone to decide how much of the state's available income should be spent upon the insane, how much upon the feeble-minded and epileptic, how much upon the sick and upon children, and how much upon such very miscellaneous objects as sailor's and midnight missions, old ladies' homes and general relief societies. Even sectarian institutions, appropriations to which are expressly prohibited by the constitution of the state, slipped through the loose meshes of the net. "If the governor," says *The Press* editorially, "had vetoed all the appropriation bills, and then summoned the legislature in extra session to do the work over again, the legislature would have deserved it."

The governor has been much criticized, of course, and champions of one or another charity have not failed to point out the waste (and worse) of \$20,000 on a Quay monument, or the favoritism of

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\$100,000 to the Historical Society, of which Governor Pennypacker happens to be the president; but no one has indicated how, under the present system, the governor could possibly have pleased, not everybody, but even a bare majority of those interested.

Under the present system, subsidies to private charities are voted in the lump under the two items of "maintenance" and "buildings." Of the \$8,416,157.34 asked for this year, the private charities wanted \$4,157,497.10 for buildings, though how much of the \$4,017,800 actually appropriated is for buildings has not yet been estimated. Two years ago, the state gave private hospitals for the temporary care of the sick \$1,290,700 for buildings, and other private charities \$85,000 for this purpose. The buildings, when erected, did not belong to the commonwealth but to private boards on which the state had no representation. The sums given for maintenance are in no sense at a fixed rate for value received, nor are they proportioned to the number of patients nor to the amount received in private subscriptions. These items are reported by the Board of Public Charities, but the appropriations seem to bear to them no fixed relation.

LOG ROLLING AND ITS UNCERTAINTIES

During the decade just ended the rate of increase in state charitable appropriations of all classes was 138 per cent. At the same rate of increase, they will have reached \$27,000,000 by 1915. But there is no reason to believe that the same rate of increase will be maintained. The rate of increase for 1895-1905 was 95 per cent more rapid than for the decade of 1885-1895, and in the absence of all effective checks, why should not the rate be nearly doubled again during the next ten years?

"The practice so common heretofore of using these appropriations as favors to members should be abandoned," says one newspaper editorial rather pathetically; but even a member of the legislature is only human, and so long as the committee rooms are thronged by both politicians and reformers, by republicans and democrats, by men and women all pleading for increased gifts to their pet charities, and all measuring a legislator's efficiency by his ability to get what they want, it would be unreasonable to expect him to treat this subject in a strictly judicial spirit.

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A new charity is started by a group of people who, for either professional or philanthropic motives or both, become interested in a particular task. They appeal to private citizens for support, and are fortunate indeed if they are not almost immediately asked why they do not appeal to the state instead. The appeal to the state is made. The new institution may not have been open three weeks, but its plans and scale of expenditures have been shaped with reference to the expected state aid. The effect of all this is to multiply institutions needlessly and almost recklessly. Appropriations given to encourage good and self-sacrificing work on behalf of the unfortunate have tended rather to raise up, by the expectation thus aroused, countless competitors in the same field. This hasty and uneven growth causes great waste. One legislature gives a big building, the next denies the necessary increase in maintenance, and the building stands for ten years without other inmates than rats and spiders.

THE NEGLECT OF THE STATE'S PROPER CHARGES

That an unchecked subsidy system makes for political log-rolling and favoritism is bad; that it discourages private benevolence is bad; that it retards the development of a well balanced system of private institutions, each having due regard to the amount of work that actually needs to be done and to that only, is bad. But by far the gravest of the evils that follow in its train is the inevitable neglect of the state's proper charges. This is well illustrated in Pennsylvania, where, in response to a widespread agitation for increased accommodations for the insane, the legislature has voted money for temporary structures of corrugated iron, one story high. There is no separate institution for epileptics, who are now cared for in institutions for the feeble-minded and for the insane. There is no adequate provision for the adult feeble-minded or for the less improvable grades of feeble-minded children. This is a condition not confined to Pennsylvania, for other states (though not many) have the system of lump payments to private charities, and under this system the state's proper dependents, who are the most helpless of all dependent classes and those for whom there are fewest to plead, always suffer.

A joint resolution of the two houses of this legislature created a

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commission of eight chosen from its own membership "to make a full and complete investigation and inquiry into the capacity of the various hospitals for the insane, deaf, dumb, blind and feeble-minded," and granted the usual powers to subpoena witnesses and examine records. If this inquiry includes a comparison of the relative cost to the state of the care of all classes of dependents, public and private, with similar expenditures in other states, it should bring to light some interesting facts.

There is much to be said in favor of the liberal support of medical charities, and the hospitals have been saying it since Governor Pennypacker cut their appropriations by \$578,000 in Philadelphia alone, but no charitable expert unconnected with the staff of a hospital could be found, probably, who would be willing to defend the present Pennsylvania system. The experts, as a rule, look with extreme disfavor upon any system of charitable subsidies; but abolition is a counsel of perfection where, as in New York and Pennsylvania, the subsidy system is one embedded in the state's history.

What is the practicable next step? The governor pointed it out in his message, when he suggested that the powers of the Board of Public Charities be enlarged. The legislature proceeded to do this by creating a new board or "Department of Public Charities," but without abolishing the old one. It had appropriated \$29,000 for the old board and provided \$75,000 for the new, but the governor very properly vetoed a bill so carelessly drawn.

THE OUTLOOK FOR A REFORM PROGRAM

This is not the place in which to suggest even the general outlines of a reform program. Such a program could only be formulated after conference and discussion, and discussion has not yet begun even. When it does begin, one may predict that the most valuable experience for Pennsylvania's study will be that of New York, where the subsidy system was formerly quite as bad as anything described here, and so far as children's institutions are concerned, had developed far more serious evils.

The New York reforms of 1899 included the adoption of a per capita and per diem weekly or annual basis for services rendered in all payments to private charities, and this at a uniform rate for

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each class of inmates. Such payments are only used for the recurring expenses of care, support and maintenance, and the accounts of institutions are so kept as to show public receipts and disbursements separately from other funds. The institutions are further required to keep records of the addresses of parents, guardians or nearest relatives of inmates, and other information designed to facilitate inquiry into financial inability to provide. Such inquiries, in Pennsylvania, would naturally be made by special agents of the Public Board of Charities, who should have sufficient control of the admissions and discharges of inmates supported by public money (except, of course, of those committed by courts or magistrates for offenses) to establish a uniform standard for those entitled to public relief.

If the representatives of each Pennsylvania charity receiving public funds see fit to regard all proposed changes as inimical to their work, reform may be delayed for a considerable time, though not indefinitely. But if they are as open-minded and public-spirited as they have been devoted and unselfish, the time for reform should be near at hand, for the citizens of no state have more charitable traditions.

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHARITABLE GIVING

(Hitherto Unpublished)

The following discussion was part of a symposium on "Pseudo-Workers, Tramps and Beggars" given at the Contemporary Club, Philadelphia, April 10, 1905. The title has been supplied by the editors.

IT IS with no small hesitation that I venture to follow the three preceding speakers. I have never attempted to be anybody but myself, and there are times not a few when even this very minor role has seemed beyond my powers. This is one of the times. Who is wise enough to know even a fraction of the truth about the two large groups to which your attention has been called this evening—the struggling poor and the poor who have ceased to struggle? The only unbiased witness on a subject like this is the man who has kept himself free from entangling alliances by doing nothing at all and by caring nothing at all, but then his testimony would be worth nothing at all. To specialize in any way is to become partial. Take my own specialty. Strive as I may, the world does finally get itself divided in my mind into groups according as people incline toward or away from the particular reforms for which I have labored these many years, and perhaps the only contribution I can hope to make to this discussion is to tell you what the three groups are into which the world, as seen through my spectacles, divides itself.

First, there are the people who give to beggars and defend this stoutly. Troublesome as I find them personally, it is only fair to admit that some of these are the salt of the earth. They have many endearing qualities. At their best they are mystics, who maintain so hearty a contempt for all material benefits whatever, whether for the individual or the community, that they take a certain austere pleasure in helping people to go to perdition their own way. At their worst they are aristocrats who secretly enjoy a social arrangement by which they are forever to be the benefactors. If

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they expressed this theologically, they would say that it was part of the divine order that the poor should be despicably poor in order to exercise the benevolent instincts of the well-to-do. But between these two extremes, the most of group one are constitutional conservatives. They dread any new set of facts leading to a new way of doing an old thing, a new way of helping distress, for instance, because they cling tenaciously to old ways and old loyalties, and to all the wealth of association clustered around them. In a word, whilst capable of no small heroism of a passive sort, this group is lacking in active courage. It loves the old duties. It shrinks from the new. Its taste in poetry is for the gentle and the obvious. It may have a pretty fancy but not a robust. If there's any new truth or any new view of an old truth, they'd rather not know it. They'll cry in a half frightened way, "Don't tell me. New things are so unpleasant." (" 'Tis the voice of a sluggard. I heard him complain. You have waked me too soon, I must slumber again.") On the whole, and with every desire to do full justice to the defenders of dole giving to beggars, they belong to a rather anemic type. They cannot be described as full-blooded and resourceful.

Second, there is the large class who, finding the old duties, the old traditions irksome, seize gladly upon any excuse for relinquishing them. Wrong to give beggars only our chance alms? Why, bless me, of course it is, I'll let them severely alone hereafter. Do you see what the papers say about the city government? Catch me voting or having anything to do with it; I wash my hands. Those who belong to this group are guilty of few sins of commission. They contrive to seem right most of the time by doing nothing. Intellectually they are acute and critical, but they are guilty of the mistake of approving new ideas merely because they are new. Their loyalty to any program is most uncertain. Their friendship to any cause is to be dreaded. If group number one might be described as anemic, what shall we say of these? Whatever flows in their veins it is not blood. Quite bloodless they are, and their human kindness is of the consistency that Thackeray describes as the milk and water of human kindness.

Third, there are the people of robust digestion, who are able to assimilate new facts and ideas with the old. A high courage is their marked characteristic. Every will o' the wisp of a new reform

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHARITABLE GIVING

does not set them vibrating in sympathy, but neither does any new group of facts discouraging or novel set them vibrating with fear. They are essentially eager and earnest, but stable. If a beggar asks them to go with him a mile, they offer to go with him twain. If a suppliant seeks a low benefit, gladly they do him a high benefit. If the thing for which he asks is not the thing he most needs, eagerly they push beyond to his real need. And every such discovery of need beyond need quickens and spurs them on to a deeper realization of obligation and to more strenuous action.

If, in their rapacity for facts, for things as they really are, these seem to you at first an unimaginative crew, be not deceived. They find the poetry of life in the facts of life. Theirs is not that weakling imagination which furnishes a cheap substitute for careful observation and accurate reporting, but it is the imagination which is an added power permeating and informing these.

ADDRESS TO STUDENTS OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOL OF PHILANTHROPY

(Hitherto Unpublished)

The two pages that follow had no title and no date. Internal evidence shows that they were written in the fall or winter of 1905, after Miss Richmond's second visit to the Pacific Coast, when she was giving a course of lectures at the New York School. They are so entirely in her happiest vein, that in spite of their minor significance, we have included them.

I HAVE been reminded by these exercises of an experience in the far West this summer. A stranger at a hotel table, learning that I was employed by a charity organization society in the East, asked me where I had received my training. Brought thus abruptly face to face with the facts, I had to acknowledge that I had not received it anywhere. Whereupon my questioner, eying me with some severity, said, "We train our workers out here." We are classified, you see, by such schools as this; the oldest has been in existence only a very little while, but we are already classified, we older workers, as untrained.

Some of you may recall that fantastic dream of Berlioz' in which he describes Beethoven as pursued by a titled English amateur, who begged for an examination of his musical manuscripts. "If you will be good enough," he said to the not too amiable German, "to put a little mark, a cross, wherever you find a mistake, I shall be so much obliged." And urging this request again and again with persistence, he drove the great master at last into such a rage that he dashed off a big cross on the wrapper to indicate his disapproval of all its contents and sent the stuff back to its author. "I entreated the Englishman to let me have that cover," says Berlioz, "and fondly wrapped it around all my works." So with this School [of Philanthropy] and this new university foundation and the standard of professional service that they bring into charity. They put a big cross mark over against all that we have done, but we are proud of that mark and welcome it as a promise of better things.

It is not possible for those of us who are in mid-career, burdened with the day's work, to come here to New York and take all these courses, though some of us envy you students the opportunity.

ADDRESS TO STUDENTS

We have, as instructors in this School of Philanthropy, our only student opportunity, but even this is no small one. It often happens to us that we cannot, in the thick of things, see the woods for the trees, and to attempt to present to you some ordered account of what we are doing and why we are doing it is going to have a clarifying effect on all our thinking. Then, too, we need the impulse of contact with your younger minds and fresher points of view. Just over night, I have been reading a new book of essays by Dr. Osler—a most suggestive book for workers in our profession, though every word of it is about another profession. He says that the physician of over forty who would remain a student must keep in intimate touch with younger men; to use his own phrase, he must “keep his face set resolutely toward the rising sun.” Such a service as this the School is rendering to those who are privileged to be of its teaching staff.

In another passage of *Æquanimitas* Dr. Osler quotes John Henry Newman, who has asked in a mood of deep depression, “Who can weigh and measure the aggregate of pain which this one generation has endured from birth to death? Then add to this all the pain which has fallen and will fall upon our race through centuries to come.” In sharply contrasted mood, the great doctor asks us to turn this about, and consider how much pain has been prevented by the discoveries of medicine in the last fifty years. He even ventures to declare that the aggregate of pain which has been prevented outweighs in civilized communities that which has been suffered. What a cheering thought! And in how large a measure this advance has been due to the fact that those who discovered and practiced also taught!

Is it too much to hope that at some future reunion of the students of this School—in two or three generations, perhaps, for social history is made rapidly—is it too much to hope that our successors may look back and be able to say, “Yes, it is true that many injustices remain unredressed and that there is still preventable distress and suffering among us, but think of it!—we have been able, by the new measures of charitable and social reform put in motion only fifty years ago to prevent more suffering than the sum of all that remains”? God speed the day when, owing to such beginnings as ours of tonight, it may be possible for charity practitioners to say this.

A FORWARD LOOK

An address delivered at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society which had recently combined with the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor to form the Federated Charities. It is somewhat abridged from the form in which it appeared in the Baltimore Charities Record for December, 1906.

I BRING you the greetings and congratulations of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity. Born three years earlier than your Charity Organization Society and twenty-nine years later than your Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, it holds close relations to both of your societies, for its methods of work were, for many years, similar to the old A. I. C. P., and, during the last six years, the methods have more and more closely approached those of your Federated Charities. Three years ago, in celebrating its own twenty-fifth anniversary, the annual report said,

That society is still young, it matters not how many years chartered, in which the directors are still filled with hopes and plans of future usefulness, still healthily dissatisfied with things as they are. And that society is already decrepit, though founded only the year before last, in which the management has settled down to a snug content, and has convinced itself that the noble work in which it is engaged cannot be improved upon in any particular.

Here is a good point of departure for a short talk about the future—the theme assigned to me. In the nature of things, one who has been identified with this movement for eighteen years will have far less to do with the next twenty-five years than she has had to do with the last twenty-five, and it would have been pleasant to spend these minutes in recalling some of the memories that you and I have in common. But I ask myself instead, “What if I were going away; if, instead of taking the train early tomorrow morning for a neighboring city, I were going to the planet Mars or some other place where communication would be difficult, what would

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my last word to my old and very dear friends in Baltimore be?" Thus brought to book, I find that my last message to you would be about the future, that I have only two points to make, and that, characteristically enough, both of these are very prosaic.

The first is about charitable bookkeeping. A letter fell into my hands the other day from an energetic and capable charity worker, whose advice had been asked about how best to spend a fund intended for the benefit of destitute children. He replied in substance, for I am unable to quote exactly, "Get a good woman for \$600 a year, and bind her over body and soul to work 365 days in the year for the children in poor neighborhoods." It is unnecessary to say that I have no quarrel with the admirable suggestion of spending money on people rather than on things, but I submit that to take this suggestion literally is to drive a hard bargain. Too often we do drive hard bargains with our paid charity workers that prove in the long run very bad bargains too, for is it not plain that, in any such arrangement, you lose the interest on your investment by killing your woman? Her accumulated skill and experience are at your service, and you wastefully destroy them and her.

This wastefulness is due in part at least, to bad bookkeeping, to charging things to the wrong account, as Mr. Frank Tucker has pointed out. When you have anything to do with relief work, people immediately begin figuring what it costs you "to give away a dollar"; and unless you are alert they will charge up against that dollar the cost of every task you have undertaken, the cost of every achievement that Mr. Brackett has referred to in his inspiring enumeration.

Is this honest bookkeeping, I ask you? When people manufacture shoes, do they charge up the cost of all the labor that goes into their making to the administration account? What we spend in our Philadelphia office on a bookkeeper, on a collector, on office rent, on gas, on heat, should be charged to our administration account, but what we spend in the labor of devoted men and women who give their lives to mending the broken fortunes of the needy, doing for them every conceivable service from the lowliest to the highest, surely to charge all that against the cost of "giving away a dollar" is to do a very stupid thing. And yet people are guilty of it everywhere. It is one of my greatest difficulties here; it has been

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one of my greatest difficulties in Philadelphia to make people understand that it costs our society not one penny more to "give away a dollar" than it costs other agencies, but that we intend to push beyond the dollar and get the other things done that so urgently need to be done, or that we intend, as a society, to die in the attempt.

The facts have been our best argument. During my first year in Philadelphia, some of my directors, fearing that I might be a bit of a fanatic, urged upon me the importance of seeing that the poor were kept warm and had enough to eat in winter, for that was after all the most important thing. My sole reply to this was that I was just as anxious to see unnecessary suffering relieved as anyone could be. But two or three years later, when one of these same directors read a record that I showed him of a poor, tuberculous woman who, with her little boy, had lived in a wretched lodging, and received a seventy-five cent grocery order every week from a relief society, he acquired a new set of convictions. All her references in another city proved false, but our investigator happened to ask the boy what school he had attended there, and this one clue had brought a most interesting and strange story of a well-to-do home, a feeble-minded daughter wandering away from it with her one child six months before, a vain search for her in many cities, and finally—forty-eight hours after our inquiry—the daughter re-established at home with a trained nurse, the boy back in school, and every ugly, distorted condition of their two lives righted. Which was better, the grocery order or the adequate care?

A few weeks after reading this record, the director was told by an acquaintance that our society spent too much money on salaries and not enough on relief. The remark made him rather warm, and he retorted with vigor by pointing out that the kind of service that this investigator had rendered was just the thing of all others that the poor needed, and that such service was in no wise inconsistent with adequate relief; that strangely enough the champions of just feeding and warming people and doing nothing more for them had never done even that adequately yet, and that it had remained for societies like our own to raise and spend large sums on individual cases.

The facts had convinced him, not any argument of mine; and

A FORWARD LOOK

I wonder why, in our speeches, our reports and all our documents, we do not trust more to the facts and less to abstract statements of belief. In the future we are going to improve not only our book-keeping, but our method of presentation; we are going to be more concrete, as our experience becomes deeper and richer.

And this brings me to the second thing that I wish to say, though I have left myself very little time in which to develop the idea. Case work seems to me to contain many undeveloped possibilities not only as a means of presentation, but as a means both of cure and prevention. Between the cure of the ills of society and their prevention we are going to find it difficult in the near future to strike a true balance. Many who write on social questions make the mistake of assuming that these two are opposed to one another, that prevention cannot get its just due until we spend less time in curing the individual case. Never was there a more mischievous social fallacy! Prevention and cure must go hand in hand. Thorough case work, dealing with each individual case with an open mind, an open heart and a willingness to follow wherever the facts clearly lead, though they lead to the ends of the earth—this is the true method of prevention. It has been the method of modern medicine, which in the office of the country practitioner, in the crowded city hospital, and even on the field of battle has found, by pushing hard toward cure, the blessed means of prevention.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS AND THE CHARITY WORKER

(Hitherto Unpublished)

An address given at the Industrial Exhibit, in Philadelphia, December 10, 1906, and here included as a specimen of Miss Richmond's method of laying her cards on the table in addressing a group at variance with her views.

THE keystone of the arch of charity is the willingness of all charitable people to find some common ground of agreement, even with those least like themselves, and to work together on this ground for the betterment of humanity. It may be impossible, in fact it is, to co-operate with those whose intentions are dishonest, but the modern charity worker admits no other limitation whatsoever in his inclusive program of co-operation.

For many years religious differences were his greatest stumbling block. They were a far more serious bar to co-operation than the younger generation of workers can realize. But during the next twenty-five years men's industrial and social theories are going to divide them into rival camps, and unless we are on guard against this danger the very strength of their convictions will greatly delay social reforms. Men have learned without disloyalty to their church to work with those of other churches, but now advocates of the closed shop and the open shop, of public ownership and private ownership, of single tax and many other remedies for our industrial ills, are in a position, by exaggerating their differences, to delay reforms on which they all might agree.

Take the field of charity, which is of course only one corner of the larger territory that might be covered, and in this one field alone it is possible to enumerate a number of practical reforms upon which people of the most diverse social opinion ought to be able to work together.

To name only a few of these: (1) There is a program for dealing with the tramp in which society has not taken the first step. The man who can work and will not, needs to be sifted promptly from

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all other social groups. It should be made impossible for him to steal rides on our railroads; it should be made impossible for him to live in idleness every winter in charitable shelters; it should be made impossible for him to terrorize country districts and contaminate our growing boys. And two or three perfectly practicable measures would solve this problem. We need the policing of our railroads on the one hand, and municipal control of all charitable shelters for the homeless and a strict enforcement of the laws against begging on the other. There is no industrial class in our communities that would not be benefited by these reforms.

(2) It is popularly supposed that all manufacturers are in favor of child labor and that all working people are opposed to it. This popular view contains much truth and some error. Manufacturers who are forced by competition to employ children would in many instances be glad to see child labor abolished. As to the working people, whilst it is true that the more enlightened of them are opposed to child labor, still industrial opportunities for children are a sore temptation to many a working father and mother. The open door of the school and the closed door of the factory for every growing child is a program on which employer and employed, rich and poor, capitalist and trade unionist, can and should agree; and any advocacy of child labor reform that attempts to make this a class question injures the cause. It is a national question of the first importance which concerns every class.

(3) Thoughtful charity workers are coming to see that charitable relief in aid of wages, or charitable relief given to tide working men over dull seasons of work, may defeat the very object of charity, which surely is not merely to relieve temporary need but to make people permanently better off. Charity has committed some grievous sins under this head in the past. A woman, for instance, works hard and earns \$3 a week. Should charity supplement this amount in order to make it possible for her to live, or should it use every resource at its command to secure for her better paying work in case she is fitted to do it; or, in case she is not, to train her for better work, supporting her entirely during the period of training? Surely the latter is the better course, not only for her sake but for the sake of all independent workers with whom, at a \$3 wage, she is coming in competition. If a man with four chil-

dren can earn only \$6 a week as an unskilled laborer in a large city where rentals and other living expenses are high, which is better, to supplement this income, or to seek for him a new field of labor where his work is in greater demand and where living expenses are cheaper? Whilst we have our honest differences about the new social order that is still all in the future, cannot we agree on a more enlightened program that will relieve the congestion of our great cities and place the worker where his work is needed?

(4) One who comes into contact with the actual problems of distress in a great city and who seeks their solution by a retail method, case by case, cannot but feel that those who write and lecture with such enthusiasm about socialism, individualism, and anarchism would all be benefited by a good stiff dose of case work. In many of their disquisitions one feels the lack of contact with social classes other than the group to which the writer belongs. As a final suggestion, therefore, for those who are deeply interested in industrial questions, I would recommend the opportunity furnished by such agencies as the Society for Organizing Charity, which comes in close contact with the individual unemployed, the individual neglected child, and the individual tramp. Such contact cannot but have a steadying effect upon those for whom much theorizing is a form of dissipation.

LETTERS OF APPEAL

(Hitherto Unpublished)

These are extracts from two of the bulletins of the Field Department, Charities and the Commons, in 1907, showing the eminently practical way in which Miss Richmond shared her experience with her fellow workers through this medium. Although the bulletins were circulated to the societies, they were not published.

ONE who has never felt particularly hopeful about the efficacy of an appeal in advance of its mailing without finding that it fell quite flat, is in no position to dogmatize about this subject. Here are some of my opinions, but they must not be taken seriously.

First as to form, which is quite as important as matter and not always as carefully studied: Has anyone tried the ribbon type-writer type instead of process letters or the ordinary typewriter type of the printer? If you have a typewriter machine with type similar to your printer's for filling in the names at the beginning of the letter, and a printer who will take the trouble in mixing his ink to match your typewriter ribbon, you can get good results from the ribbon type far cheaper than from the process letter.

The filling in by machine is expensive, but it pays, I believe. Some large societies question the value of the typewriter letter, believing that a circular letter in ordinary type is quite as effective, but this has not been my own experience. Formerly we sent our addressed envelopes to a mailing company and had our letters filled in there but now we employ their clerks to work in our office under the supervision of our mailing clerk, or else go through all their work before mailing. They often make very careless blunders.

Should the letter tell the whole story, or should it refer to an enclosure, and then make one or two striking statements in the briefest possible way? I have come to prefer the second method, fearing that a letter covering a whole sheet of letter paper would not be read. Two-thirds of a sheet of note paper seems to me a

good size for a letter, and the shape of the sheet, the style of the heading, the quality of the paper, the appearance of the envelope, the style and character of the enclosure, and every other physical detail should be varied frequently, if the same mailing list is still being used.

Printing and paper, not fancy or extravagant but *good*, always pays. Encourage your printer to have ideas and he will be more interested in your work. Consult him frequently before your own ideas take final shape.

As to the enclosure, it should, if possible, make our intangible work seem more tangible. Pictures help to do this, of course, but they are used by everyone now, so that the public is rather picture-hardened. Last year I ordered from a new printer a little book of tickets for referring applicants to our lodges and for sending the names and addresses of resident applicants to our Central Office. The job looked cheap when it was completed—it was badly bound and the ink had offset on the back. We paid the cost of materials, sent the whole job back, and began over again. The second time it looked right, and the letter, with carefully matched address at top that went with it, said, "This little red book is for your *personal use* during the coming winter, etc." Many took the trouble to send the tickets back and explain why they could not use them; they hoped they would be forwarded instead to someone who could. A gentleman found a red book in the public library and sent it to us in the hope that we could find the owner. Several correspondents criticized our methods. But the book brought us good financial return, and on the whole, we were inclined to attribute its unusual success to the shade of red in the cover.

I have left myself little space in which to discuss the wording of letters and enclosures, because I am at a loss to find anything helpful to say. Be simple. Be concrete. Be brief. Be truthful. Avoid stereotyped phrases and technical terms. Above all be human and humane. If I were able to follow all these injunctions myself, I could probably double the income of the Philadelphia society in a month.

"Only the other day," writes Miss Loane in *The Queen's Poor*, "I picked up an appeal that came from a well-known and very worthy charitable institution, but I was not a little scandalized to

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find it baited with anecdotes which, though I do not doubt their original truth, are literally the same that made my blood run cold twenty years ago." In the first place, then, our illustrations should be fresh. The story that is at once brief enough and telling enough to illustrate a given point in the very best possible way, so that a wayfaring man, though a fool, may understand, is difficult to find, of course, and we cling to it when found; but there ought to be a statute of limitation—five years, say—beyond which the same story cannot be used.

Every case worker in the Philadelphia society makes a monthly classification of current cases. One of the classification headings is "Good Short Stories," so that the general secretary has a mine, though one into which she digs too seldom.

Given a good record of a fairly typical case, how shall one avoid overloading the story, on the one hand, or reducing it to a skeleton, on the other?

First, talk it over with the one who did the work, ask questions, get side lights, be sure what it illustrates and how, but don't let it illustrate too much. The one who knows the family is not usually the best one to write the story; he knows too many details and is too insistent upon the moral. But he ought to read it over when written and make sure that a truthful impression has been conveyed.

Second, never call anything a tree that can be called a spruce or a pine; in other words, be concrete. What are the things, reduced to a word or two, that distinguish this widow from any other, this deserter from any other?

Third, if you can give credit to another agency that helped out in getting things done, be sure to do it. If others have made mistakes and you must mention them at all, point out how natural the mistakes were. If *you* have made mistakes, own up.

Fourth, three stories full of color and life are better than fifteen with the life squeezed out. It is possible to be too brief. Still, a story should make the effect of brevity; if it does not, there is something the matter with it. Re-writing secures greater brevity and color. Nothing requires such patient re-writing as a little group of short stories. "If I knew what to omit," says Stevenson, "I should need no other art."

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Fifth, these stories are not advertisements of our work. They carry a sense of reality to those who think too vaguely about the lives of the poor: they illustrate important principles of action and make them easier to follow. Any failure in truthfulness, in moderation, or in sympathetic understanding of those about whom we write is a failure to achieve these results—a failure, that is, to educate our public and the charities with which we co-operate.

DIFFERENCES

Being Several Dips Below Humanity's Surface and One Plunge Still Deeper

Miss Richmond issued several appeals in the form of miniature pamphlets containing actual case stories strung together on the thread of a single idea. Such were *Short Stories with a Moral*, 1902; *More Short Stories*, 1903; *Stop-Cock Stories*, 1905; and *Differences*, 1906. We give the last appeal as a specimen of her use of case histories for publicity purposes.

In the crucible of reality wherein these stories were compounded, the material forever renews itself, and the difficulty is to know what to omit. For a rough and ready principle of choice, we have taken the differences—not fundamental perhaps, but still beneath the surface—that appear in some of our clients whose external circumstances are much alike. When we know very little about a group of people, they look alike and seem alike, and we are betrayed by our ignorance into treating them alike. But after a more courageous dip into the facts of life with them, they prove bewilderingly, hopefully, interestingly different.

So with that large, heterogeneous group whom we call "the poor." Superficially they have seemed alike, and too often our passion for uniformity has made us treat them alike. The Englishman who never gave more than two shillings to any one case "because it made the others jealous" had a simple rule of action—one not difficult to explain, but its results must have been far from simple.

There is another and profounder view of humanity in which the differences disappear, but we reserve this view for the last pages of our little book.

Please note that the names of persons are the only facts that have been changed.

THE AMBASSADORS

IF YOU were going to choose a representative to a foreign court, your first wish would be that he should do you credit, but it is one of the misfortunes of being poor to be continually misrepresented by those who, on the plea of their poverty, contrive to make their way into the homes of the well-to-do. The poor as a class are not like these beggars, and yet even the mendicant group

is in itself far from being homogeneous, witness two such different types as Perriere and Perch.

Perriere will be better known for miles around Philadelphia as the Frenchman who seeks pupils in the languages. Passing on from this request for employment, he has probably told you of his own ill health and of his wife's, and has not refused the gratuity that you have offered him. Owing to this skill in wheedling money out of strangers, no one has ever penetrated an inch below the surface with him—he is all surface of a slippery and elusive sort. No one who has tried to help him has known the real Perriere or the steps by which he has descended to beggary. Successive efforts to get upon a basis of fact with him have brought refusals to receive medical care or to be examined by a doctor, have brought evasions of the work we have offered him as a teacher, have brought nothing in fact but the most pitiful shufflings. We are as effectively cut off from any genuinely human intercourse with this fellow as though he lived in another planet, and the instrument by which this isolation has been brought about has been the cash of charitable people who ought to have known better.

Perch begged too for a while, but mark the difference. He's no saint but neither is he an adventurer. Fate dealt him a heavy blow when he was not quite thirty. There were already a wife and three little Perches, when, at his work one day, he met with an accident that caused the permanent loss of his sight—and since this happened twins have been born. Help came from the employers and the church and from others, but the Perches were not equal to providing the plans for its wise use, and the money all slipped away, with Mrs. Perch growing sick from worry about the future, and Perch taking at last to the street and a beggar's tin cup. The returns from his begging were cruelly irregular. For a man who took an occasional glass too much, the good days made it necessary to celebrate and the bad days to drown care. Few realize the emptiness of a blind man's life when it is without regular occupation.

The children were out of school, of course, and everything at sixes and sevens when, four years after the accident, we were called in. Like many another doctor, we wished that we had been summoned earlier, but the summons does not seem to have come

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too late. A pension was raised to keep the family together. It was arranged that it should be given under the oversight of one of our volunteer visitors upon two conditions. The first was that the begging should stop, and the second that Perch should master one of the trades for the blind. This he is now doing, and, though his training is not yet completed, he has lately earned as much as \$5 a week toward the family support. The children are going to school regularly.

This experiment has already cost \$200 and, until the boys and girls are older, some help will be needed, probably, to supplement the man's earnings. But how much better that this small sum should be given regularly and as a part of well ordered plans of self-help, instead of being dropped haphazard into a tin cup! The one form of relief deals only with the most superficial appearances; the other seeks to ally itself with all those daily, intimate things of the home that make for sobriety and a wholesome family life. If anyone supposes, however, that this particular dip into reality did not take time and trouble, let him try it.

WIDOWED WIVES

In good times and in bad, in mild weather and in severe, three enemies of mankind are continually manufacturing distress; these enemies are sickness, accident, and death. Death leaves the widowed and the fatherless to charity's care, and many are the differences of opinion as to the right and the wrong ways of caring for them. We are beginning to think that no one way can be right so long as widows continue to be different. The widow Cole and the widow Callahan present no sharp contrasts, for both are good women and both, as it happens, are warm-hearted Irish-Americans, but it has been impossible to help them in the same ways, or at least it has seemed impossible to us.

Mrs. Cole deserves a poet to describe her, for her character is built upon simple but heroic lines. During the first year after her husband's death she struggled along alone, refusing offered help, though he left her with eight children, the youngest three months old and the oldest fourteen [years]. The neighborhood in which she then lived was [sordid], but she had contrived to keep her home sweet and safe, though there was much sickness among the children.

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The young woman who has visited her as our volunteer for several years is abroad at present, but the two correspond. Mrs. Cole has supplied, in this partnership, boundless industry, cheerfulness, and affection. The visitor has, since that first year, advised with her about the pension of \$12 a month that we provide, has helped her to get the factory working girl of twelve back into school, has secured the transfer of one of the boys from a school where he and his teacher were at odds, has arranged for summer outings, and has helped to remove the family to a better neighborhood but she would be the first to declare that she was in Mrs. Cole's debt, and that it has been a great privilege to know this fine, courageous woman so well.

Mrs. Callahan is the mother of four boys and a girl. Her husband had always had steady work, but his insurance money was invested by the widow in a store. If we were to publish the statistics of all the widows known to us who have invested their insurance money in stores that failed utterly, we might save a few others from this blunder. Mrs. Callahan's shop was one of these failures. She gave credit carelessly and spoiled her customers in much the same way that she spoiled her boys. Three of them were quite beyond her control, two had been arrested for stealing, and the oldest seemed incurably lazy. "He ought to be a good boy," his mother wailed helplessly, "for I carried him upstairs to bed every night until he was thirteen!" And the relatives told us that when, during the father's lifetime, there was any effort to enforce discipline, Mrs. Callahan always interfered.

Obviously the priest was right when he said that to keep that family together would be to send the boys to perdition, and the probation officer to whose charge they had been committed arranged for their care through the Children's Aid Society, the mother keeping her little girl of four.

I HAVE BEEN YOUNG AND NOW AM OLD

For the long look ahead it is in families where there are children that carelessness or blundering seems least excusable, and a large majority of the five thousand and odd families coming under our care each year have children and many of them. But the heart-breaking tasks—those that we cannot put aside even in the night,

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but wake to recall and grieve over—are the tasks of caring for childless old people and for old people whose children have deserted them. No modern community is doing its full duty by these unfortunate aged. It is not easily done, and so is too often shirked. The plain truth is that, as a class, they are unattractive and difficult. Many have spent their lives in dropping buckets into empty wells, and have grown old in drawing nothing up; the process has left them selfish and unlovely and forlorn.

To one such old creature, Mrs. O'Reilly, we were summoned in a low lodging house where, though the inmates knew that she had a bank account of several thousand dollars, no one could be persuaded to go near her, so repulsive was she in her bedridden condition and so vicious. The Pennsylvania Hospital was good enough to receive her, after weary efforts on our part to persuade her to go. That deathbed preached a good many sermons, for Mrs. O'Reilly had sought her pleasures greedily in the old days, then had turned miser and beggar later on. And among all the others who had conspired to bring her to this pass, the giving public had to be included.

But sin and greed are not the only causes of the poor's undoing. Innocent folk, who have made mistakes like all the rest of us, but who have been kind and forgiving to others and who deserve more kindness and forgiveness than they get, arrive at three-score-and-ten without friends—old couples, sometimes, and either the man or the woman with a mental twist bordering upon senile dementia, yet pitifully striving to keep together when it cannot be arranged for much longer without danger to both. One such pair, whose misfortunes and impracticabilities and queer sayings would fill a book, were our almost daily care for two years, but when their decent care outside of an institution became impossible and one of them needed restraint, both slipped quietly away and, for the time at least, we do not know their whereabouts.

The Ogdens give some relief to this picture, though its subject is one in which high lights would be out of place. They live . . . in a little two-room house, but they have nothing to do with their foreign neighbors. When all else goes, we cling to our little social prejudices the more tenaciously. Once, in a heavy storm, when both were too sick or too proud to make their wants known, they

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were without food or fire until, by accident, we found them. Since then they have always been supplied with stamped envelopes with which to notify us of an emergency, a regular pension has been organized (costing thus far \$80), and, until the time when they grow more helpless, they can continue in undisturbed possession of their spotless little home. Mr. Ogden can do some work for his old employers when the weather is good, and the lighter tasks are saved for him. This is a much-prized form of help, for he longs to be doing. Mrs. Ogden has sweetness and charm, and it is a pleasure to turn into the little byway that leads to their door.

Differences there are, and very marked ones, among our aged pensioners and among those others who, instead of receiving pensions, are placed in Homes; but in one sad particular they are alike. Whether they are helpable or not, it is in the nature of things that, as time goes on, they must become more and more dependent. In families where there are children and we are permitted to shape the plans for their care with some degree of wisdom, it is in the nature of things that they will become more and more independent. But this is no reason for neglecting the aged!

IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH

Of course, it is impossible to work with the poor without realizing what havoc sickness plays amongst them. In more than half of all the families that we visit, sickness appears either as the chief or as a secondary cause of distress. But here, too, the differences appear as soon as you try to deal thoroughly and get the sick people well. Some will help your every effort with the patience and faithfulness of a wounded animal; others will take an apparent satisfaction in storing up new troubles for themselves and for you; still others suffer from the extreme conservatism of the poor when brought face to face with the very modern methods of modern medicine—every step must be explained to them over and over; every bridge must be crossed and recrossed to assure them that it is safe.

The Gabbianis were Italian acquaintances of ours with their own views. At least, Mrs. Gabbiani was sure that the best way to deal with her husband's ailment, which seemed to be mental, was to have him arrested. This he resented and disappeared for a while. Upon his return he explained it to us as follows: When he was

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working in the mines years ago a fellow-workman had broken into his trunk and stolen his savings. Ever since he had had "spells," in which he became blinded and had a dreadful pain in his head.

After much persuasion he agreed to go into a hospital, and the family of wife and six children were assisted regularly during his absence, on condition that the boy of twelve be taken at once from work and placed in school. Once the withdrawal of relief was threatened unless Mrs. Gabbiani would keep the home cleaner. Clean bedding, a scrubbing brush and soap accompanied this message, and there was no more trouble. Three months' care accomplished wonders for the man, whose mental condition was due to an organic trouble long neglected which yielded to treatment. At the end of this time, and after we had spent \$115 on the family, he was able to go to work and support them comfortably.

The Goughs were Irish, both in their thirties, both delicate, with two little girls living, and four children dead. He was referred to us for light work, but it was soon evident that he was unfit for any labor and had consumption; the wife was a nervous invalid, and one of the children had a bad bronchial trouble. It seemed difficult to keep together a family having so little power of self-help, but they were decent folk and fond of one another. The record of our struggles to get them on their feet covers ten months of steady work summarized on forty-four closely typewritten pages, with the exchange of seventy odd letters, and the kind co-operation of five hospitals, four doctors, two churches, one former employer, one temporary home, and three charitable ladies who helped us to procure the necessary relief.

One of the hospitals deserves special mention. With the aid of Gough's former employer, his board was paid at White Haven Sanatorium until he was well enough to be placed on the working list there. After a little more than three months' stay he has returned to his family thirty pounds heavier in weight. His own wife did not know him. Then there has been the task of finding work that he could do, and of discouraging the habit of occasional drinking which he had acquired when his health began to fail. But at last, at the end of ten months, they are self-supporting.

It seems in looking back like a great deal of trouble taken to adjust the medical resources of the community to one family. But

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who can estimate how much more trouble must have been taken later if this trouble had not been taken now? So long as individuals differ from one another, this work of patient adjusting and fitting and explaining must go on. In addition, the actual relief expenditure was \$175.

BROTHERS FOR A' THAT

Here have been set down very inadequately some of the differences in people overtaken by the same fate, and some of the causes that make such startling differences in fate itself. Blindness, widowhood, old age, weaknesses, physical and moral—all bear their part in a tragic sequence of events that might have been foreseen and prevented, and of events that were quite beyond the victim's control. But if the truth must be told, the greatest single cause of distress—more persistent than sickness, more fatal than death itself—is to be found in the hardness of men's hearts.

In and out and under the web of all the stories that we have told and of all the other stories from which these few were chosen runs the sinister thread—not of man's active cruelty but of his indifference and his preoccupation. Perriere troubled people and so did Perch, but how easily those to whom they appealed bought themselves off! There should have been no such neighborhood in any city as the one in which we found Mrs. Cole trying to bring up her children decently; the conditions that we found there existed because, as citizens, we had been so careless. And for both the aged and the sick, our hearts are touched and we do a little, but the thoroughly kind thing, the adequate and painstaking thing is still the exception.

And when, becoming thoroughly aroused to this, a small group of people, such as the workers in our own Society, stir the surface and dip beneath, trying in their halting way to be more thorough, they get nothing like the support that they need to do half the things that clamor to be done. This difficulty is not due to an essential hardness in those who can afford to give generously, but to the fact that nearly all of these are thrown so much with their own set, with people who live and dress well and who appear prosperous, that the others, the less fortunate, seem not only very different but very much like one another, and any merely surface way of helping them is likely to receive liberal support.

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We have shown that, seen nearer and known more intimately, the poor are far from being all alike. But there is a profounder view. When we plunge still deeper beneath the surface with them, and know them in their rejoicings and bereavements, in their fundamental human relations and experiences, the striking fact about all of them is their resemblance not simply to each other but to the more prosperous.

The Society for Organizing Charity is striving to deal with real people and a great many of them in a real humane way. It bases its appeal for support, in the first place, upon its recognition of the differences between people in like circumstances, but its larger claim upon those who can afford to give rests upon the facts that people in different circumstances are fundamentally very much alike, and that the well-to-do cannot afford to turn their backs upon those who are so nearly their counterparts, or upon a Society that so earnestly strives to befriend these.

If we who know were only able to tell what we know in a way to command attention, how could any Philadelphian with means rest quietly in his bed while he had made no effort to help, either through us or in some other way, the man whose struggles and mistakes had been so much like his own? And how could he be satisfied to put him off with a mere appearance of help instead of getting down to realities with him?

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A paper given at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1907, and published as a reprint by the Boston American Unitarian Society. A great deal of the text given here reappears in the introduction to *The Good Neighbor*, published in the autumn of the same year.

PREPARATORY to writing this paper, I have corresponded with 60 friendly visitors in 12 different cities. The volunteer work in which they are engaged—that of visiting continuously a few families with whom they have become acquainted on many sides—is only one of many forms of usefulness now open to those who, having other duties, can give only a part of their time to social service. Our educational associations are urging the need of school visitors to make better connection between the school and the home; in several cities the courts are making effective use of volunteer probation officers; the volunteer rent collector is an important part of our better housing programs; with the home savings collector we long have been familiar; we have just had brought before us the plan of volunteer visitors for wayward girls; and probably the largest field of usefulness for the volunteer is in the new tuberculosis classes.

By profession I am one who organizes remedial and preventive measures for dealing with distress in families, and the friendly visitor is quite generally recognized among my colleagues as a useful means to that end. I desire to forget all this, however, to get away from the cramping professional standards, and to think and write about friendly visiting, if the thing be possible, as a human being.

“He who blows thro’ bronze, may breathe thro’ silver,
Fitly serenade a slumbrous princess,
He who writes, may write for once as I do—”

the “slumbrous princess” typifying the unawakened, unregenerate man or woman who has lost touch; who, let us suppose, knows well

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a good many people with his own sized income or with bigger ones, and is content with this. Some of these comrades he meets at the board meetings of charitable institutions, or of the church vestry, and some in his business, academic, professional, or recreational relations. He is inclined to believe that the ability to maintain personal relations with his least fortunate fellow-citizens is "the gift of nature," and that he was not born with it, forgetting that it's no such long while ago since the members of his own family held such relations daily, and as matter of course; forgetting, too, that the politician plays his trump card just here and wins, whenever, in a spasm of civic righteousness, we try to put him out of power.

One of the most deplorable results of our changed ways of living in cities is that we are finding it more and more easy to hold and express the most approved views about poverty without maintaining any personal relations with poor people whatever. Unconsciously, but very rapidly, we have been slipping away from a deeply varied social experience, one in which rich and poor, landlord and tenant, employer and workman, tradesman and purchaser, dwelt together "in visible relationship," into a stratified life in which our social relations are sadly impoverished. The trolley-car, the suburban train, the telephone, and the reorganization of the methods of production and distribution, have changed our habits of human intercourse, and what Mr. Wells says of London is equally true in this country: "Our people have overflowed their containing locality; they live in one area, they work in another, and they go to sleep in a third. And the only way in which you can localize them again is expand your areas to their new scale." This was written of the areas of municipal administration, but it applies quite as well to a large neighborliness. Those who ride live in a larger neighborhood than those who travel afoot, and those who ride by rail or by electricity can have larger community interests than those who depend upon horse power, but this is such a recent expansion of opportunity that life has been, for the moment, narrowed thereby. Things—intervening and ever-multiplying things—are keeping us monstrously busy with the surface. We do not read or crave so much poetry, the publishers tell us; material comforts are choking within us the very springs of sympathy and compassion. The

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trolley and the train carry us away from the sights and sounds that we associate with distress, and we have not discovered that the lines travel both ways.

Civilization drops every now and then some necessary part of its luggage in this way and has to travel back to pick it up—an awkward process, or one that always seems so to the onlooker. We have had so many houses that we have been forced to rediscover fresh air, and so many cooked dishes that we have had to rediscover milk and eggs. How clumsily we have been doing it many can testify. And now social contact with all sorts and conditions of men—a thing so necessary to our social health and sanity—this lost package also we are rediscovering very clumsily indeed.

The loss to the poor through social stratification has been great, the loss to the country politically has been greater, and the loss to the relatively well-to-do has been greatest of all. It is true that all save the poorest live in a larger world, physically speaking, than formerly, but they live in it in a more provincial spirit, for theirs is the distinguishing mark of the provincial in that they are coming to be no longer able “to find interest in any form of life that is not clad in the same coat-tails and flounces as their own.”

The most obvious remedy for this predicament of the well-to-do would be to seek opportunities for better acquaintance and greater helpfulness in their natural relations with the poor, but the very crux of their difficulty is that no such relations exist. Let anyone think over the list of his acquaintances—the young couples, professional people, who live in the suburbs; the solid middle-aged people who have a town house and a country house; their son back from the technical school, who has views about civics and views about sports; their daughter who has left college and is beginning to find society a bore, or else who never went to college, but came out early and so ditto, ditto. They have their charities and their clubs and their “interests,” but are they not for the most part hopelessly cut off from real contact with their fellows and with the main stream of our national life? The only poor that they know at all are the parasites who seek them out, and the odd jobs people who are still in some instances employed by them directly, and not through a middleman.

I turn from this increasingly large group to the very small group

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of my correspondents who have contrived, with the aid of certain charity organization societies, to overcome the disadvantages of modern electrical conveniences and get back into genuine relations with people of smaller incomes. "The field is the world," as one of them reminds me, and this is a mere handful of specimen soil, but some things that are true of it are true of soils and harvests everywhere. Violating no confidences, for some of these letters are very personal, let me choose a few of the passages in them that bear upon this one question of contact.

One correspondent writes, getting quite to the heart of the matter:

The greatest barrier in the visitor's path is his own feeling of the difference between himself and the people he wishes to help; as soon as he begins to feel the likeness between himself and them, the way is clear for him to act, and there are endless possibilities for his usefulness.

Another, whose letter recalled an interview many years back in which she had contended with me almost hotly that she could never be a friendly visitor because a poor man's house was his castle, writes as follows:

I have observed that those new visitors who have the greatest possibilities are apt to shrink from intruding on a family with no other excuse than that they mean to improve bad conditions. I would remind them that as a rule they go to a family in some time of great stress, some crisis, and that any one of us is more ready to accept quite simply any offer of friendliness at such a time. We do not resent it as an impertinence that a stranger, seeing our house is on fire, should immediately rush in and begin to carry our goods to a place of safety without waiting for a formal introduction.

A visitor who took my queries to a district conference of visitors for reply, writes:

They thought it would be well to tell stories of successful visitors and to remind people who do not know much of our work, that there is absolutely no "pushing in" to families where one is not wanted, but that all new visitors go to a new family with a definite object in mind, and that the introduction is easy.

The three quotations that follow show how differently and yet how vitally fine natures are touched by this particular human experience.

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For I think everyone would be glad of the added richness which such contact brings into one's own life. Besides touching so many of the most interesting social questions, it gives one a taste of *real life*, which seems to me deeper and fuller of real pleasure and interest than many of the so-called joys of life, so eagerly sought after—and often missed! Then, I believe nothing else brings a deeper belief in the underlying good in everyone than this close touch with—not “the slums”—but our brothers.

But the visitor who comes in condescension from a “better sphere” is an impertinence. What warrant has anyone even in the name of charity to thrust himself into the life of a family, to see it as a spectacle, to use its revelations as a zest to his own easier lot, or to make it a matter of small talk! Straight-out giving is infinitely better, to my thinking, than wanton meddling with others' lives. . . .

It has taught me that standards of living are the result of income, rather than the result of inherent differences, of superiority of nature; the contrary is the general attitude of mind on the part of the well-disposed who are “interested in charities.” It has taught me that cleanliness is a luxury which costs time and money; generally those who need us have neither to spare for this purpose. That to ask those who are condemned by fate and poverty to squalid surroundings and employments that do not permit cleanliness to at once conform to the fastidious notions of those who live outside this world is a foolishness, firstly, because in any range of human life few heads lift themselves above the level; secondly, except in cases where idleness or sin cause the poverty, it does not mean of necessity moral turpitude. One cannot go about among the poor learning to know them in their humanity without finding the elemental virtues in full measure.

My own first impression came with the force of a shock. I suddenly felt myself a social factor and felt a proper pride in being fitted to work in harmony with the body politic. Many years of charity work on my own hook had failed to arouse this feeling, and many years of teamwork, in the school and in the church, have failed to stir this spirit of the hive. . . .

The work has given me more than I have given it. There has been an amazing acquisition of information and a phenomenal growth in ability and fitness. Private study, the school and the college, have never given me the education that friendly visiting and its accompaniments have brought about in a few months. The work has given me a new kind of self-discipline. In private life I may have my own way, and reap therefore only the harvest of individual failure and broken friendship; in friendly visiting, I may not say everything I think, I may not be self-willed or heady, I may not be disagreeable even for my neighbor's good or my own satisfaction, because I injure more than myself; I hurt the cause in which I am enlisted, I am disloyal. By continued self-restraint I come to see that there is a

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cause for every shortcoming, and I cannot quarrel with results the causes of which it is my peculiar task to discover.

The next five extracts are taken in turn from the letters of two mothers, two spinsters, and a widow:

Perhaps it has not occurred to you how great an influence this "friendly visiting" work may have in the home of the visitor. For years we, as a family, have talked and planned concerning the families I have called upon, and besides getting us acquainted with the best methods of helping others, it has a broadening effect upon our own lives. My husband has been instrumental in reclaiming the "drunkard" whom I have spoken of in this letter.

I think one of the great helps of visiting is that it gives one a truer sense of proportion. This is especially true of mothers of young children who are apt to think the world revolves around their own individual child. My family consists of a widow and nine children, and it is very inspiring to me in coping with my four children to see how wonderfully the widow, with every handicap, manages her nine.

The work is peculiarly fruitful to the childless person, for it brings love and the dependence of little ones into her life.

I am as proud of my little girls' progress in school as if they had been my own; while, when my friend moved into a better house where the sun really found them, and bought with the savings an \$18 set of furniture, I felt as if I had come into a fortune myself! Then, when my friend was ill, and all her poor hard-worked neighbors gave of their scant time and means to help her—as many of my friends would not have done for me in like case—I realized more what real sympathy meant and learned another lesson.

What have I gained by the work, and what has it meant to me, you ask? It has broadened my whole life; it has given me work to do when a personal sorrow claimed my thoughts. And it has gained for me, I know, one very loyal friend among the poor.

There is no reason, of course, why men should not be friendly visitors, though a majority of my correspondents are women. A man wrote the following:

My visiting has, I fear, meant more to me than to those whom I visited. It has meant a change of thought and work most refreshing and invigorating; it has broadened my point of view along industrial, economic, educational, social, and religious lines.

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And these two must close my citations, though they might be indefinitely extended from the very interesting letters in my possession:

I have done enough visiting, and for years enough, to have reaped the veteran's exceeding great reward. I have seen results. I have watched pauper-born children develop into good citizens.

My chosen families are now in the third generation and look after *me*.

I have said that the effort to recover any one of the lost packages of civilization must seem very awkward to the onlooker, and this recovering of relations with our fellows is no exception. One of the best friendly visitors known to me told recently of a college friend who had seemed unusually kind and capable, but who had had an unfortunate experience in attempting to visit a few poor families soon after she left college. Not only had she had no success, but she had brought away from her failure a new set of prejudices. The visited families may have suffered a similar disillusionment, and all of this was due, probably, to the absence of guidance. Starting blindly to follow an overgrown path, she had lost her way, and my informant added that a good start in such work seemed to her the one essential.

What have volunteers a right to demand from the agencies with which they ally themselves as visitors? First, knowledge of the conditions that surround the families visited, and knowledge of the probability of success or failure. Second, interpretation of the visitor's experiences, which should be patiently related to the neighborhood, to the city or town, and to the widest social issues. Charitable societies, however good their intentions, have no right to meddle with the lives of the poor unless they can better them. And in quite as liberal a sense, charities have no right to enlist the services of volunteers unless, in the course of carrying out their own program, they can contrive to make their volunteer workers better men and women. The responsibility is a serious one, and visitors are justified in refusing to associate themselves with charities in which it is not seriously taken.

We hear much about trained paid workers in these days, but the supreme test of a trained worker is the ability to turn to good account the services of the relatively untrained. The better the

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friendly visitor, the higher the standard of professional charitable service that he will demand, and the higher the standard of professional service, the more good friendly visitors there will be. This is not merely a cheering example of reciprocity; it is the larger half of social reform.

THE FAMILY AND THE SOCIAL WORKER

A paper given before the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1908, and eloquently prophetic of the Buffalo Conference on Family Life in America Today, held in 1927.

YOU, who have come together at the end of a busy winter and during a period of financial depression to consider methods of charitable work, should greet with enthusiasm an institution that needs no subscription list for its support, no board of directors for its management. I refer, of course, to the institution of the family. Someone has called it "the first great practical syllogism, two premises and a conclusion—father, mother and child." There are those, I know, who rebel against the conception of the family as the great social unit, the fundamental social fact. There are those who feel that the family as a molding and controlling factor in human affairs has had its day. They maintain that its form is largely fortuitous, depending not so much upon the nature of man as upon the nature of the food that he eats, the character of his occupation, and so forth. But the cock crows and the sun rises, and the connection between the two events is not always as intimate as the cock himself imagines. These disparaging views of the family, of its origin and its functions, will have their day and cease to be, while the family itself continues to be the pivotal institution around which our human destinies revolve.

This is mere commonplace, of course. The air itself is commonplace in the sense that it is everywhere, but when it is bad we become unpleasantly aware of it, as we do of contaminated family life. To all here present, however, the great formative influences, the processes that have made us what we are, have gone on within our own homes quite unconsciously, for the most part. The way in which each one of you has entered and will leave this church, your feeling about the place itself and its associations, the greater or lesser degree of tolerance with which you are listening to what I am saying this moment, what you will think about it afterward, if

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you ever think about it at all, and what you will do about it—these things have been determined far more by the family into which you were born and in which you grew up than any single one of you has any conception of. I am making no wholesale claim for heredity as against environment in saying this, but I am making a claim for the overwhelming force of heredity *plus* the environment that we inherit.

Approaching my subject with these convictions, it naturally follows that I do not stand here tonight to plead with social workers to “do something” for the family. I plead rather, for the sake of the immediate ends we have in view—for the sake of the life, liberty and happiness of all the disadvantaged and oppressed—that we may see to it that the family “does something” for us. In other words, we can progress only a little way unless we learn to work at every turn *with* nature rather than against her. If we could once realize that, whatever else may fail or succeed—industrial systems, forms of government, societies, nations, races—that whatever may happen to these, the family will persist as long as there is human progress; if we could once grasp the fact that in the long view it is never family life which suffers, but that everything else suffers, including human beings, whenever its claims are ignored; if we could once fully realize this, then all of our work would take on a new dignity and significance.

Let me try to illustrate, not so much from the details of our charitable work as from current happenings in industry and education.

In one of the counties of a far southern state to which the railroad penetrated only a few years ago, it was found that men working on the farm at fifty cents a day were tempted away by the dollar a day of the railroad. Removed farther and farther from their families and homes, many of them have become what is locally called “quitters,” or what we know as wife-deserters. On the face of it, this development of industry would seem to have been bad for family life, and incidentally it was, but I am not indulging in mere paradox when I maintain that in the long run, through the fact that it clearly was bad for the workmen, it was also bad for the railroad and for industry. Any form of industry that brings about such results is unstable in its organization and

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such instability implies loss and the waste that precedes inevitable reorganization.

We need renewed faith in certain very elementary things at the moment. We need to look far enough ahead to see that no large industry which ignores the fundamental facts of family life can continue to prosper. Inevitably the reaction must come; its methods of employing and using labor must be reorganized. It would be no difficult matter to prove the short-sightedness of those industries which depend upon child labor, for instance, or of those others which deliberately seek to work a large number of adults for short season rather than a smaller number for a long season. The neglect to provide safety devices and other protections against industrial accident gives death his harvest of many thousands yearly in this country, and would seem on the face of it to be more destructive of family life than almost any other one factor in modern industry. But here again a larger view, a larger faith in the persistence of the family, ought to make it clear that industry itself must suffer. Whenever this faith, reasserting itself, recognizes the family as the fundamental social fact to which all other social facts must adjust themselves, industry either must break or must yield.

Industry is yielding reluctantly but inevitably in the matter of the hours of women's work. An English chaplain in the mill town of Preston noted half a century ago that infant mortality was reduced 16 per cent during a long cotton strike which kept the women operatives at home. Though the standard of living was materially lowered, probably, the chances of life were raised. But it was only a few months ago that our Supreme Court established the principle for all time, as we hope, that, in the interest of family life and public health, the hours of women's work may be regulated by statute. No gathering of those who love their fellowmen held in this year of grace should fail to give thanks for that decision. It marks the greatest single step yet taken in this country in a saner adjustment of claims as between industry and the family.

In education also, the adjustment needs to be made. Those who are shaping the school of today are realizing more and more that teacher and parent must co-operate in all educational plans. The problem of school feeding that has agitated England so much of

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late can be regarded as a school question and can ignominiously fail of solution, or it can be regarded as a family *and* school question, and on that basis can be solved. No educational system can be successful which ignores the family. Family life will suffer undoubtedly from mistaken educational ideals, but in the long run, the failure will be an educational failure.

Illustrations are everywhere, but I must hurry on to the one practical suggestion for social workers toward which this leads. It is unquestionably true that we may hinder for a little while the life of the family, we may contaminate it, we may reduce its effectiveness, we may break it up altogether here and there; and our social work has succeeded often in doing all of these things. The one practical suggestion that I can make to you is that you ransack all your work for a year, say, from top to bottom with reference to its influence upon the particular families from which your beneficiaries have come and to which they go. Examine every admission to your institution and every discharge from it, every item of the daily lives of its inmates, with reference to this central fact. Ask yourselves: Have we made this man a better or worse husband and father? Have we made this woman a better or worse wife and mother? Have we at least set plans in motion that will make the children better heads of families than their parents have been? Has the burden-bearing capacity of each one concerned been weakened or has it been strengthened by the way in which we have borne *our* burden of caring for him or for those who have a right to look to him for care? Whether you are dealing with infants in foundling asylums, or children in day nurseries, or the sick in hospital wards, or defectives in state institutions, or prisoners in their cells, or families fallen into distress, or the aged in homes, or the dead awaiting burial even—I care not what form of need or distress or weakness you are dealing with—you cannot afford to forget the family that looms forever in the background. The conditions of normal family life, and all the variations which you are forced to note therefrom—these two groups of contrasting facts bound the stage of your operations.

And all of our work both for children and for adults needs to be subjected to a far keener and more searching analysis from this point of view. One of the weakest spots in the administration of

justice in America today is found in the absence of any well defined standard of parental responsibility, any minimum requirement below which no child's life shall be permitted to fall without prompt and effective interference. It is useless to expect the enforcement of such a standard on the part of magistrates and judges when social workers themselves are not agreed upon it. We need to secure such a standard for ourselves by a closer scrutiny of our own work, and then to educate the public up to it.

At the very moment that we are smugly saying to ourselves that we must never break up families, in that very moment we may be scattering the contagion of dismemberment far and wide. The worst things ever done to the family are done in the name of family life and ostensibly to perpetuate it. While we are arranging *crèches* and school lunches, for instance, in order to make it easier for the woman of the normal family to become a breadwinner, we are building up family life with two fingers and tearing it down with eight.

At this point we need the trained worker for whom your chairman has been pleading. There is a great deal of sentimental and vague talk about the sacredness of the family. One may say very true things, moreover, and apply them very falsely. We need to go beneath the names of things, for not everything that calls itself a family is truly so. There are sham families, and unstable families, and broken families, and families (so-called) that are mere breeding places of vice and crime. The trained worker, instead of juggling with words, will deal clearly with facts and conditions; will strive to answer truthfully of each charitable act that it has allied itself with the forces that make for a deeper and stronger family life. One who recognizes this supreme obligation will work to break up sham families and will work to keep together real ones, and will do all this in the interests not so much of family life as in the clear recognition that only so and with the aid of family life may we accomplish any of the things we have set out to accomplish for our human kind.

To such an one, the practical syllogism of father, mother, and child becomes the symbol of everything humanity has dreamed of or striven for. The family is not merely a place where bodies are reared to maturity, where laborers are trained for the industrial

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markets of the world, where freeborn men are prepared for the duties of citizenship, but it is the cradle of immortal souls, no less. Toward this, the ideal family, the approach is inevitable and overwhelming; none of us can delay it, none of us can hasten it very much. How glorious a thing to have helped its coming in ways however humble, and how pitiful a thing to have hindered its arrival by so much as a single day!

PART FOUR

NEW YORK, 1909-1917

As democracy advances there can be neither freedom nor equality without that adaptation to native differences, without that intensive study and intensive use of social relationships for which social case work stands.

FROM THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER'S TASK

PART FOUR

NEW YORK, 1909-1917

INTRODUCTION

MUCH of the work of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation during the first two years of its existence meant simply a transfer, to these auspices, of work that Miss Richmond had been directing under the Field Department of Charities and The Commons.¹ Three months after she came to New York, however, she undertook her first independent piece of research. She began to collect from the charity organization societies schedules showing the treatment of families of widows and their children. This developed into an ambitious study, the results of which were published in 1913.² Before this date, however, the Department had engaged C. C. Carstens, who had been assistant general secretary with Miss Richmond in Philadelphia, to make a special study of the administration of mothers' pensions in several American cities where they had recently gone into effect, and his report³ was published by the Department just prior to Miss Richmond's own. This document, when read today, seems moderate in tone and not overdrawn in its warnings of possible bad results from the hasty passing of ill-considered laws granting public relief to widows, but it was issued at a time when emotion was running high on the subject and by some was considered as a severe criticism. Many states had such bills pending, with determined groups pushing for legislation, and any voice raised to counsel caution was taken to be that of an enemy. The societies in states which had bills pending were in

¹ See Appendix C.

² Richmond and Hall, *A Study of Nine Hundred and Eighty-five Widows Known to Certain Charity Organization Societies in 1910*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1913.

³ Carstens, C. C., *Public Pensions to Widows with Children*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1913.

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doubt what position to take. They realized that the traditional philosophy of the charity organization movement, which was opposed to the extension of public outdoor relief, was no longer applicable; but many of them deplored the emotional currents that were sweeping the widows' pension movement along. As was natural, they turned to the Charity Organization Department for advice and information. Much correspondence with individual societies ensued, and many thousand copies of the two reports were circulated, as well as reprints of Miss Richmond's Survey article, *Motherhood and Pensions*.¹ In her departmental report to the Foundation for 1913, Miss Richmond says:

It was neither a popular nor an attractive task to oppose measures that, on their face, seemed so beneficent, and that undoubtedly were wholly benevolent in intent. But it was clear to anyone experienced in relief administration that many of these measures would do more harm than good. . . . Our responsibility seemed to be to furnish facts and to furnish them promptly.

Now that the smoke of controversy has cleared away, and mothers' assistance has become an accepted part of the social machinery in this country, one can see that many of the dangers Miss Richmond feared have not come to pass. More provision for case work services has been developed than she believed possible. In most states, the administration of mothers' assistance has been reasonably free from political chicanery. On the other hand, it is now pretty freely admitted that a mothers' allowance is not a *pension*, in the strict sense of the word, but merely another administrative form of public outdoor relief. Furthermore, no satisfactory rebuttal has ever been made to Miss Richmond's claims that the existence of public assistance to mothers as a class would tend to lessen the responsibility felt by relatives, or that it is a wiser national policy to spend money on preventing the premature death of breadwinners, laying the burden of industrial accident and disease squarely upon industry and not upon the taxpayer, than to rest satisfied with a program of relieving the families of these dead wage-earners.

The significance of this episode, coming early in Miss Richmond's New York experience, was that for the first time she found herself

¹ See p. 350 of the present volume.

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taking part in a controversy that divided her own camp. Her battles in Philadelphia had been against corrupt politics, or against the lethargy of an uninformed public toward social reform. She had always been in the vanguard of her profession; but now she was being forced into the uncongenial role of a conservative, a hanger-back. She had taken her share of political bludgeoning in the past, but never before at the hands of members of her own group. The wounds on both sides went deep, and the consequences are to be traced here and there during all the rest of her life.

The second major controversy in which Miss Richmond and her department became involved came toward the end of her first ten years in New York, and concerned the development of financial federations. Miss Richmond never wrote a single line on this subject herself, so that this conflict of opinion is not reflected in the papers that follow. But in discussion, she was outspoken in her fear of the domination of social forces by the power that holds the purse-strings. She was fundamentally in favor of retail as opposed to what she regarded as wholesale methods of attacking social problems. The business man's concepts of production and efficiency would hinder, she felt, not help to develop the delicate fabric of social relations. Her consistent, life-long liberalism in politics made her distrust and fear the result of "big business" methods applied to the organization of social forces. At the National Conference in 1901, she had said regarding "charity trusts":

Charity seems to me [a thing] that goes only a little way along the lines of business, and then goes a very much longer way along the lines of education . . . the seeker after truth must be unhampered; he must be free.

To give a bare outline of what happened in the controversy in question, the Family Welfare Association of America (then known as the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity) was receiving many requests for advice from constituent societies in cities where the formation of federations was under consideration. A committee was accordingly appointed in 1915 to study the subject and make recommendations. At Miss Richmond's suggestion, the services of Fred S. Hall, associate director of the Charity Organization Department, were lent to this committee for a period of over a year. Mr. Hall's fact-finding study (pub-

lished later as an appendix of 110 pages to the committee's report) was turned in to the committee in 1916, but further deliberations delayed its publication by the Association until the fall of 1917. In effect, the report advised cities contemplating financial federations to go slow, and see what was to be the outcome in the cities then experimenting with the method. The recommendations became a storm center, although the facts on which they were based have not been called in question. In pointing out dangerous tendencies, and in stimulating efforts to eliminate or avoid them, the report was undoubtedly of benefit to the federation movement; but, like the widows' pension report, it was made the basis of criticism, not only of the Association and the Charity Organization Department, but of the entire family field. One of Miss Richmond's friends writes:

Miss Richmond would probably never have felt the threat of the community chest movement if she could have devised some means by which she might [have] convinced herself that the genius of social case work could be protected against violation by those who raised money for social work through the community chest. She . . . preferred to see social work more poorly supported, if by that means it might maintain this intimacy of contact among social worker, client, and community. She felt sure that if the community chest did not develop some method to protect this value, it would kill social work.¹

The earlier publications of the Department were all in pamphlet form—some reprints of articles that had appeared elsewhere, some that had been submitted for publication or solicited from writers outside the Department, some representing the work of members of its own staff. During the period we have under consideration, four bound volumes were published with the assistance of the Department. Two of these were merely edited for publication by members of the staff; a third, *Social Work in Hospitals* by Ida Cannon, was prepared at the Department's request, while the fourth, Miss Richmond's monumental work, *Social Diagnosis*, was the result of work done entirely by the staff of the Department. A list of all publications, both in book and pamphlet form, will be found in Appendix B, page 624.

¹ Bruno, Frank J., "Mary E. Richmond: Liberal." In *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 343.

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The Charity Organization Bulletin (formerly the Field Department Bulletin) continued to be issued by the Department until November, 1918. It was privately printed and was the confidential house-organ, so to speak, of the societies in the charity organization field. In its columns Miss Richmond early began the circulation of the edited case records which have been of such invaluable service to teachers and students of case work. Few of the last generation of case workers but have followed the travels of Albert Gough, anxiously considered the problems of Ames, the tuberculous hatter, and rejoiced in the prospect of better times ahead for Peter and Margaret Costello.¹ So great was Miss Richmond's dread lest these disguised records be identified that she would never consent to their publication and sale. They are consequently not to be purchased, nor are they to be found on the shelves of any library except on those of individuals to whom they came as the direct gift of the Department.

Miss Richmond's own absorbing interest in them made teaching and training for social work major interests of the Department, which subsidized for some years the Clinton District of the New York Charity Organization Society, in order to have an accessible place where experimental methods in case work might be tried out and where field work for students could be provided. Miss Richmond herself gave courses in the methods of social case work, in Boston and Chicago, as well as in New York. Since the opening of the New York School of Philanthropy (now the New York School of Social Work), she had taught there from time to time; but on her coming to the Foundation, the Director of the School, Edward T. Devine, invited her to serve on the Committee on Instruction. In addition, she taught regularly for three years, "at the end of which time," she says, "case teaching had developed in the School to the point to justify the engagement of full-time instructors for the task." One of the editors of this volume, herself a student under Miss Richmond, has said elsewhere:²

She had, more than anyone I have ever known, the fructifying touch of the real teacher. Something explosive happened to minds that came really in contact with hers. One became aware of power and vision within oneself that one had not hitherto suspected. . . . Although she was not

¹ These names are fictitious.

² *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 321.

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at her happiest in teaching large groups, the following testimony from a member of one of those classes shows how successfully she overcame the handicap of numbers:

"She seemed to admit her students into that inner circle of understanding and confidence to which she admitted personal friends. Although I was so shy and so entirely inexperienced in social work and so tremendously impressed by Miss Richmond's ability and experience, I never felt overawed by her in the classroom. I thought she was particularly successful in drawing out the students and making them feel that their contributions were worthy of consideration.

"Miss Richmond had so much of the zeal and devotion of the pioneer; I felt very strongly the inspiration of her attitude toward her profession (coming as I did from teaching into a different field). There could be no question but that it was her absorbing interest, but with it there was also a background of broad culture, wide reading, and contacts with other fields of work from which she drew for the enrichment of her own specialty.

"In the presentation of her material I was impressed by the very careful preparation which she had made, her scientific attitude in the collection of social data, her careful analysis and the logic of her conclusions. It was all presented in such a delightfully interesting manner, with such a revelation always of her own personality, that I cannot remember that there was ever a dull moment in the classroom. I still recall the absorption of those morning hours and the let-down feeling which I had at the close of the class period."

In 1914, Miss Richmond was invited to give the Kennedy Lectures, an endowed course delivered each year by some eminent scholar at the New York School of Philanthropy. She used for this course, which she called "First Steps in Social Case Work," some of the material she was already preparing for Social Diagnosis. So unexpectedly popular did these lectures prove to be that they had to be repeated twice, all three audiences being made up chiefly of social workers.

The educational enterprise nearest her heart was, however, without doubt the Charity Organization Institute, which she conducted annually as a department enterprise from 1910 to 1922 inclusive. At these institutes, practicing case workers in the charity organization field were invited to spend one month, usually in the early summer, at the Russell Sage Foundation, discussing and studying their common problems. They worked by the seminar and the committee method, and were of real assistance in working

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over and criticizing material which the Department was assembling in its various studies. They also carried on independent projects of their own. Many of the Institute committees produced reports sufficiently valuable to be printed and circulated to the societies. The value of this experience to the individual members of the Institute has been attested numberless times,¹ and a sort of informal alumni organization is still maintained among them. During the years that they met with Miss Richmond 262 social workers were given the opportunity to attend.²

In 1915, a similar though much shorter conference for a more experienced group of case workers was begun by Miss Richmond, and under the name of the Supervisors' Conference, became an annual affair. Case supervisors and assistant general secretaries from a dozen of the larger districted societies met in the Department for three days in the autumn, and discussed a list of questions and problems submitted by them in advance. By these means, Miss Richmond felt that she was able to keep in touch with both the older and the younger groups of practicing case workers, and with the developments going on in the field.

In the foregoing paragraphs, emphasis has been laid on what Miss Richmond, as a teacher was able to give to her students. It should not be forgotten, however, that the current flowed in both directions, and that she got the greatest stimulation and happiness at this period out of her contact with young people in her classes and institutes. Many of the relationships thus formed ripened into close friendships in the later years; but the group contacts themselves were a delight to her, especially if she found among those present one who differed with her and was not afraid to express the difference. Among her students, it was not the conforming mind which held her interest; it was the rebels who charmed her. Writing to a friend in 1916, she says:

The open door, the open mind, the willingness to think things through all over again no matter how many times—these, I suppose, are the things that keep organizations as well as people young.

The problem of maintaining personal and professional contacts

¹ *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, pp. 348-350.

² An Institute of Family Social Work, doing a similar kind of work, has been conducted since 1925 by the Family Welfare Association of America.

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was nevertheless a major one with Miss Richmond during the New York years. The change from Baltimore to Philadelphia had been accompanied by some loneliness and early misunderstandings, but these were only temporary, and friends and comrades were quickly found. In exchanging Philadelphia for New York, she was also leaving the active career of an administrator, whose daily life brought her in contact with people and situations, for the "academic shades," where contact was naturally to be had with a much smaller group. In a personal letter of this period, she says:

To one used to the heavy hand between her shoulders that is always there in a C. O. S. office, this place seems a singularly lonely one at times. We are not straight research and study on the one hand, nor are we busy practitioners on the other. But we have been useful in a quiet way, I think.

Some first hand contact with the practice of case work came, however, through Miss Richmond's service on several committees of the New York Charity Organization Society. On coming to the city she at once joined the Gramercy District Committee, and later served as its secretary and then as its chairman, until, because of ill health, she withdrew from active membership in 1924. She was also a member for fifteen years of the Society's central committee on district work.

Accustomed to the more leisurely ways and simpler living of smaller cities, the physical proportions of New York daunted her. One of Miss Richmond's amiable human weaknesses, considering her spiritual courage, was a reluctance to attempt journeys alone, and an inability to cope with the practical details of traveling about. She was peculiarly dependent upon friends for many of the small practicalities of life; and here she was set down in a roaring city of strangers! Her health, while still sufficient for her daily needs, was not robust, and a desire to protect herself from the inordinate demands of executive work had played some part in her decision to come to New York. She was able to attend concerts and an occasional play, and week-ends in Philadelphia were not infrequent. The National Arts Club and the Cosmopolitan Club, both of which she joined, became the means to pleasant contacts. But it was the newspaper in New York that became her steady companion after hours. Her interest in contemporary

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events was always keen, and although she claimed that she read the paper so thoroughly as a professional duty, no one could doubt that it was a duty congenial to her temperament.

With a Philadelphia friend, she bought and reconstructed a summer cottage in the Catskills which they named *Lelberth*—the “constant hearth”; and every detail of its planning and rebuilding delighted her. She spent the summer months there, working and resting by turns, and entertaining a succession of friends for short visits. On its porch, with the view up the valley and with the hills closing in fold upon fold, a great part of *Social Diagnosis* was written. In the end, however, she was forced to the decision that the climate of that particular region did not agree with her because of her extreme susceptibility to bronchitis, so that pleasant refuge was given up.

When she was a young girl a friend had given her a few lessons in piano playing. Toward the end of her years of exacting work on *Social Diagnosis*, when she was well past fifty, she surprised her friends by getting a piano and beginning to take lessons again. She explained that as her work tied her down so closely, and as she was unable to go out a great deal in the evening, she felt the need of something to help her relax. She persevered until she was able to perform simple selections, and would occasionally play for those with whom she was on intimate terms.

It may be interesting to study how Miss Richmond planned her working time. The following estimate of the division between various duties is from a pencil memorandum, and is, of course, an estimate only. It is not dated, but evidently applies to the year 1910, before the launching of the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity.

DIRECTOR'S DIVISION OF TIME

Dividing the work of the year into elevenths to correspond with the eleven working months of the year.

Teaching in Schools

Elevenths

Two weeks in Chicago; one week in Boston; twice a week in N. Y. School for three months, marking three sets of examination papers, interviewing students, preparation for classes, attendance at N. Y. School committee meetings, and so forth.

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Charity Organization Institute	Elevenths
Preparing curriculum, passing on applicants, daily attendance at conferences, two weeks of leading conferences, daily work with one group of students; preparation for the above, and so forth.	1
Editorial Work on	
San Francisco book, ¹ book on Hospital Social Service, ² the studies of the Department (Widows with Children and the Confidential Exchange), the monthly C. O. Bulletin; the smaller pamphlets of the Department (Series B); Directory of C. O. Societies, Transportation Decisions, and so forth.	1½
Daily Correspondence	
Courses of reading, what is being done elsewhere, problems of internal organization, problems of treatment, transportation code, advice about entering social work, about filling positions, relation to other movements, miscellaneous.	1
Office Interviews	
Visitors to office on the same topics as correspondence.	1½
Miscellaneous	
Interrelations luncheons and other work growing out of them, administration of the Department's internal organization, annual report, lectures outside schools, week at National Conference, Clinton District, visits to societies for special purposes other than preparation of book.	1½
Preparation of Book ³	
Including study of case records; statistical inquiries; visits to specialists; study of literature; visits to societies in other cities; conferences in New York.	2½

As a general secretary, Miss Richmond had experienced two major industrial depressions, those of 1893 and of 1907-1908. With the outbreak of the World War, it became evident that the winter of 1914-1915 would throw a heavy burden of unemployment on the charity organization societies of the country. The resources of the Department were immediately made available to help them through the impending crisis. A Special Number on the Coming

¹ San Francisco Relief Survey, Russell Sage Foundation, 1913.

² Social Work in Hospitals, Russell Sage Foundation, 1913.

³ Social Diagnosis, Russell Sage Foundation, 1917.

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Winter of the Charity Organization Bulletin was issued in November, which was full of common sense suggestions distilled from the experiences of other panic years. In the early fall, Miss Richmond called a two-day conference of executives of 17 of the leading societies in the field, to plan how they might best help the situation in their respective cities. The Department's annual report says:

There is no doubt that the benefit to the secretaries in clearing their vision and strengthening their courage was great, and that the conclusions reached and the plans agreed upon were of inestimable value to the country at large in steadying popular opinion, in lessening the number and size of hysterical and harmful efforts to deal with the trouble merely through an increase in material relief, and in persuading municipal governments and individual employers to increase legitimate opportunities for employment.

During the winter, the Department managed a special exchange of reports on the unemployment situation among the societies. News of plans and devices which had been found useful was thus speedily made available. In the local situation in New York City, Miss Richmond was consulted in the study of unemployment being made under the direction of Mayor John Purroy Mitchel.¹ She later served as Chairman of Civilian Relief for the Council of Women's Organizations of New York City, and in that capacity, sought to bring about joint thinking and planning in advance for times of industrial depression. At a later period, Miss Richmond returned to this subject, as will be shown in the following section.

The outstanding achievement of this first period of Miss Richmond's service with the Foundation was, of course, the publication of *Social Diagnosis*. The concept of this book had been in her mind since the Baltimore days; and she had begun gathering material and had even drafted a few chapters of a book on *Social Work in Families* as early as 1902. The first public mention she made of the project was at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911 (see *Of the Art of Beginning in Social Work*, page 309), but the previous September, in addressing an invited gathering of social workers in Boston, she had said:

¹ Published under the title *How to Meet Hard Times*, by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, New York, January, 1917.

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This summer, for the first time in a number of years, I went away from the city with the deliberate intention of doing some work quietly in the country. I took my secretary, my typewriter, books, and documents, and sat down and thought. I know that many social workers will envy me that I actually sat down and thought! I tried to think hard on the subject of what information we had to give to the younger workers in the United States about the first step in treating an individual or family in any way whatsoever that was supposed to lead to social betterment. And I decided that if the Charity Organization Societies ever had any claim to have invented investigation, by the statute of limitations the patent had expired, and that the method should be thrown open to the country. . . . I find a tendency to give more time to training workers for research work than to training workers for individual treatment. I wonder if the reason is that there are a great many more books on research than there are on making the preliminary inquiry that should lead up to effective and intelligent treatment.

In her departmental report for 1910, she had described her plan more precisely as "a study of the basis of fact necessary for any social work which involves differentiation of treatment." The title was to be *A Basis for Individual Treatment in Social Work*.

In collecting the necessary information, she immediately sought the help of case workers in many fields in filling out the schedules she had devised. Fifty-seven agencies sent her reports during 1911 as to the sources consulted in their inquiries into the circumstances of families whom they were seeking to aid; and by the following year, she had two special investigators in the field following up the information.¹ By the end of that year, she estimated that three-quarters of the material for her volume was in hand, and by 1913, that it was half-written. She now planned to call the book *First Steps in Treatment*.

Meanwhile, however, her concept of what the volume should contain was changing and enlarging. At first, she had intended to collect and collate examples of the best practices of social case workers, and make them available to the whole profession. Later she saw that a study of individual treatment of individual disorders might have uses outside the field of social work; and still later, that many fields of experience beyond that of social work should be

¹ For a fuller account of the methods used in preparing the book, see "The Preparation of Social Diagnosis" by Elizabeth R. Day, one of the field investigators. In *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 345.

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drawn upon for material. This necessitated constant revision and amplification of the plan, so that another four years was to pass before the book was in print. The relation between the historian's point of view and that of the social case worker was called to her attention by a social worker who was a student of history. "When I began to plan for a book," she wrote to a friend, ". . . I looked up Shotwell's article on History in the new Britannica. There I found a reference to Langlois¹ and sent to England for the English translation. It was a revelation to me, ignoramus that I was, and many of my plans were revised after reading it." Another suggestion carefully considered was the importance of logic as well as history. During the course of her studies in these subjects, Miss Lucy Salmon, professor of history in Vassar College, was consulted, and made valuable comments on the material submitted to her.

To history and logic was added jurisprudence. Miss Richmond, in her reading for background, had at first leaned heavily on psychology and the emerging science of psychiatry. Happening upon Gross's *Criminal Psychology*,² however, and finding there much of value on eliciting and evaluating evidence, she was led to a study of literature of evidence in the field of law, and eventually, about 1915, to correspondence with Dean J. H. Wigmore of Northwestern University. He was exceedingly generous with time and advice on the development of that part of the manuscript dealing with the general subject of evidence.

Background and philosophy were, however, only a part of what went into the book; and a solid basis of actual practice in social work had to be assembled as well. All that had come into the Department in the way of case histories was levied upon, and much illustrative material collected besides by the field workers. Institute groups were also pressed into service, to help develop the questionnaires in Part III. It was not until 1916 that the plan of the volume was completed, and its present title, *Social Diagnosis*, decided upon. It was placed on sale May 1, 1917. Later in the year Miss Richmond wrote:

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*. Translated by G. G. Berry. Duckworth and Co., London, 1898.

² Gross, Hans, J.U.D., *Criminal Psychology: A Manual for Judges, Practitioners, and Students*. Translated from the German by Horace M. Kallen. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1911.

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It seemed to the author that there could not have been a more inopportune time for its publication. The United States had just gone to war, and everyone was more than preoccupied with the tasks confronting the nation. As an index of the growing interest in social case work, therefore, it is significant that a second printing of the book had to be ordered in less than a month after the first edition of 1,500 copies was issued, and that still another printing was necessary within five months. Perhaps the most significant thing of all, however, is the sale that the book has been having, and the comment with regard to it, in fields quite apart from social work. . . . It would add to the interest of social case work if it could be demonstrated that, in this branch of social work as in so many others, we were working out principles and methods that were going to have, in time, a much wider application.

It speedily became apparent that in *Social Diagnosis* a classic volume on professional technique had at last appeared. "This book closes one epoch entirely, and carries us a long way into the next one!" a colleague wrote to Miss Richmond. But to her, it seemed only a beginning. Even in the early stages of its preparation she had written:

The task will need to be done again almost immediately. Until we have many volumes of case histories carefully edited, we are working in the dark. But a beginning must be made somewhere, and such a volume as the one here proposed might focus criticism and discussion, at least, and help the students in our schools for social workers to master more easily the rudiments of the current practice in clinical investigation.¹

Certain it is that no book pertaining to social work has commanded the respect of other professions as has *Social Diagnosis*. Its cumulative sales have been over 18,000, and it is today the standard textbook on social investigation.

¹ Day, Elizabeth R., "The Preparation of *Social Diagnosis*." In *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 346.

THE INTERRELATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

This paper, given at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1910, recaptures and enlarges the theme of *The Retail Method of Reform*, page 214. Other variations are to be found in *The Social Case Worker in a Changing World*, page 374, in *Possibilities of the Art of Helping*, page 584, and in a brief and widely quoted passage in *The Concern of the Community with Marriage*, page 602, the last public address given by Miss Richmond, at Buffalo, October, 1927.

AT THE suggestion of a group of field workers in a number of national organizations for social betterment, I undertook this spring to prepare a list of such national movements. The list is not complete, though it has been printed and will be distributed at the door after this meeting. Even in its present incomplete form it shows some things that ought to interest those who have been attending these National Conferences. It shows, for instance, that more social movements, national in scope, have been organized during the last ten years than the sum of all the movements organized before that date and still surviving. It shows, as might have been expected, that, of the 39 separate national organizations launched since 1900, those that have to do with public health (eight in all) head the list. The interests of children come next with seven agencies, and the organization of the Christian Church for social service gives us seven more, then comes "Social Service in General" with five, the protection of the industrial worker with four, education with three, prison reform and city problems with two each, and the protection of the immigrant with one.

Of the five national movements invited to take part in this evening's meeting, only one (the National Consumers' League) was in existence in the year 1900. It was the pioneer in a new development which we can understand better if we turn back for a moment to examine the order in which the earlier movements emerged.

The oldest organization on the list is an association of alienists, founded in 1844. Between this date and 1870 we have only the

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American Medical Association, the National Education Association, and the Superior Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. But the decade beginning with 1870 was a remarkable one, for it saw organized, in the order named, the American Prison Association, the Association of Instructors of the Blind, the Public Health Association, this National Conference of Charities and Correction, the American Purity Alliance, the National W. C. T. U., the American Academy of Medicine, the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded, and the International Y. M. C. A. Thus, it will be seen that in this one decade our interest in the criminal, the insane, the feeble-minded, the licentious, the drunken, and the destitute assumed national proportions, and we have besides the first awakening of concern as to public sanitation and the use of leisure by boys and young men.

There is a rhythm in the long, slow process of our weaning from selfishness. At least, my list shows a distinct drop in the '80's, due also, perhaps, to the fact that this was a period of intense local activity, a period of the beginnings of many women's clubs, charity organization societies, children's charities, and so forth, none of them old enough to have found national expression within the decade. Social settlements had their beginning in 1890, and the new discoveries of the '90's, nationally speaking, were cities, immigrants, and laborers. This was the decade of the National Municipal League, of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and of the Immigration Restriction League. It also brought us, in the National Consumers' League, the very first of a series of new movements which are all characterized by their emphasis upon the word prevention—the prevention, that is, of the preventable causes of poverty. So inspiring a watch-word has this become that at least 25 of the 39 national associations organized since 1900 have adopted it as their own. For their more speedy extermination, the evils of our modern life are being assailed one by one. We are passing at the moment through a period of social analysis and social specialization.

All of which leads up to the practical question of the relation of these national developments and new organizations to the daily tasks of those of us who are striving, by a retail method, to rehabilitate families and to rehabilitate neighborhoods. Where, if

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anywhere do *we* come in? Are we more necessary than ever, or are we soon to be superseded? Is our task limited, or is it broadened and dignified, by these new developments? In how far have they modified our methods and our aims already and what further are they going to do to us in the immediate future? I ask these questions not with the purpose of attempting to answer all of them, but to invite frank and sincere valuations of our work from the speakers who are to follow.

Our obligation to the typical social movements represented here tonight is already great. When I recall my share in the deliberations of the district committees of other days, which strove in perfect good faith to find work for the children of widows and of disabled fathers; when I recall, in our strenuous efforts to make applicants self-supporting, the willingness with which we found underpaid work at home for the mother of the family; when I remember the hopelessness of our home care of the consumptive, the blindness with which we ignored the re-creative value of recreation, and the fatalism with which we accepted bad housing conditions as part of the natural order, it does not seem too much to say that the case work of all but the least progressive of our charity organization societies has been made over by the national organizations represented on this platform tonight and by their forerunners. It is true that in some instances they owe their very existence to the settlements and to the charities which have lived closest to and cared most for intensive work with families and neighbors, but they have repaid the debt a hundred-fold.

Let us consider for a moment not only what they have already done, but what they can still further do for those who are responsible for carrying forward what may be called the retail processes of social reform. If consciously and deliberately we could study our own case work and neighborhood work *at the point of intersection* with each of these national movements—not merely with the five represented here, but with all the others—and then consciously and deliberately set to work to improve the endeavors of our own agencies at that point or those points, I believe that we should discover a means of strengthening the whole fabric of social reform and, incidentally, of developing our own work. To illustrate: When a charity organization society assumes new burdens

in order to meet all possible hardships resulting from the strict enforcement of a new child labor law, invariably it aids every part of its own proper work even more than it helps the child labor cause. Its workers learn to deal more thoroughly with the whole group of families having widows or disabled fathers as their heads; its directors acquire a new courage and a clearer idea of the society's relations to industrial and educational problems; and the community itself is more willing to turn to the society for guidance, to give it more adequate support in the next forward step.

Or to take tuberculosis work as an illustration: When a relief agency is willing to meet the tuberculosis nurses more than half way in planning aid that will really cure the disease, it gains a kind of experience that reacts favorably upon its relief program in all other cases of physical handicap.

Sometimes—we have to acknowledge it—the specialists wear blinders. A tuberculosis specialist who was remonstrated with for permitting families to send their children during school hours to a milk station under his control, excused himself on the ground that children from such germ-laden homes were far better off out of school. Obviously here was one whose frame of mind was calculated to alienate the interest of educators in all his health policies, some of which were admirable. He missed also that better and saner view of his own work which comes from a willingness to study the work of others with sympathy.

Your section on Families and Neighborhoods has asked these representatives of national movements, to whom, as I have indicated, we are already under such a heavy debt, to tell us tonight just what we of the settlements and other neighborhood activities and we of the charity organization societies and other agencies dealing with families can do for them. And, as turn about is fair play, I am going to venture to suggest to them one or two things that they can do for us.

In the first place, they can do the same thing that I have proposed to ourselves (no doubt they have done it already, but they can do it even more consciously and deliberately); they can study their own work at the point of intersection with our work and strengthen it just there. As I have hinted, specialization has its dangers. In medicine, for instance, we could not possibly get on

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without the specialist, but we are sometimes left a little breathless in the effort to get on *with* him. It used to be said of a distinguished throat doctor in my native town that he had treated throats so long that he was beginning to *look* like a larynx.

It is only to be expected, perhaps, that a new worker in a new movement embodying a newly discovered principle of social action should be impatient of the adjustments necessary with older but equally true principles. But sometimes the mood survives the newness, and "after me the deluge" becomes, by a strange meeting of extremes, a social service motto. The national organizations on this platform are not guilty—they are already well broken in—but the habit of mind which sets up the school lunch, or the model *crèche*, or the day camp, or the out-department medical service as ends in themselves, is not unknown among us. Years ago a woman of my acquaintance became a director of a girls' reformatory. There were many things that needed changing, for it had been the ambition of the well intentioned gentlemen of frugal mind who managed the institution to make it self-sustaining from the work of the inmates. One day, when his patience had been tried too far by the reforming woman, one of these gentlemen exclaimed, "Really, Mrs. Blank, it seems as though you cared nothing for this *institution*; you care for nothing but the girls." I like to link this sentence with one that I found in an annual report a few years ago which read as follows: "A few lines written to a senator or representative, or some other small bit of work well placed, may, through deciding the fate of an important piece of legislation, have more effect upon the welfare of one's fellow citizens than many hours or even months devoted to social work of a more detailed and personal but less constructive sort."

The old man who adored his girls' reformatory and the young man who loved his own legislative program were both specialists gone wrong. Just as if it were necessary to drop all interest in larger programs in order to do the next little thing well; just as if, human nature being what it is, we were not ten times as likely to write the letters and bombard the legislature after some retail task had brought us into personal contact with bad living conditions and had given us a sense of fellowship with those who must endure them!

This brings me to my second plea; namely, that the rehabilitation of families and of neighborhoods should be recognized, if not as specialties themselves, then at least as very necessary and important branches of the profession of social service. They say that the old family doctor (to borrow another simile from medicine) is being replaced by a new type of general practitioner, who is a good all-round diagnostician and a specialist in linking together specialties. We need some such linking together badly in the field of social reform, and a good share of it, I believe, is going to fall to those general practitioners who are residents in the settlements and district workers in charity organization societies. In their quite different ways they have a very important task to perform. The adapting of these large measures to the needs of the Jones family and to the needs of the newer importations whose names are more complicated than Jones; the realization of the neighborhood point of view and of the neighborhood difficulties which stand in the way of an immediate acceptance of our sanitary and other programs—these are a very important part of the process of assimilation, a very important part of the prevention which really prevents. This part of social work might almost be called a handicraft—all of the practical sciences have their handicraft side and all of the national movements can help our work by calling attention to this side often, by illustrating it copiously for the benefit of the wholesalers affiliated with their various reforms.

My third and last plea is for a linking together of specialties, not only in their relation to the handicraft workers in families and neighborhoods, but in their relation to one another. Throughout the whole field of social reform we need, as it seems to me, not organic union in any sense, but an "exchange of insights," which, correcting and supplementing one another may not only enlarge our conception of the whole, but may greatly enrich social work in all its parts by the co-operative working out of effective and significant details. In other words, we need in addition to the social analysis which is now going forward and must continue to go forward—we need in addition to this a social synthesis.

In the old days we had to struggle hard in mid-stream against the sentimental people who had no social policy, no conception of a concrete whole, or even of a little part of the whole that could be

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described as concrete. Now, if the present trend is unchecked, we shall find ourselves again in mid-stream contending against those whose conceptions are not lacking in definiteness, indeed, but whose devotion to some one very definite means of social advance has blinded them to the main outlines of the situation.

When we of the handicraft group try to rehabilitate a family we have learned that, first, the circumstances must be understood, and that then all who are interested in their fortunes must work together on a plan co-operatively thought out to get the thing done which will put them on their feet. Could not our social movements agree in time to deal with the needs of whole communities in this way? Could they not agree to make a social diagnosis of a city or town and then decide together upon the next thing that is most needed to be done in that particular place? We have not compared notes, but when we do, shall we not find that there is a logical order of social development; that a playground campaign, for instance, must seek new allies in a town where most of the children work in the mill all day; that a consumers' league will die in a community which still places all its dependent girls in the almshouse; that a city beautiful movement cannot make up for the absence of drains, and cannot hide the ugly facts of overcrowding? Not only is there a logical order of social development, but many organizations die because they were born out of due season. Overstimulation of any particular social activity by a campaign of publicity which is not carefully followed by personal field work and by a series of delicate adjustments to local needs, increases this death rate. These separate social movements should, as time goes on and our social work becomes even more highly specialized than it is now, build up a social synthesis, a technique of interrelations, involving more careful preparation of the ground for both our legislative and our field operations, and then a generous making way for one another, a hearty lending a hand to one another for the sake of the harvest.

LESSONS LEARNED IN BALTIMORE

(Privately Printed)

An address delivered at Johns Hopkins University, on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Baltimore Federated Charities, November 22, 1910. It was printed in the Charity Organization Bulletin, February, 1911.

I AM setting out tonight without any sailing orders from your general secretary, who has shown more self-control than I should have shown in like case, for he has not even asked me what I was going to talk about. It is more than ten years since I left Baltimore, and in coming back after this long absence I have felt impelled to give you—not one of the various addresses that I have prepared for such occasions, nor yet any of that timely advice which is liable to be so ill-timed, when it comes from one who is unfamiliar with all the details of your local situation—I have felt moved instead to make a simple statement concerning some of the lessons that I learned in Baltimore during my nine years as secretary here.

In attempting to make this public acknowledgment I shall dwell more especially upon those lessons that were taught me by leaders who are no longer living. This is difficult for me and difficult for you. We never agree as to the personal qualities or the distinctive services of our friends; a richly endowed personality means such different things to different people. In many ways you knew those of whom I speak far better than I did; I can merely say what I knew from my own experience, and even of that I can *say* only a very small part.

Let me speak first of one to whom my own debt was the greatest, of Mr. John Glenn. Coming as a volunteer into organized charity work in middle life, he was able to say of it, five or six years later, that he had learned more from it in that time than from all the other experiences of his life put together. This was the testimony of a man of affairs, of one with varied interests and wide culture, who kept well abreast of contemporary literature in three languages.

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We get out of social work what we bring into it, and Mr. Glenn brought to a socially unawakened Baltimore his unquenchable courage and hopefulness, his faith in men and ideas, his imaginative insight—an insight which we now know, in the light of later developments, to have been prophetic.

To his gift of prophecy was added the gift of humor. Sometimes he was impulsively indignant with those who could not see unrealized possibilities (for our work was really very crude and uneven in those days), but more often his sense of humor saved the day. Once, I remember, when I was bewailing my inability to make my meaning clear to a certain citizen, Mr. Glenn said with a gentle smile, "Well, when a man is always thinking of himself, sooner or later there will come a time when you and he will not be thinking of the same thing."

RELINQUISH POWER GLADLY

Wit and humor, intellectual curiosity and quick sympathies, tenacity and enthusiasm—these were qualities which tied people to him and made him a born leader. You know that I do not exaggerate when I say that he had the gift of making second-rate people do first-rate things. Some of us meant to be historians, some doctors, some lawyers, some teachers, but all of us he turned into social workers. Few who came under that influence could resist it or wished to, and yet, with all his power of domination, he had learned somewhere the lesson that strong men so rarely learn—he had learned to relinquish power gladly.

This is not by any means the only lesson that Mr. Glenn taught me, but it is the only one upon which I can dwell tonight. It is a pitiful thing to see strong, capable men who have done a good work in their day, still clinging to power and to the signs and trappings of power as they grow older. Here was one who was wise enough to relinquish; to choose carefully from among the younger men and women in the community those who were capable of bearing burdens, to judge them generously, to help them do by believing that they could do, to give them first inspiring leadership and then a chance to lead in turn. How much good work is crippled by good men who cannot see the importance of this last step! What pleasure they miss that was Mr. Glenn's, in seeing his "boys and girls,"

as he used to call them, struggle up into positions of difficulty and honorable achievement. I have always known that it was not in me to imitate him, for he was inimitable, but, at least, I was able to say to Philadelphia last year, when I left the devoted people who are carrying the social work of that city, that I had given bond for the future of their community in leaving its Society for Organizing Charity in charge of a president still in his thirties and of a general secretary even younger.

During the earlier years of our struggling movement, Mr. Glenn, Rev. Edward Lawrence, and I used to make long evening journeys to church and other meetings in remote neighborhoods, to spread the good news of organized charity. Mr. Glenn used to say of my own modest contribution, "I always *did* like that speech." One night I tried to say something different, and was chidden by him gently; as a matter of fact, the experiment had been far from successful.

SEE THAT YOUR SYMPATHY STRENGTHENS

The third member of our group, Mr. Lawrence, had come to Baltimore only a little while before. When he was with us, charity organization (*character* organization, as he liked to call it) seemed the absorbing interest of his life, but he had many others. He was a fine Greek scholar, a theologian, an authority on foreign missions, and a close student of social conditions at home. Not long after our two winters of campaigning, he had anticipated and prepared the way for your Baltimore settlement work by going to live in Winan's Row. He was a quiet man with a kindling eye, and a great capacity for silent sympathy and helpfulness. When, in his prime, he was snatched away from us after only one or two days' illness, a fellow-clergyman said of him at the funeral a thing that I have never forgotten. He said, "Most people's sympathy makes you feel weak, but Mr. Lawrence's sympathy always made you feel strong." It had indeed that rare quality, and it was this that some of us resolved then and there, with renewed earnestness, to put into the work which Mr. Lawrence had loved. If anywhere in our districts we were helping people in such an ineffectual way that our help was making them more helpless, then we must strain every nerve to bring a new spirit, a new resourcefulness, to bear at that

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point, in order that—whether by gifts of material things or by gifts of service—they might struggle up to their own feet and walk alone. You have been hearing tonight of the wonderful way in which the Poles of Buffalo are educating their children, building their homes and churches, and bearing their share of the civic burden. Such facts as these always warm the heart of the true charity organizationist, who wishes to help in all brotherly kindness, but longs, at one and the same time, in Mr. Lawrence's own words, to "release energy." We made that resolve to better our district work and made it again many times. It would have been easy enough to criticize things as they were, but to go in and *assume responsibility* for things as they were and then make them better was a very different thing. The world over, we social workers should be giving the sympathy that makes people feel strong, and we ourselves need that sympathy in turn, instead of the more or less perfunctory tribute of the casual well-wisher.

The clergyman who paid the tribute to Mr. Lawrence from which I have just quoted was Maltbie Babcock. Dr. Babcock had not been even a well-wisher toward organized charity at first. It had seemed to his imaginative outlook upon life a rather grey and colorless program, which emphasized unduly one set of virtues. His was a large and generous nature, however, and it gave him genuine pleasure to change his mind, and to say that he had changed it, upon better acquaintance. A few of the younger women of his congregation had become friendly visitors to individual families in the Northwestern District. He was a real pastor, who knew the minds and hearts of his flock. No sooner did he realize what this new work meant to some of his people in enlarged opportunities for helpfulness and in deepened personal experience than down he came to my office to say so, to make me feel his appreciation, and to offer to appeal for more volunteers from his church. He sent us 60 in one year's time.

Mark the next step. This larger group consulted him and told him their troubles—as who did not? Again he visited my office to talk over the misery obviously caused in many cases applying to our society by the negotiation of loans on chattels at ruinous rates. Then followed correspondence with Boston and the loan company organized there by Robert Treat Paine; the preparation on my

part of the details of 15 or 20 actual cases; a meeting of the business men of Brown Memorial Church called by Dr. Babcock after church one Sunday, at which these cases were read; the appeal to them to use their brains to save money for others as well as to make it for themselves; and then a business company, organized outside the church but with philanthropic motives, to conduct a loan business equitably. You know the rest. New laws regulating interest on loans have been passed; Dr. Babcock has left us, but the work goes on; and, under Baltimore's leadership, a National Remedial Loan Association was launched only two years ago.

This use of district work and of case work as a starting point for far-reaching reforms is still only in its infancy, I believe. There is a great future before this social method, the method, that is, of working steadily, surely, with every step secured, from the small to the large, from the individual to the general; but when Dr. Babcock used it, it was a method far less understood than now.

WELCOME THE CHURCH TO ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE

This same idea he applied to his own work of the Christian ministry in a way that I am surprised to find ignored, for the most part, in the many published memorials of him; for it was Dr. Babcock's unique contribution to a subject now agitating every branch of the Christian church. I refer to the subject of the relation of the church to social service. Councils have been held, commissions formed, books by the hundreds written to elucidate this question, but characteristically enough Dr. Babcock elucidated it by doing rather than by formulating.

He did say to me one night, however, that it was his fixed policy to keep off of philanthropic boards and committees, that he had his own work to do, which was the task of making better Christians of his people. He believed that this could be done best by teaching them to serve unselfishly all the interests of the city; and wherever a Baltimore organization could use people *well* for a better Baltimore, there he wanted some of his people to be. You know how he succeeded. It was never a question of building up a set of institutions and agencies to which Brown Memorial could "point with pride," but the whole city became Brown Memorial's workshop for the development of the higher life through service. Wherever

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there was difficult and necessary work to be done for the sick, for prisoners, for the needy, for the city's cleansing, there Brown Memorial men and women were, working steadily, cheerfully, doing "church work," and there they are to this day. What a tribute to the man that he was, is this better side of your city's life, and what a tribute to the Master that he served! When will the Christian Church rise to this its great opportunity, and discourage the organization of small separate charitable activities within each individual church, many of them quite futile, some worse than futile?

MASTER THE DETAILS OF YOUR TASK

There are others among the living and the dead of whom I should like to speak, but I must content myself with the mention of one more name. I know how great the debt of the Federated Charities was to Dr. Shippen in the later years of his life, but I speak of an earlier time, when he, who always shrank from leadership, was still a private, working hard at whatever task was most neglected, and saying little. Whatever he had to say was always said privately and after (you felt) a good deal of inward questioning; but one word of protest, the word of a friend, I have often had occasion to recall since. "Education," he said one day, "cannot take the place of organization." In some cities we are in danger of forgetting this. The education of our constituencies and of the whole community in social ideas has seemed so important, the methods of publicity necessary to achieve this have brought such obvious returns in better legislation and a better public sentiment, that we have often been in danger of dropping and leaving behind our own proper burden in order to readjust the world's saddle-bags. The one thing that we must give a good account of is our own work. In the ultimate analysis, a Federated Charities, for instance, will be measured by what happens to the people who apply to it. There's a lot of education for everybody in sticking to your last and doing your own task well. I realize that this might be misapplied, but Dr. Shippen knew that my own temptations were all in the other direction; that the larger aspects and implications of social work interested me deeply, and that here was a truth that I was in danger of overlooking.

Neither he nor I then dreamed of the campaigns of publicity, of

the elaborate philanthropic advertising since in vogue, but he would have felt the supreme importance of "making good," of keeping our individual contacts with the poor up to the highest standard of helpfulness. On the whole, the man with his heart in his work, who trusts that through its faithful performance will come larger opportunities later, is a more dignified figure than the man with his ear to the ground, who tries to find out what the public wishes and approves.

Four ideas, then, I have named, though I might have named many more, as the contributions of my leaders here in Baltimore toward my education for my chosen task:

1. To keep closely in touch with the younger generation, giving them the enthusiastic leadership which they crave, and welcoming them to leadership in turn.
2. To grasp firmly the fundamental and abiding distinction between the sympathy which weakens and that which makes strong.
3. To welcome the Church to its rightful place as the developer of *motive force* for the social advance.
4. To master, at whatever sacrifice, the details of one's own task.

THE FURTHER LESSON OF LOYALTY

Behind these lessons and behind the men who taught them stands another and a greater idea. May I tax your patience yet a little longer while I try to explain it? On the opening day of the University in which we are met tonight there came to its first gathering of students and professors a young Californian named Royce, who found here, he tells us, a dawn wherein "'twas bliss to be alive." Here, in our native town and under the inspiring leadership of one who was also *our* leader, he too was taught lessons that made him eager to be "a doer of the Word, and not a hearer only." It is one of the fitting fruits of that teaching and that desire that Professor Royce should have published two years ago a remarkable book on *The Philosophy of Loyalty*.

In his preliminary definition of loyalty, he describes it as the "willing and practical and thoroughgoing devotion of a person to a cause." There are causes good and bad, but a cause worthy of loyalty is one beyond one's private pleasure and interest, is one which vitally concerns the welfare of many. Moreover, it binds us

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to our fellows in a common service, and unifies the life of each, giving to the loyal soul stability, freedom, significance. In reading Royce's glowing words I seemed to gain a deeper insight into the minds and hearts of these friends of other days of whom I have tried to speak to you. All four were loyal men in the highest and best meaning of loyalty—loyal under discouragements and handicaps of which I do not speak because they themselves had learned to ignore them.

Note, too, that these friends of ours were intensely loyal to ideals and causes apparently diverse, but tending more and more as life developed to converge. This convergence illustrates one of the most beautiful of Royce's theses. He tells us that the highest loyalty of all is *loyalty to loyalty itself*, and that the greatest causes are most loyally served when we respect loyalty in others and seek earnestly universal loyalty. In my effort to state it briefly I am spoiling this thought, but, as I have said, it was illustrated in the lives of these leaders of ours, each one of whom learned, through willing and practical and thoroughgoing devotion to his own task, to "annex" new loyalties, the cause of each tending to become the cause of all. Each was happily saved the indecision, the self-seeking, the dead-sea outlook of the man without a cause, and, far better than this, each had so good a cause that its service was always widening his individual horizon and enlarging his fellowship with other loyal souls. This is what Mr. Glenn meant when he said that the charity organization cause had been to him a liberal education.

Is there anyone within the sound of my voice tonight who has *no* cause of which he honestly may say that it has his willing and practical and thoroughgoing devotion? I pity that man, that woman. However smiling the skies may be at present, however full of pleasure and interest life may seem there is trouble ahead for him, for her. I would not commend to such a one, on this narrow personal ground, the great cause of all the disadvantaged in whose name we are gathered together; I would not commend this cause as a form of insurance against the inevitable disillusionments of life, because it has a far wider claim. Its rightful claims upon you are those which Royce emphasizes: First, that it so vitally concerns the welfare of many; second, that it gathers up and conserves all other loyalties.

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It has been characteristic of organized charity from the very beginning that, in serving it, one became not less but more loyal to his church of whatever creed, to his political convictions, to his city, his country, his highest ideals. In the name of all the devoted service that has made the work of this Federated Charities and its present wide influence for good possible, in the name of the rare men no longer with you who loved this society and served it loyally, I appeal to Baltimore to see that no manner of harm is permitted to come to it, that its work goes steadily forward with the support and service of every good citizen.

OF CHRISTMAS GIFTS

This appeared in the Survey, December 24, 1910. It sounds a warning note on our harsh and demoralizing way of helping the disadvantaged at Christmas time. An earlier paper on the same subject, The True Spirit of Christmas, page 112, lacked this warning.

GENIUS and a penny whistle—both are gifts. When the customer asked what the imitation bronze elephant with a rose in the tip of his trunk was *for*, the clerk replied with dignity and with unconscious humor, “That, madam, is a *gift*.” Somewhere between the heaven-sent gift of genius and the elephant and the whistle belongs too the old Saxon use of *gyft*, which meant, by a pleasant confusion of ideas, both the dowry and the marriage, and celebrated, in both uses, a relation already existing.

This brings us—not by easy stages but by express—to our real theme; to the type of gift, that is, which celebrates, and fittingly celebrates, a human relation.

If the social workers who know distress at close quarters could speak their minds out freely without danger of being misunderstood, if they could tell the bald, ungracious truth about this wholesale Christmas of ours, they would probably say that they are more saddened than cheered by it. In so far as its giving expresses insight and thoughtfulness and consideration, they love the old custom and would not willingly see it pass; but in so far as it blazons abroad and makes more obtrusively visible the *absence* of relation and thoughtfulness and consideration, as between those who give and those who receive, they cannot love it—they are silent, for the most part, but they count the days when this side of Christmas, with its exploitations of need and its ostentatious distributions, shall have passed away for another year.

Often it is their duty to take the Christmas giver where they find him and to move him on, a half-step at a time, perhaps, to some

realization of what desperate poverty really means both to the desperately poor and to the community.

The Christmas giver as they find him! He means so well. He wishes (if Anglo-Saxon) that everyone may have turkey to eat, or something equally good, on Christmas day. He pictures this meal as a family rite, partaken around the family board, unless his mind is confused by the schemes of agencies that "hire a hall" and feed at wholesale. Not one little flickering flame of desire on his part to "do good" and be helpful should the social worker extinguish. To end this dun-colored Christmas article just here, therefore, would be little short of a crime.

Extensive and aimless giving to those whose needs are little known, and expensive and equally aimless giving to those who have no needs (that money can meet), will continue in spite of anything one can say. But there is always another way open to those who have begun to feel the waste and the neglected opportunity of Christmas. This is the great family holiday of the year, and its sweetest expression is in a family life wholesomely intact and self-perpetuating. Such was the life of the little family group whence the idea of Christmas radiated centuries ago; such is or can be the life, the relation, that we celebrate today. Side by side with our wholesale, extensive, somewhat bacchanalian Christmas, may be developed quietly a Christmas of human relations and of *intensive* giving.

In so far as this second Christmas has to do with poverty and want (and it should have a great deal to do with them) it would seek to make its good-will and its recognition of existing contacts permanently helpful; it would strive to see that the recipients of holiday cheer were faring better on the days that were not feast days; it would, for instance, feel ashamed if before next December it had put forth no effort to make them better able to shape their own Christmas celebration in their own fashion; and, above all, it would endeavor in little, thoughtful ways to bring forward the fathers and mothers as the rightful "good fairies" of the Christmas drama, it would magnify the dignity and importance of parents who live in tenements and mean streets.

All this and more was done very quietly in some of the district offices of the New York Charity Organization Society last year, and

OF CHRISTMAS GIFTS

it is being tried again this year. In one of these districts, three widows with small children were pensioned for a whole year out of the Christmas money of a few donors. This meant that these mothers knew every day in the year 1910 just how much to count upon, just how to plan. It meant that a great burden of anxiety was lifted, and lifted by those who could safeguard the family welfare in other ways. For instance, some of the children were given a chance to earn their mothers' presents, and were helped to keep them as a happy little surprise. A church circle of young people, developing this idea further, organized this November a class of children from families known to the district office, and taught them how to make presents for their parents. The office is a safe storage place where the young people of the neighborhood are keeping packages that are to be brought out on Christmas Eve or Christmas morning for the older members of their families.

While widows' families received most attention, help was not limited to them. When a committee member offered to entertain one group at her own home on Christmas Eve, children whose father and mother had both drifted into careless, drunken ways were sent to her, and the parents have since been braced up by close personal work. One elderly single woman with no family had a present of a regular monthly pension.

Around the office tree six parties were held during Christmas week by twelve members of the local committee. Parents and their children came together in small neighborhood groups, and last of all the old ladies of the neighborhood had their own special party. These small parties are still talked about because they celebrated a friendly relation already established.

This was not a statistical Christmas—it made no great showing in figures. We are stupidly possessed with the idea that, in order to do a thing at all, we must do all of it at once from the very beginning. The idea of intensive giving will not grow all at once, everywhere, but it will grow. We can always begin with the next person we know who is having a hard time, taking pains to think ahead for him or for her. We can try to do things that will last; we can try to strengthen the family ties and bring out their lovelier side; we can look forward hopefully to making our help less necessary, to removing the untoward conditions that make it necessary; we

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can show our pleasure in a relation that, however slight, has within it undeveloped possibilities of sympathy and understanding.

And if, by any chance, we look about us at this Christmas season to find that we personally know only those as well off as ourselves, or better off, if our way of living has brought us to such poverty as this, then at least we can resolve that no other Christmas "shall find us then as it finds us now,"—that we will enlarge the circle of our acquaintance, if only to know the pleasure of that intensive giving which includes both knowing and caring.

THE CHEERFUL GIVER OF TRANSPORTATION

Published in the Survey, April 1, 1911, these pages describe the beginnings of the Transportation Agreement. As early as 1892, in informal discussion at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Miss Richmond had shown how the Charity Organization Society was investigating for the city of Baltimore applications for charitable transportation; and how by insisting on sending people through to their destination instead of following the current practice of giving them a ticket to the next town, the Society had actually reduced the drain upon the city treasury, as well as prevented much suffering and needless pauperization.

She continues here the history of the movement which by 1929 had brought over 900 agencies both public and private, into a league to abolish the evils of "passing on." See Appendix C.

IT IS an interesting fact, discovered long ago by that shrewd student of human nature, the beggar, that a ticket to some other part of the world where he can trouble us no more is the thing of all others that we give to the applicant for aid with the greatest cheerfulness. By a certain frailty in us that is not very difficult to understand, we are prone to look with favor upon almost any plan which involves the complete withdrawal of this our brother who troubleth us, and whose condition is indeed a thing which should make us very uncomfortable.

Enlightened views will not help us very much in this predicament. Apparently it is not enough to supply the army of social advance with a drum major and a first-class band. It learns to march decently by the ceaseless repetition of detailed exercises, of which this of which I write is a minor one, but one too much neglected.

When the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation found, some months ago, an agency in a railroad town which, out of a total relief expenditure of \$300 a year, was paying \$240 for railroad tickets to nearby towns and was asking patheti-

cally, "What else could we do?" it decided to try to help this town to find an answer. The officials of the nearby towns were returning the compliment, of course, and all were busily issuing relief in transportation to meet the demand which they themselves had created. "What else could they do?" Surely something better than this.

Plans had already been developed by a committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction for securing signatures to an agreement according to which those who gave charitable transportation at all should give it straight through to destination, and then only to those who it was found would be better off there. Transportation is a good and a necessary form of help. Under a system of temporary care pending inquiry (with a work-test for the able-bodied, if necessary), and of thorough action based on the facts, a number of cities are now using charitable transportation as an effective means of making permanent provision for some dependents, and of helping others up to independence. It is cruel to send a boy away from his home, but nothing could be kinder than to find out where his home really is, to persuade him to go there, and then send him. It is cruel to forward consumptives West and South where no care awaits them, but their transportation to sanatoriums and homes ready to receive them is, of course, the only right way of helping. It is cruel to encourage a man in search of work to become a wanderer, but there could be no better use of money than to send him where work is positively, on good evidence, assured to him. Often it is wise to send his whole family with him, when this evidence is clear.

In order, therefore, to discourage the wrong and encourage the right use of charitable transportation, the department undertook to issue the Transportation Rules and Telegraphic Code already devised, and to increase the number of signers to the agreement. These now number over 400 public and private agencies. Some of the railroad trunk lines have also adopted the rule that no charity rates shall be granted to any agency not signing the agreement.

Wherever public relief officials or the representatives of private charities are gathered together during the next year, this matter should be brought to their attention. Social workers should know how charitable transportation is granted in their own communities,

CHEERFUL GIVER OF TRANSPORTATION

and should apply for the Department's pamphlet on the subject¹ as a means of securing signers and of effecting a change for the better.

Correspondence with officials and agencies East, West, and South brings out the enormous extent of this "passing on" evil. There are 2,946 counties in the United States and about 70,000 railroad stations. In an overwhelming majority of these it is believed that "passing on" is the usual means of relief for strangers.

The following are a few illustrations of the usual practice, taken from recent letters:

Mentally Defective.—A feeble-minded woman, young and good-looking, applied to the county officials of a western state, saying that she came from Kansas. The county promptly sent her to another county, which as promptly sent her back again. Weeping and in great distress she was sent again, and again returned, this second time in the custody of the county clerk. Such contests are not unknown over the insane.

Physically Defective.—"A blind man was recently put off the train," writes a southwestern correspondent. "Neither city nor county officials would take any responsibility in the matter, and for three or four days the old man sat in the depot. No one knew what to do with the poor old fellow, until finally two hoboes came along and offered to take him away if they were given money for their fares and his. The money was given, he was intrusted to their care, and the three started for C——."

In a volume on *One Thousand Homeless Men*, by the late Mrs. Solenberger, which is soon to be published by the Russell Sage Foundation, there is the story of a blind man with a crippled wife and seven children, the oldest feeble-minded, all passed on by a chain of counties extending across three states, from Pennsylvania to Illinois. She writes also of a young deaf-mute, with an arm missing, who asked for transportation to St. Paul. "He knew no one in that city and would have no means of support upon his arrival there. For this reason we refused to send him. Instantly he changed his request to one for a ticket to a city in central Illinois; then to one in Iowa, then to one 'anywhere out West,' writing in explanation, 'I've just come from the East.' He was impatient of questions, but in addition to a few other facts we finally learned that he had been in Chicago less than three hours; nevertheless he wrote on a piece of paper: 'I must go on; I cannot stay; I have nothing to do so I travel always. I do not stay anywhere. I must go before night.'"

¹ *Passing On as a Method of Charitable Relief*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1911.

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Deserters.—One such man was being passed from place to place in the West on the claims of a forged letter from his wife, in which she told of the destruction of their home by fire. A letter to the eastern city where she lived brought out the fact of his repeated desertions. There had been no fire.

Whole Families.—Even more serious in its results is the careless charity given to wandering families in which there are small children. No decent standard of care for the children can be enforced, because the parents slip from under all supervision by moving on. One such family traveled for many months in the Southwest on the tale of having been burned out and of needing transportation to a relative in the next county. In state after state this relative was always in the next county, and court officials and kind-hearted private citizens were always making up purses in response to this appealing story.

Sometimes help is granted, not because the story is believed, but because it is not. A man, wife, and four children appeared several years ago in Grand Rapids, after extensive wanderings covering a period of eight years. A charity there wrote for their record in some of the towns in which they had received aid, with a view to discovering their real home. An overseer of the poor in Pennsylvania replied:

MY DEAR MADAM:

Your favor of Mar. 1 at hand and will say in reply that the parties you refer to stopped off in our city for a short time and worked all the charitable institutions here. They are deadbeats of the worst type. Get rid of them as soon as possible would be our advice.

Very truly yours,

Officials in three other places gave the same advice. Churches and private charities had been equally to blame, however. A long list of them had helped to make tramps of the unfortunate children in this family.

It would appear, from the foregoing, that one point at which to attack the increase of dependence is the transportation practice of our public and private relief agencies. The intelligent regulation of charitable transportation can transform it from a crutch (or even from a bludgeon, as in some of the instances here given) into a ladder.

OF THE ART OF BEGINNING IN SOCIAL WORK

This address was given at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in June, 1911. It was rewritten and expanded for the Charity Organization Bulletin for September of that year. It contains the first public allusion to the gathering of material for the study that was later to take shape as Social Diagnosis.

THERE is an art of beginning, whether we are considering our first steps in trying to find out what to do for an orphaned and destitute little child, or our method of procedure in the larger but related undertaking of trying to reduce the number of destitute orphans in the United States. Both of these social tasks demand a social investigation, though the investigation that is peculiarly my theme is that one which precedes some form of social treatment not for a large group but for an individual.

In attempting to set down a few preliminary speculations with regard to this art of beginning, I am borrowing for convenience and brevity two words that have come to have a fixed meaning in some of the other sciences, but that can make no claim to scientific accuracy in this particular connection. The science of medicine distinguishes sharply between its laboratory and its clinical investigations. We too need some such distinction. Skeat tells us that the earlier form of the word *laboratory* was *elaboratory*, thus suggesting the workshop in which things can be patiently and carefully elaborated or worked out. The words *clinic* and *clinical* have an equally interesting history; they are derived from the Greek word for *bed*, and mean not merely that method by which the teacher in the medical school introduces a group of students to the art and practice of the medical profession, but apply equally to all those forms of practice in which the *patient* rather than the *problem* occupies the center of the stage.

LABORATORY VERSUS CLINIC IN SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

But the methods of the workshop and of the bedside are always shading into one another, and the pendulum is always swinging

now toward one, now toward the other; in social work it seems to have been swinging almost violently of late. I make no attempt to settle the question of which one of these two methods of social service inquiry has contributed or will contribute the more to human welfare. I do not know, and probably no one knows. Writing of medical education in this country, Mr. Abraham Flexner says:

It is as profitable to discuss which was the right side of the shield as to raise the question of precedence between the laboratory and the bedside. Both supply indispensable data of co-ordinate importance. The central fact may be disclosed now by one, now by the other, but in either case it must be interpreted in the light of all other pertinent facts in hand. . . . The way to be unscientific is to be partial—whether to the laboratory or to the hospital, it matters not. The test of a good education in medicine is the thorough interpenetration of both standpoints in their product, the young graduate.¹

In our own field too, probably, “both supply indispensable data of co-ordinate importance.” It would be interesting to make a list of the social service developments of the last fifty years and to study the history of each, with a view to discovering, if possible, at just what point its progress was furthered by the laboratory and at what by the clinical method. Such a study would show, I believe, that few forms of social betterment have always and under all circumstances been able to utilize only one of these two methods, for few social tasks are so individual and personal that they may not need, at some stage, the aid of the reviewer of armies of social facts, and few social tasks are so wholesale in their nature that their further development may not depend upon a delicately individualized treatment of units.

POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE AND OF DIFFERENCE

But whether in the social laboratory or the social clinic, what, in general terms, are the processes of social investigation? Writing of laboratory processes (and the laboratory method of investigation is the only one that has yet been discussed in the literature of our profession), Mrs. Sidney Webb enumerates them as (1) observation, (2) experiment, (3) statistical enumerations, (4) the interview,

¹ Flexner, Abraham, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, New York, 1910.

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(5) the use of documents and literature.¹ We share the first three of these with the physical sciences. The last two are peculiar to sociology and to history.

Considering the methods of the social survey only, I drew up last year, after conference with workers more familiar with this form of investigation, the following tentative analysis:

- (a) Utilization of census and other public documents, of material embedded in local history and literature, of private documents, including case records. (These are Mrs. Webb's *documents* and *literature*.)
- (b) Personal observations; conferences of representative groups of people (*observation* and the *interview*).
- (c) Case by case studies (*observation* and the *interview* again), tests of social institutions at work (*experiment*), and statistical enumerations (*statistics*).
- (d) Interpretation and arrangement of results.

Wherein does the clinical method differ from the foregoing? In general outline very little. Both turn to public and private documents, though to documents of a somewhat different sort and for a different purpose. Both must make their own personal observations. Both must confer with others who know. Both must develop skill in eliciting the truth and in drawing correct inferences. Both must investigate by action (Mrs. Webb's *experiment*), though this process has marked limitations in the social field, owing to the difficulty with which we segregate our phenomena. The statistical enumeration, so much in use in the social laboratory, is almost the only process that is seldom used by the clinician or case worker.

With all of these resemblances, differences do appear, however. Social research deals with masses, case inquiry with units. The one is extensive, the other intensive. The besetting sin of the one is the fallacy of averages, of the other the fallacy of the individual instance. Neither uses the method of pure science, for both have social betterment directly in view, though the investigator in the one case is working toward ultimate treatment, and in the other toward immediate treatment. Just here is an obvious difference between the two types of work. Miss Zilpha D. Smith has pointed

¹ Webb, Mrs. Sidney, "Methods of Investigation." In *Sociological Papers*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1906, vol. 3, pp. 345-351.

out¹ the urgency and inelasticity of the time-limit in our clinical investigations, whereas the other form of social inquiry has usually an elastic time-limit. But the meaning of the terms which characterize the two methods gives us the most striking difference between them. In the one, the patient occupies the center of the stage, and we work out from our subject in many directions, perhaps, but with his condition and needs continually in view. In the other, we "chase in," as Mr. Robert Woods has expressed it, drawing a circle and working from its circumference toward the center.

SOCIAL VALUE OF THE CLINICAL INVESTIGATION

With the differences and the resemblances of the two methods thus roughly indicated, are we not ready to agree that, *wherever in the cause of social betterment different things must be done for different people, there the clinical method is necessary*? If we are so fortunate as to know some way of helping the human race forward by doing exactly the same thing for everybody, then we do not need the method of inquiry which is the subject of this paper.

As I have said, the clinical and the laboratory methods are forever shading into one another. Let me attempt to illustrate this interplay in the development of some of our social institutions. Take the public schools: For many years America prided herself on the fact that our public schools were no respecters of persons, that they did exactly the same thing for everybody and in the same way. This was a bulwark of our school system and necessary, no doubt, at one stage of its development; but we have come to realize at another stage, that uniformity of treatment is a weakness. Where did the first break in the armor of the wholesalers in public education come? Perhaps in the special classes for backward children. But see how rapidly one demand after another for differential treatment is coming to be recognized—medical inspection, school nursing, open-air instruction for the frail child, and now, last but not least, agitation for vocational counsel based upon the individuality of the scholar and upon the range of industrial opportunity. See to what a degree the public schools have already been invaded by this idea of differential treatment, and yet we are now

¹ Smith, Zilpha D., "Methods Common to Social Investigations." In Field Department Bulletin of Charities and the Commons, vol. 2, October, 1908.

beginning to dream of a series of delicate adjustments between the home and the school, none of them yet realized, but all demanding at every turn the work of the expert clinician.

My second illustration is taken from a social reform with which, during my years of residence in Pennsylvania, I happened to be especially familiar. The child labor campaign in that state began among a small group of social workers who had become interested in child labor reform through their knowledge of the industrial handicaps imposed upon individual children. Social reform is many-sided, and people approach it from many angles. The agitation soon drew in numbers of wholesalers, who joined the local committee for the express purpose of helping to get a new law. So miscellaneous was the committee's make-up that it could not, at first, agree upon any policy even the simplest. A brief social inquiry as to actual conditions soon brought a degree of unity, however, and a law was secured workable in some of its features though far from perfect. Then the wholesalers said, "There, that is done, and we can turn our attention to other social matters." Little did they know of the six years' struggle that had to follow, most of it retail work, consisting of the careful adjustment of the law and of the community's resources to individual cases of apparent hardship. The success of this adjustment depended more upon clinical investigations than upon any other one factor.

Though no reform is safe from both methods, and the line of demarcation between them cannot be sharply drawn, yet the two are by no means identical. Witness the astonishing statistics published in annual reports by excellent clinicians and case workers; witness also the extreme awkwardness of the social laboratory investigator when confronted with an individual case. The possibility of developing a separate clinical technique of investigation has been questioned, but not by those who know what skill has already been achieved by a small group of case workers scattered here and there in some of our American cities and towns. Our schools for social workers must be able to furnish at least the beginnings of training in both these methods. Every young social worker should possess that "thorough interpenetration of both standpoints" of which Mr. Flexner speaks.

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THE BELATED ART OF BEGINNING

We have seen in the last ten years a wonderful development of specialties in the field of social service, all greatly enriching and diversifying treatment and increasing the possibilities of cure. As a matter of fact, however, differential treatment comes but differential diagnosis lingers. This is no cause for despair. Every department of human endeavor is slow in perfecting its beginnings. Take the art of beginning in the medical profession. We have learned many sorts of things to do for the sick man, but only very slowly are we learning how to find out what is the matter with him. We send him to one specialist after another, operations are performed, courses of treatment prescribed, and many strange things happen. Then at last, if he is fortunate, he falls into the hands of an expert diagnostician who is skilful enough to find out what is really the matter. It is the very last kind of skill to emerge, this skill in handling the beginnings of things. It has been the last thing to emerge in the field of education. We learned many things about pedagogy before we learned, if we yet know, how to start a little child upon the path of knowledge.

So in the social field: We have a congestion of new ideas, we have great faith in them and apply them with courage and devotion, sometimes where they do not belong. Measured by the standard of practical results, our use of our new discoveries is clumsy and our investigations preliminary to treatment fall far short of being as serviceable to our clients as they should be. Rightly considered clinical investigation is only a part of treatment, it is only the first step, but momentous in its consequences for this reason.

One of our misfortunes, in the effort to develop the beginnings of social service treatment, is that many social workers still regard investigation as a process invented and patented by the charity organization societies. If, according to this view, a family needs the ministrations of a charity organization society, then of course it should be investigated, but otherwise not. But if the charity organization societies ever had any patent upon investigation, it expired long ago. Obviously the process belongs to and is needed by everybody. The movement for the better organization of charity will be strengthened, indeed, when each form of social service

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treatment in turn can work out its own technique of investigation and thus enable the charity organization societies to revise and improve their methods on the basis of the discoveries so made.

HOW CAN WE DEVELOP A TECHNIQUE?

It may be doubted whether here, any more than in the other processes of social work, we can bring over into our field the methods of the other professions; nor can the "efficiency tests" of the business world be adopted *en bloc* by social service. There has been much talk about efficiency and goodness, to the discredit of the latter. Sometimes, viewing the kind of ready-made social service efficiency that is offered in sample by its advocates, one is tempted to exclaim, "Well, goodness is bad enough, but surely such efficiency as this is worse." But the new scientific management engineers¹ are coming to our rescue, for they teach us that processes must be developed by observation and experiment, that they cannot be imposed like a plaster jacket upon the living body of social work. Each of our standards must be evolved slowly and laboriously from the study of our own operations and our own experiences. These must be subjected to the keenest possible analysis, and, in so far as the business engineers can teach us the habit of analyzing processes, we shall do well to learn from them.

Within the last year some of us have been trying in a very tentative way to apply a few tests to the actual daily practice of social service agencies in this matter of the investigation of individual cases. Take the actual practice of all social service agencies that are making case decisions in child-saving work, institutional work for adults, the care of the sick poor, the rehabilitation of families, and so forth. What, for instance, is their daily custom with regard to consulting outside sources of information—sources, that is, beyond the applicant and his immediate family? What light, beyond the statements of these, do they habitually seek before making the first important decision affecting the welfare of a case under their care? Often what we think we do and what we actually do are quite different. In several cities, therefore, some attempt has been made to discover what the representative social agencies

¹ Taylor, Frederick W., *Principles of Scientific Management*. Harper & Bros., New York, 1915.

in each are doing about this matter of outside sources of information; what sources are found most useful in probation work, what in protection from cruelty work, what in placing out work, and so forth.

In Boston, 24 different social agencies have been good enough to prepare schedules covering this information in the first 50 cases treated by each in the last fiscal year. These and the schedules gathered from other cities will furnish nothing final and conclusive with regard to the method of completing a first investigation, but they will suggest a number of sources of advice and co-operation too often overlooked, and will show the shifting of emphasis, the relative value of sources, in moving from one social task to another. I venture to predict, moreover, that they will bring strong confirmation of the idea that the beginnings of case work of whatever kind and with whatever social betterment object in view have much in common. We are all dealing with human beings, and the fundamental facts of human life are much the same in hospital, public school, court, and charity office. What we need is a technique in common, based not upon the theories of academic departments but upon the detailed analysis, the observation and recording of actual work done and results achieved by social workers of many kinds. Toward such a technique every worker with an open mind can make a definite contribution by developing the habit of studying his own processes, and by learning from his own failures and successes. These alone can never teach him all that he needs to know, but from a large common stock of such observations he can win that progressive standard of excellence upon which good case work depends.

METHODS COMMON TO ALL SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

It was in the nature of things that, in our earlier stages of development, one charity organization society should learn chiefly from another, one child saving agency from another. The time has now come for us to seek a larger unit. We must learn more and more from those whose case work experience differs from our own. Only a little while since I had a very interesting letter on the subject of investigation from the secretary of a society to protect children from cruelty. Sometimes a good understanding between

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S.P.C.C. workers and those engaged in other forms of family work has been difficult to secure and maintain. This secretary writes that one reason for this is the difference in methods of investigation. An S. P. C. C. agent is seeking good court evidence—not court evidence only, but this primarily. Now, in the courts, evidence of cruelty or neglect that is more than three months old is out of date.

From the point of view of the charity organization worker, on the other hand, the mere fact that evidence is recent counts for little. Family rehabilitation seems to him to depend far more upon a clear understanding of the things that were true of a family before they fell into trouble at all. The most important single thing, therefore, from a charity organization point of view, is a knowledge of the family's normal life. Social rehabilitation, like rehabilitation in health, must proceed from the normal as its starting point toward the normal as its goal.¹ The record of how many half-tons of coal or how many dollar grocery orders have been given during the last six months, or what this neighbor or that church visitor has seen of the family recently, during its time of greatest demoralization, though sometimes important, is never as important as the question, what did this family achieve at its best? What was it like when socially and economically at high-water mark? It has dropped from that level, but why? What circumstance or combination of circumstances dragged it down? What recombination of circumstances can get it back where it belongs? From this point of view, questions of direct and indirect, documentary and oral evidence, of the competency of witnesses, and so forth, fall into third or fourth place. But what a stupid thing for any of us to assume that we can secure the court's intervention, when successful treatment demands it, without understanding the court's point of view, without mastering the simplest of the rules that govern legal evidence.

This brings us very near the heart of practical co-operation. Instead of talking about it as a scheme, we have it with us as a daily habit of thought and action when we come to understand the reasons for the necessary differences in method among our various social agencies.

At the same time, a firm technique grounded upon no narrow

¹ Flexner, Abraham, Medical Education in the United States and Canada.

experience and flexible enough to adapt itself to rapidly changing conditions is at the very foundation of professional training in social work. Such training, though it seeks and finds aid in our institutions of learning and our textbooks of economics, must depend far more, as has already been said, upon hammering out from actual experience a skill peculiarly our own. To one who believes that we have an indispensable contribution to make to social progress, to one who is convinced that social advance in this country during the next generation will depend in large measure upon the nation's ability to master administrative processes in detail, this is no question of the more or less skilful handling of a few charity cases by private agencies, but something far more vital. The things that we are learning and forgetting again, the experiences that we are letting pass unnoted, are the very things upon which success or failure in community action will depend, in so far as community welfare demands that different things be done for different people. The formulation of a sound clinical method is the case worker's debt to the nation, but he has yet to realize the obligation.

It was only by accident, for instance, that I found in a charity organization office the instructive record of a homeless man who had not seen or heard from any of his family for sixteen years, and that I was able to trace the steps by which the investigator discovered that, during more than fifteen years, he had been in the insane asylums of a state far away from all his people. His family had thought him dead. There is wastefulness in a public institutional system that makes no thorough initial inquiry, and therefore loses the co-operation of so strong a character as this man's sister proved to be. In all these fifteen years she might have been a genuine therapeutic resource. The mere fact that a large sum of money was spent from the wrong source is not so important as the further fact that he was kept away from his people, when in his native state he could have been cared for within a short trolley ride distance of his own family. This meant a waste of life, affection, sympathy. And the process by which the current of this man's life was turned at last is one that can be analyzed. There was no magic about it, though there was a high degree of skill based upon a sound method of work.

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A good technique of clinical investigation is needed in every public institution in the United States and in every one of its child-saving agencies. The head of a large child-saving society in one of the cities in which the schedules before mentioned were being filled out sent me word that he was unable to furnish all the data required because, when parents came to him and asked him to take their children, he knew only too well that they would never do so if it were possible for them to keep their offspring with them. Under such circumstances investigation was, in his opinion, superfluous. This is an extreme instance, perhaps, but too often we find social workers who ought to know better still regarding investigation as a negative process. It is a positive process of the most searching and far-reaching beneficence. It is, indeed, the very cornerstone of co-operation and of curative treatment. Any contribution, therefore, to an effective technique of investigation is a contribution to human welfare, and case workers the country over should co-operate heartily with the effort now being made by the Russell Sage Foundation to study case processes from this point of view.

HOW SOCIAL WORKERS CAN AID HOUSING REFORM

Given at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911, and reprinted by the National Housing Association.

THIS is one of those interesting questions in which is involved the relation of the general practitioner in social work to the specialist. How can the work be divided between these two without waste, without friction, and without ruinous speeding up? How far, indeed, should we encourage that division and subdivision of the field of social work into specialties which is now so rapidly going forward? And at what point or points is this specialization liable to retard social advance? I am not asking these questions with a view to attempting to answer them. They present problems for the scientific management engineer when he learns (as he surely has not yet learned) to analyze all our processes from within instead of imposing upon them from without the ready-made standards and tests of other processes.

Scientific management will surely have some serious things to say to the group of social workers to which I belong, to the group of general practitioners. It will point out, perhaps, our cheerful habit, as specialties emerge, of freeing ourselves of all responsibility for that particular reform, of dropping upon each specialty in turn the whole burden of its peculiar task, and much besides, leaving each to operate in a patchy and unrelated way, hampered by a lack of understanding, of preparation and of follow-up work. I do not mean by this that social workers in general have not enough to do—they have far too much, at the moment—but we expect them to know too little. They should be required to know a good deal more than they now know about all the specialties that are real specialties.

In housing, we have, I believe, a genuine specialty. It was one of the first to emerge, its development has been far from meteoric,

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but it has a technique of its own firm enough to cut our teeth upon, and no amount of scientific management could manage it away until the open air people have cured us for good and all of the habit of living in houses. Having recognized this as a specialty, however, we are in grave danger of leaving to its experts the duties that are plainly ours. If there is any good reason why every social worker who goes in and out of the homes of the people should not be a sort of deputy housing and sanitary inspector, I have yet to discover it. And to have to *know* enough to keep this task intelligently in mind will be thoroughly good for him or for her; it will make for flexibility and against social blindness. "What the New Yorker of twenty-five years ago lacked," said Mrs. Kelley at a meeting on this subject, "was not foresight but sight." Sight is our greatest lack today. If the housing people can give us standards that will cultivate in us keenness of vision, they will be doing far more for us than we can possibly do for them.

Standards we need and to the housing specialists we must turn for the spelling out of these standards in letters a yard long. At an institute for charity organization workers from different cities held recently, I was interested to note that, as each in turn described briefly the local background of his work, there was clear differentiation of land overcrowding from room overcrowding. This was thanks to Mr. Veiller's book, perhaps. To get this distinction fixed clearly in the minds of all social workers, to make them understand that disease and vice may be fostered by overcrowding in the middle of an otherwise empty forty-acre lot, is a good first lesson in seeing things as they are.

Another lesson in sight reading, I suppose, would be to learn to look beyond the superficial cleanliness of fresh paint and white-wash. Our prejudices in favor of these excellent things must not blind us to more fundamental matters.

What are these fundamentals in the order of their relative importance? We are hardly in a position to say without having studied first the state laws and city ordinances on housing. Once familiar with these, we can classify all our observations under (a) violations of existing statutes, and (b) arguments for further legislation. First of all, therefore, we must know in outline, at

least, the existing legal remedies and the means provided for their enforcement.

The usual order of importance in our search for the most serious housing defects is (1) bad toilet arrangements, (2) dampness, (3) dark rooms, (4) overcrowding, (5) insufficient water supply.

(1) *Bad Toilet Arrangements*. We visit homes frequently where there is inertia, low vitality, and even sickness without knowing definitely or taking the trouble to discover the condition of the plumbing, the trapping of the waste pipes, and so forth. The cleanliness of the toilets, their location and provisions for privacy, such as inside locks, have a direct bearing upon health and decency. An untrapped waste pipe means sewer gas, probably, and sewer gas means ill health.

(2) *Dampness*. The condition of the cellar, the walls and roof, more especially of the cellar; is its floor wet or damp, has it a dirt or a cement floor, is it cluttered with rubbish or animals? Are the pipes leaking? Does the roof leak?

(3) *Dark Rooms*. When these are used for bedrooms, the fact should be noted on our records, should be related to our family histories of disease and premature death, and should be made the subject of steady pressure upon citizens, lawbreakers, and public administrators.

(4) *Overcrowding*. This is especially to be noted as regards sleeping accommodations. Its vital relation to health and decency must be vividly realized and kept constantly in mind in all our plans for making people economically independent. Independence built upon a standard that ignores decency is built, of course, upon quicksand.

(5) *Insufficient Water Supply*. In the purity of the source and the amount is involved the condition of the cistern or tank and its care between official inspections. Is there running water and, if not, where is the nearest tap?

Assuming that we have learned to take note of these things in all our social service errands (and in our present state of ignorance and preoccupation this is assuming a good deal), what should we do with our newly acquired knowledge? This use must vary at the various stages of housing development. If there has been no local agitation leading to the enactment of a fairly good law, the period

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of education of public opinion and of active campaigning for legislation must not be left to social workers in general; they must seek trained leadership and then help by supplying the data and local influence for the struggle. If this preliminary period is past and a housing law won, then the more difficult stage of securing adequate enforcement has been entered upon. The poorer tenants are not very effective reporters of complaints, and as their ambassadors we must be vigilant to represent them here. The housing experts must not overwork the already heavily burdened; they must make it easy, by thinking the process out clearly in every detail, for us to forward reports of violations to the right places; they must show us how to note down in the easiest and simplest way observations that may become their arguments.

But outside the realm of formal complaint and recorded data, we are often in a position to use the influence that we have gained from the performance of our other tasks, we are often able to persuade tenants to make necessary changes and readjustments. We can help to keep the less desirable houses and tenements empty by persuading tenants to move. In better houses we can co-operate with the tenants to remedy a nuisance or secure some positive advantage.

If, as we believe, the giver of material relief is fully responsible for the results of its consumption, such responsibility must include the housing conditions in the homes of all families in receipt of relief other than interim or emergency aid. I realize that this statement is subject to certain modifications. The social worker's task often includes the application of four or five different principles of treatment, no one of which can be ignored but all of which cannot always and under all circumstances be immediately reconciled. A wise choice of the order in which questions of employment, medical care, sanitation, diet, training, discipline, recreation, shall be successively pushed, often taxes our ingenuity and skill to the utmost, and even the sound general instruction to move families under charitable care to good living quarters with promptness is not always practicable. We must work *with* the tenants rather than *for* them and must win their co-operation, if that is a possible thing, even though we go forward more slowly in order to do so. But go forward we must, and never permit ourselves

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to support intolerable conditions with complacency at the same time that we are backing general schemes of housing reform.

One aid in a detailed effort to improve living conditions in a given district of a large city would be the preparation of a white list of good houses and good landlords with the rentals that prevail. If the neighborhood is one in which overcrowding has brought all the attendant evils of bad street conditions and low neighborhood standards, then studies of conditions in less crowded parts of the city and in its suburbs should be followed by a determined effort to transplant families in receipt of regular assistance. Sometimes our minds become so case cramped that we accept without question conditions that we see habitually, when the remedy for them lies no farther away than just beyond the boundary of our daily round.

To encourage migration of population within the city area—migration in the right direction, that is—is only one step in the better ordering of social endeavor. Another and, as I believe, a more important one, is to learn to think of this country and of its many undeveloped resources as a unit, and to utilize migration to less populous sections as a means of fighting the overcrowding of our cities. Too often we assume that the young couple recently arrived in America with two small children can be helped best by encouraging the man to remain at small pay in a city of high rentals while we supplement his wages by placing the children in a charitable nursery, and enabling the wife to earn. Thirteen years ago I wrote of this: "The attractions of a large city are great enough without adding any such artificial help to overcrowding," but charity continues to this day to spend itself lavishly upon keeping people in the wrong place instead of bestirring itself to find for them the right one. All of our social service processes need a pretty thorough overhauling at frequent intervals; and it would be worthwhile to scrutinize all our work carefully from this point of view to see whether or not we are so establishing families as to increase urban congestion and the cost of shelter.

In yet one more direction can the social worker aid housing reform, and that is by increasing the sense of individual responsibility in property owners. If every landlord could be induced to inspect his own properties thoroughly just once, I believe that no one thing would help the housing cause more, for many who now draw their

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incomes contentedly from the administering trust companies would perforce realize then that a part of their prosperity rests upon conditions dangerous to health and life itself. In so far as property owners have any relation to social work, we have opportunities direct and indirect for making this suggestion.

To sum up: Housing reform affects health, morals, economic efficiency, child-nurture, and the foundations of the family. If we are genuinely interested in these we must be interested in it. That interest involves a responsibility which cannot be delegated, though we should make little progress in its discharge without the aid of the housing experts. They must tell us what to do, studying, however, the limitations imposed upon us by our other tasks, and in all their instructions, keeping these limitations in mind. We, for our part, should welcome their suggestions and make them part of our daily working program; first, because we can greatly increase our usefulness thereby, and in addition because it is good for ourselves that our program should be an open program, varied, flexible, adaptable, and demanding the fullest use of every faculty during every working hour.

ADEQUATE RELIEF

The following pages contain certain paragraphs from a reply Miss Richmond made at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911 to a paper by Frederic Almy of the Buffalo C. O. S. which called upon the charity organization societies to center their work more upon the relief aspects. Although this discussion was more or less impromptu, it furnishes an interesting link between Miss Richmond's earlier views about relief, and those she was later to express.

IN THE little time remaining, I am going to try to set down here my present personal convictions about material relief. This must be without any citations from the English and American classics, unfortunately, and without any details from the experience upon which my convictions are based.

What is the truth about material relief? We see it in glimpses and lose it again. No one, I take it, has any longer a defense to make of indiscriminate relief, of relief, that is, as a salve for our own feelings, relief as a means of getting to Heaven, relief as a means of righting the wrongs of society and averting the social consequences of our selfishness and meanness. We no longer defend such relief, though our reactions from it have not always been healthily strong enough to carry the "giving public" along with us.

The first reaction [from that concept] was on the whole toward niggardliness. The results of giving were seen to be wholly bad. Very well, then, we would give as little as possible, and build around that giving a series of automatic tests and checks. If the applicant would do some arbitrarily selected thing, we would help him, and if he would not, we would withhold help. These tests, such as "accepting the house" (the workhouse, in England) and our labor-yards, woodyards, and so forth, in America, were usually substitutes for personal inquiry and personal treatment. They were the short cuts of an earlier time. Within the last decade, however, showing the great vitality of error, I have found in the annual reports of

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several large American relief societies such sentences as the following:

"Give only in small quantities in proportion to immediate need and of coarser quality than might be procured by labor, except in cases of sickness."

These views were made in Manchester. They were adopted in this country before the days of charity organization societies, though some of our societies have shared them. You will observe that they keep material relief in the front row and build a social program around it. Under this plan, everybody was to be advised to "send the needy to us" and discharge by check an obligation which citizens were regarded as quite unequal to, while we were to hold the purse strings in our cautious grasp.

Well, we had glimpses and even visions of the futility of all this, but our glimpses were fitful, our visions did not always last. Criticisms of niggardliness in relief came from the charity organization societies themselves; we were the first to realize its dangers and to start a reaction toward a freer, more flexible, and less superstitious handling of relief. We began to see that the size of the dose, whether large or small, was seldom or never the main factor in the patient's recovery, and out of this grew some glimmering of an idea of adequate treatment, or, as I prefer to call it, curative treatment.

Curative treatment has made advances, but we have only begun to reap the rich harvest of social ills cured and social ills prevented that shall be ours when we have once learned to appeal to our public in the right way and for the right reasons. Inadequate resources for the relief side of treatment are most apparent in these communities that have been permitted to lose interest in the details of treatment or have never had such an interest.

This is a bigger question than any mere matter of charity organization policy—it concerns everybody; but the charity organization people have made more than their share of blunders with regard to it, and have continued to keep formation and to go forward in spite of these blunders because they are so dead in earnest and so determined to get somewhere in the long struggle for social betterment. This gives me hope to believe that, having survived our mistakes about the essential wickedness of material

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relief, we shall survive also the mistake of assuming that relief is "the most neglected subject in modern charity" and the thing above all others to be emphasized and dwelt upon.

The truth is, as it seems to me, that [relief] has no moral and no immoral qualities, that it has no qualities at all save such as we give it in the handling. It can never occupy the front row, therefore, and can never be agitated for or against save as a part, a secondary part, of some plan of curative treatment, and the more clearly this plan is defined in all its parts the better. The people who have done most to rescue relief from the limbo into which it had fallen are those who have worked out in actual practice plans of family rehabilitation of which it is a part, though not the larger part. If we are prone ourselves to lose sight of this, I leave you to imagine the state of the public mind on the subject. When we preached the dangers of relief we misled them and fastened in their minds a needless fear; and now, when we are urged to press upon their attention the virtues of relief, we shall mislead them no less by fastening in their minds a false standard of measure. We may warm their hearts, perhaps, but that will be small recompense for having muddled the public mind as to the whole process. Our frontier posts cannot serve under the double standards of adequate relief and adequate treatment without dragging both standards in the dust; they need a single standard and that pure gold. Double standards bring the result that we have already seen in some quarters, the assumption, that is, that relief need only be large instead of small to effect a cure. As a matter of fact, the sole advantage of large doles over small is that, being more expensive, they are likely to be administered to fewer people.

The terms "adequate" and "inadequate" relief are as question-begging in their character as the terms "worthy" and "unworthy." We flung those on the scrap heap long ago, and I should be glad to see these follow. "Inadequate" to what purpose, "adequate" for what end? The emphasis on relief brings a support subject to the law of diminishing returns, while the emphasis on cure assures us a public increasingly willing to go the whole distance. Relief, in other words, is a very good servant, but a bad master.

THE RELATION OF OUTPUT TO INTAKE

(Privately Printed)

An address delivered at the first annual meeting of the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity (now the Family Welfare Association of America) on June 12, 1912, and printed in the Charity Organization Bulletin, August, 1912. Limitation of intake is again discussed in *The Mine Fields*, page 460.

IS IT a possible thing for charity organization societies so to regulate and control their intake as to improve the quality of their output? I raise this question not because it can be finally answered either this year or next, but because, out of the very success of our earlier program, it begins to loom up, more especially in our larger cities, as an important one for us to think about. And the problem of the larger place today is the problem of the smaller place grown large tomorrow.

For the private social agency, few suggestions contain so many possibilities of danger as the one which proposes a limiting of function. The besetting sin of the private social agency of the older type was smugness; its favorite formula was, "We take no more work than we can do well; our first duty is to our own charges." Community needs were blandly passed by, with the result that its own work came in time to be less well done; less and less did its charges prosper. Through timidity or lack of imagination, perhaps, it had wrapped its one talent in a napkin.

But what about the equally indefensible position of the agencies which—also through defect of imagination—can see few possibilities in their own social programs and are forever adopting portions of the programs of others? They are cluttered with schemes and innocent of standards. If they employ a nurse to visit the poor, it is not because this is the greatest need now unmet and no one else can meet it, but that the money for a nurse comes easily, or else that it is easier to raise money *by* a nurse. Buildings to which they can "point with pride" are another of their besetting sins. Mr.

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McLean reports upon a charity organization society which, instead of pushing its work with energy into the homes of its poor people, was held fast by one beautiful scheme after another for utilizing a beautiful building. Conceivably, of course, a building might aid materially in the development of our own program, but this or any other new department or feature should *grow out* instead of being *tacked on*.

Organic development is what we need. Social ideas are everywhere, but chiefly in the air. How can we get them out of the air and under the boiler? Mr. McLean's field reports are so thoroughly quotable that I cannot resist quoting another just here, a recent one in which he says of a new secretary in a new C. O. S., "After laboring with a lot of unled groups of willing and intelligent persons, *whirling around in futile motion*, it was a delight to meet here a sensible woman who had had her training in that best school of experience, a good associated charities office." And he goes on to describe how one vital need of the community after another had been dragged to light and tellingly illustrated in this new secretary's first month of case work. "Whirling around in futile motion"—what a descriptive phrase! When you see people doing it, and you often will, don't forget that you have the best cure in the world for that dancing disease in your case work. For better or worse, case work is an integral part of our charity organization program; if for any reason we cripple it, inevitably it will cripple us.

The greatest distinction between the work of our societies in cities under, and in those over, a hundred thousand inhabitants would seem to be that, in the former, all the constructive and preventive campaigns growing naturally out of case work may well center in the one society under one competent, trained secretary; and that in the larger city a gradual throwing off of these functions and a division of these tasks among several agencies is not only desirable but almost inevitable. New York seems to be the one brilliant exception to this rule, which may only mean that in this, as in so many other things, New York is altogether exceptional. This throwing off of functions would not mean, of course, a ceasing to take active part in many of the movements for community betterment; it would only mean a throwing off on the side of executive control.

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In most of our larger cities we would do well, I believe, to regulate our intake not only in the matter of separate departments and special activities—after often initiating them and as often relinquishing—but the same policy might be applied to whole blocks of case work itself. We must tread carefully here or our societies will be dropping back into the very smugness to which I have referred. But I had an unpleasant surprise this year, in the course of studying a number of case records and criticisms, for I discovered that some of the best of the records and of the comments were coming from social agencies other than charity organization societies, though it was in these that good case work had had its origin. This would be less alarming if the agencies that are forging ahead were dealing with families and with family rehabilitation, but for the most part they are not—they are helping individuals, and their really fine work needs to be co-ordinated and knit together by a skill equally fine in the upbuilding of the family. Surely, I do not need to tell you that much of this new special case work will be wasted unless our family work is well done; and when it is not, good case workers in the more specialized fields are going to be judge and jury whilst we are prisoners at the bar.

Setting aside, for the moment, the other useful tasks in which we are engaged, can we possibly do all of the family rehabilitation work that clamors to be done in a large city? If we are honest with ourselves, we must know that we do not and cannot. This is not a thing to mourn over; it will be a day of great awakening for us when we see far enough into the possibilities of our own particular task to realize that we can never do it all, and that we are cheapening and spoiling it by pretending that we can. If we care enough for this art of ours to do some of it well, and then each year *more* of it *better*—if this is our clear aim, then in time, all other things shall be added unto us. Schemes big and schemes little will have their day and cease to be, but our progressive standard of work, growing in strength and adaptability from year to year by the mere act of really co-operative doing, shall become the community's standard; and then what happens to ourselves, to our separate societies and to our movement will in no wise matter.

The possibilities of case work as a means of community education are only beginning to dawn upon us. They press in upon us with

new emphasis the question, is it a possible thing for charity organization societies so to regulate and control their intake as to improve the quality of their output? Yes, possible but not easy. No movement can ignore its beginnings or separate itself from its own past. Certain obligations we have assumed from which there is no release, and from certain others the release must come slowly. We cannot cut our intake in half by arbitrary choices, but we can, by taking thought and looking ahead, regulate it by indirect means. The means that I am about to suggest may seem to you wholly impracticable; in that case other means must be found. My tentative suggestions, which I trust you will criticize freely, fall under the familiar headings of relief, investigation, publicity, and co-operation.

1. *Relief.* The more completely you have taught your charitable community to regard the C. O. S. as a pocket into which to dip for its material relief, the more violent will be the fluctuations in your intake. I do not attempt to illustrate this—it is self-evident.

In so far as the newer campaigns of cure and prevention (those that we originated and all the others) have given us a higher standard of family treatment and relief, they have done unmixed good, but when each one in turn—and there is a new one every few months—cheerfully provides the plans and the applicants and expects any one agency to provide the material relief, there is sure to be a breakdown somewhere and that soon. The idea of centralizing the handling of relief in one agency belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century, and it did not work very well even then. The plans that will be substituted for it gradually, in all probability, are the training of social workers to a high professional standard, and the centralizing of information, or of clues to information, in order that there may be the completest friendly exchange of experiences among social agencies. Meanwhile, applications for relief are being thrust upon us daily by a multiplicity of agencies. These bring inevitably a divorce between relief and treatment, for we cannot treat all the cases so centralized, we can only go through the motions of treating them. If we worked for distribution instead of centralization, in the hope that in any given case the one social agency which (among a possible half dozen interested) is most responsible for treatment could also be induced to take the responsibility for or-

ganizing and handling the relief, we should materially reduce a congestion of effort which, in some places, is hammering down our standards of treatment cruelly. If a clergyman, for instance, becomes interested in a case of need, develops his own plan of treatment and puts it through up to the point where \$25 in relief is needed to make it a success, is this the exact point at which the C. O. S. should be appealed to? Would not a frank conference with him and a full explanation of what we are organized to do for his church make him a more intelligent co-operator in the long run than the gift of the \$25 could?

With our centralizing plan, it is no uncommon thing, in mid-winter, to hear the overworked members of a C. O. S. staff retort, under criticism, "Well, what are those people complaining about? Didn't we *give* the family something?" This state of mind among the workers indicates poor statesmanship somewhere near the top.

2. *Investigation.* We could make out a very good claim to the discovery of the idea of adequate relief; we could make out an even better one to the discovery of the idea of securing an adequate basis of fact as the necessary first step in social treatment. But a discoverer need not be a monopolist. Is it not just a little bit childish of us to assume that we are the only people who can make an investigation? When we teach our public to think so, they have their revenge by hammering down our standards unmercifully at this point also. They overload us with a miscellaneous assortment of "investigation only" cases, and cheerfully accept our conclusions, though in many of the dispensary, coal fund and other special investigations that we make, our inquiry is confined to one visit to the home, or even, in some cities, to an office interview merely, and is all so poorly done that it sets no new standard for anyone.

I well remember my satisfaction at the Toronto meeting in 1897 when Mr. Devine, then a very new member of the National Conference of Charities, was asked whether it was not the business of a C. O. S. to make all the investigations for the overseers of the poor, and replied without a moment's hesitation, "Only long enough to teach them how to do it." As an educational venture, as a demonstration, such work is admirable, though it is even more admirable to bring their own investigator into the C. O. S. office for training.

I should be glad to see largely increased our intake of workers sent to us for training from other agencies; such an increase would organize social service far better than any expansion in the number of our investigated cases.

It is not safe to dogmatize about investigations for other agencies; the size of the place and the local situation must be considered. But is there not a possible principle of action in the suggestion that, other things being equal, social agencies both public and private that are spending collected funds upon a certain form of service should collect and spend *enough* to choose their beneficiaries with intelligent discrimination? Private citizens cannot be expected to do this; agencies organized for some other purpose than the treatment of any form of need cannot be expected to. We exist, in part at least, to give the charitable efforts of all these effective aid.

The Department with which I am connected has, as you know, printed several editions of a Directory of Charity Organization Societies. The demand for this directory and the reasons given for wanting it have led the Department to send a communication on the subject to the National Association for Organizing Charity. Among the agencies that wish to have their out-of-town visits and inquiries made by our charity organization societies are the following: public health departments, departments of safety, public charities departments, state boards of charities, state reformatories, prisoners' aid societies, boards of children's guardians, S. P. C. C.'s, children's aid societies, homes for infants, tuberculosis associations, remedial loan associations, large business corporations that have many out-of-town correspondents, and even the commercial reporting agencies that are directly engaged in the business of disorganizing charity in some of our large cities. It is very gratifying to note such general acceptance of the principle of investigation. We are responsible for it; why not do all the work? During the next five years these requests will assume very large proportions, probably, but the mere size and burden of the task is not nearly so good a reason for attempting to regulate it as is the danger that non-regulation will put a barrier between the more and the less progressive agencies of each social service group. Competent heads of municipal charities departments complain that similar departments

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in other cities do not do this kind of work to their taste, and the same complaint is made by the children's charities. How are their colleagues ever going to learn to do better work if we continue to act as insulators? The transfer must be made with care, of course; it is for your Association to say just how it shall be made, if at all; and there will still always remain a number of out-of-town tasks that will be legitimately ours, in addition to the inquiries from our own sister societies.

3. *Publicity.* I have left myself no time in which to elaborate the obvious statement that the quality of our output can be seriously damaged by any methods of money-raising that are not thoroughly informed. Not only in our financial publicity but in all other kinds there is demand for a thorough appreciation of what we are aiming to do and of the conditions under which it can be done. Many a good worker has known what it is to labor at the improvement of case work standards, to succeed in a measure, and then to see his work battered down in a day by a thoughtless public statement which has forced the whole staff to struggle for weeks through a mass of applications that should never have been made. A fitting punishment for such indiscretions would be solitary confinement at the hard labor of reading the recorded results.

4. *Co-operation.* It would be possible, of course, so rigidly to limit our intake as to cut off all our work from that main stream of co-operative effort which it is our chief aim to feed and to strengthen. A generous and receptive attitude would seem to be the whole secret of co-operation; but it is only half the secret—the other half is to be better than your word always, to do more than you promised, to give a better output than anyone expected. On this side, co-operation prospers by the following up of a thousand small details, and incidentally there is also more even distribution of the burden; our intake is better cared for because our processes are understood and our work is shared by others. Signed agreements lead too often to nothing but disappointments, but the unofficial acts of each day, if thoroughly done, knit our work into the social fabric by a thousand filaments. An intake that chokes off such detailed services chokes off co-operation by disappointing those who expect good work from us and fail to get it.

Until we achieve a certain quality of output, moreover, all the

finer kinds of co-operation wait. Medical co-operation, co-operation with the minor courts, which need social evidence so badly, co-operation with the best elements in the various alien races to which so many of our cases belong, co-operation with the many other social groups in the community that can strengthen our work because they are different and know things that we do not—all this waits to be achieved in case work or will never be achieved at all. It waits until we have given more generous recognition than we are now giving to the worker who comes into actual contact with our families. She must be better paid, more intelligently and completely supervised, more often consulted about all our plans and departments of work, better backed by good district organization, and better trained by occasional opportunities for advanced study and observation. The trained worker thus developed must be given a chance to do trained work; must be protected, that is, from any dumping upon her of impossible burdens, whether these originate within or without the society.

Our aim in all this will not be a seeking after the virtuoso's pleasure in a pretty piece of work admirably done. We do long ardently, all of us, to cure and prevent the ugly disease of poverty, in so far as it is curable and is preventable. Slowly but steadily we have seen the lower levels of poverty lifted, but none know better than we how far those levels can and should still be raised. The tools at our disposal used to be few, our vision of possibilities limited. Now, the most vaulting imagination might well stagger before the opportunities for service that lie spread out before us. This charity organization movement of ours is just in its beginnings; it is destined to render wonderful service by informing with skilful purpose the social impulses of the next quarter of a century. There will be no "whirling in futile motion" where it gets a good grip.

How shall we get this grip? Shall we do it by concentrating in our own hands all or as many as possible of the social tasks that involve the relief and cure of family troubles? At some stages of a community's development and for the time being, yes; but, as the size and social consciousness of a community grow and our opportunities for effective service multiply, no.

RELATION OF OUTPUT TO INTAKE

During the last year I have been much interested in some data gathered by the Charity Organization Department in several of our large cities as to the basis of fact upon which their different agencies were in the habit of building social treatment. It was the proud record of the charity organization society in one of these places that its own case investigations were no better—hardly so good, in the tests applied—than those of several other agencies, public and private. A large section of the social service of the community had been permeated through and through by this society's tonic and standardizing influence. This had been accomplished, not by grasping tight the major responsibility for investigation, relief, treatment and the rest, but by sharing it, and by dignifying the task of the case worker.

To concentrate upon the treatment of a given number of families and never look beyond them would be to narrow our usefulness both to the families and to the community. What I am advocating is poles apart from this. No executive can afford to neglect community organization for case work, but his share in community organization is a perfectly definite one. He will be only one of a hundred undifferentiated social reformers (whirling around, some of them, in futile motion) unless he is prepared to bear competent witness to the daily effect of bad conditions upon actual families, and to the probable daily effect upon them also of proposals, good and bad, for bettering those conditions. Competent witness—what a pivotal thing that is! How many puffed out, pretentious schemes shrivel up before it! It is no narrowing of the field of charity organization, but a broadening and deepening of it to call upon the movement to set its own house in order and prepare itself to bear *competent witness* to what it now really knows—not to what it knew in the last decade, not to what it more or less happily now guesses, but to what it really, by the most painstaking and skilful work of which it is capable, now knows. The utilization of a very high and resourceful grade of case work for the social education of the community would be a unique contribution to social welfare. Are we prepared to make this contribution? In this new National Association, in its choice of Mr. McLean as leader, in its courageous acceptance of responsibility for the whole field of charity organization endeavor, I find the best assurance that, if we are not yet prepared, we soon shall be.

MEDICAL AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

Given at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1912, and reprinted in the Charity Organization Bulletin for October of that year.

A FRIEND of mine has been good enough to analyze for me the Bulletin of Membership just issued by this Conference. It is incomplete, containing the names of only 999 members, and for some of these the particular form of social service in which they are engaged is not indicated. Among those in which the form is definitely stated, however, no less than 815 of the 999 are engaged in service with and for individuals. It has interested me to discover that these 815 can be divided roughly into 733 workers in non-medical agencies and 82 workers in medical agencies.

May I venture to make a few suggestions to the group of non-medical workers in this audience of which I am one? Others of this group may have had that particular experience of life or that particular disposition which has fitted them to take the medical point of view, or at least to understand it; so I would address myself especially to those who have found themselves as ill-equipped as I to play this new and interesting game of co-operating with the doctors. It must be admitted that many of us have been more bent upon getting young people into school and keeping them there, upon starting them to work under conditions as good as are now possible, and upon pressing in upon the older ones the fulfilment of their social obligations, whilst at the same time keeping ourselves alert to ease the strain where it has seemed most galling. It must be admitted that we have been so absorbed in these tasks that we have often failed to recognize the full significance of the bodily and mental strain of ill-health; we have often been blind to the obscurer signs of impending breakdown.

I cannot admit so much, however, without pointing out that health is not a thing apart from training, from work, and from social relations; it interplays with all of these in the most interesting and

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baffling way. But in all social work that has to do primarily with people, we cannot overestimate the importance of health questions; each added year of recorded experience forces them upon the attention of case workers with renewed emphasis and fresh illustration.

What, then, of practical value can we take away from the medical meetings of this Conference and apply to our day's work?

The seven subcommittee reports of this section are full of suggestions. We can read them carefully, after the Conference is over, with our own particular work in mind. But do not assume that nothing can be done about the evils enumerated in these reports without first organizing all the social agencies therein described. Too often we start an agency of some kind—a hospital social service department, a mental hygiene committee, a dental clinic—and then rest back upon our old habits. In order to get new results, it is not so necessary to start a new agency (though that too may help) as it is to get new habits. Heads and hands were made before agencies, and the sooner we make our heads and hands at home among the new fruits of social experience and scientific research, the better for the new agencies when they are started.

I tried the experiment, last winter, of sending for criticism a case record of four difficult girls in one family to a number of children's agencies and medical workers, as well as to my colleagues in the charity organization societies. I received over forty thousand words of comment. For a little while, the slow and difficult process of my own education seemed to receive a great impetus. Let me pass on a few of the impressions that remain.

1. One of the child-saving workers wrote, more especially of the youngest girl, that while in 1906 (the record was begun in that year) he might have shaped the treatment in the way recorded, now he had learned from the doctors to recognize, as needing expert diagnosis, the symptoms of constitutional inferiority which were the outstanding facts in the case history.

2. In other words, 1912 is not 1906, and no other lesson is more important for us non-medical workers than this one. Too often we go on doing our work in whatever way we first learned to do it, and continue that method to the end of time, leaving all the newer discoveries that have a direct bearing upon our own field quite unassimilated.

3. We might hold, as regards physical and mental diseases of social origin, a strategic position, I believe; for such diseases (as one of the reports of this section of the Conference points out) are still too often diagnosed in the later and hopeless instead of the earlier and more curable stages. A certain awareness in us would help to get the patient to the doctor much earlier, especially in those cases in which the economic breakdown happened to precede the complete appearance of its physical cause or complement.

4. Let us cultivate, then, the habit of asking ourselves questions, and of asking them early. Not only from the special reports of this section but from the books and magazine articles that specialists are now beginning to prepare for us laymen, let us cull the lessons about health and disease that seem to apply to our own work and then *apply them*. We should cultivate, too, the habit of asking questions not only of ourselves but of others. The habit of mind that carries a query promptly to the one who is most likely to have the answer is a far more valuable asset than a whole library of the sort of predigested health information which reaches us daily now in the morning's mail.

5. Another suggestion is with regard to economy of means. In the depth of their interest in those four sisters, the workers responsible ran from doctor to doctor, from hospital to hospital, and each scrap of diagnosis—all the contradictory scraps—were recorded with a blind faith that showed no consciousness of failure. As Dr. Cabot said, in commenting upon the recorded result, there was no sign of "rueful awareness" that they were not getting what they went for; and that they did not get it was probably due, in part at least, to the fact that no one means was deliberately chosen and then used to the full.

6. We are becoming convinced, of course, that the doctor needs and should use in his own work the social facts that are in our possession. Give him, by all means, the social facts that seem to be significant, but spare him in so doing your medical guesses. Otherwise, you will find that you are dealing with a closed mind at the very moment when you most need to find an open one. One critic of the record to which I have referred suggested that our social summary should always be submitted to the doctor in writing, whilst another objected that he might not always read it, and said

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that a better way would be to make a verbal report and then hand him a written summary before leaving. At the moment, it might mean nothing to him, but two months later, when he knew his patient better, some part of it might mean a great deal.

7. It is needless to say that physical and mental conditions change; that a medical diagnosis of six months ago must be brought up to date before we can safely make it the basis of social action.

Our information must be at first hand too. So rapidly does it deteriorate in passing from informant to informant that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it loses 50 per cent in accuracy with each remove. A children's agency called up an associated charities, for instance, to find out whether a certain woman who had had tuberculosis was a safe person with whom to place a child at board. Representatives of those two non-medical agencies put their heads together over the telephone to settle this question, when a message over another wire, connecting with the hospital in the case, would have brought the medical record and a medical opinion based upon it.

Thus far I have kept to my text, and addressed myself to the non-medical workers, more especially to the case workers in this audience. Let me in closing give one illustration of a handicap that we share with the doctors. Physical diseases and social ones too usually hunt, not singly or in couples, but in quintuples, at the very least. Our task would be easier if this were not true—so much easier that sometimes we are tempted to envy the one-cause-one-remedy men. More or less hastily and clumsily we must choose our first point of attack and deal with one or two outstanding causes without delay, though with the other and more elusive ones always in mind, always modifying our treatment, and with our net so spread as to include them in time.

An associated charities sent me a record some months ago of a desertion case. A policeman had told the wife that if anyone could find her husband the associated charities could. There had been fault on both sides, apparently, and the man when found in another state was persuaded by his foreman and by another associated charities to send money regularly for the support of his wife and children. After this had continued for a while, it had seemed to

him best to have not only the expense but the pleasure of family life, and he had come home again.

So far so good, and here the agency withdrew. It was a workmanlike piece of social service, and the man was even overheard telling a chum that nowadays they found you no matter where you went. But while the man was still away and after the associated charities had been applied to, another baby was born. The woman wanted no help for this, or so she said; a midwife, who was unlicensed and whose name she therefore refused to give, would care for her, and she was independent and inclined to resent interference. Should the society make an issue of it? They decided not, being convinced that their treatment of the other disease, of the desertion, would suffer if they did. Having the fear of the Committee on the Prevention of Blindness in mind when I read the record, I took the problem to their secretary. The baby had not been born blind, but it might have been. *Should* they have insisted? No, not at the time perhaps, but they should have examined the registry of births later and have done their best to prevent further unlicensed ministrations by the same practitioner. It transpired, when this examination of the registry was made later, that the child's birth had never been recorded at all, thus bringing a third and quite different community complication into the net.

The moral of all this, of course, is that while we cannot do everything at once, while we have a right to expect our clients and our public to be patient, nevertheless it is a thoroughly good thing for *ourselves* to keep task number two in mind and to set ourselves about doing it just as soon as task number one is well under way. Let us choose deliberately, excluding one of two irreconcilable things for the time being if need be, but let us take the other task up as soon as we possibly can. Such a policy of inclusion, even in a minority of our cases, makes for understanding, for resourcefulness and for flexibility, makes for these alike in the practice of the doctor and of the social worker.

THE CASE FOR THE VOLUNTEER

Plain-spoken criticism of the growing attitude of condescension on the part of professional social workers toward the volunteer. It was printed in the *Survey*, January 4, 1913.

IN THESE days of expert investigations, social surveys, training schools for social workers, and all the rest of our elaborate machinery, where do the volunteers come in? Not all of the case in their favor can be stated here—editorial grist cannot be ground too fine—but they have a case and a very good one.

There are violent rushes from one side of the ship to the other; we cry "Lo here!" and "Lo there!" but still the ship does not sink; it was built to float and, in fact, it does. We have seen the professional worker put forward as a complete and satisfactory substitute for the volunteer, and we have seen the careless and wasteful use of volunteers do whatever it could do to discredit their service altogether. But the issue will not down; the deeper it is buried the more alive it becomes, and so we have also seen, during the last few years, in cities large and small, strong renewal of interest in the right utilization of this great social asset.

The relation between the trained worker newly arrived and the volunteer in possession of the field had to be settled, there had to be a period of readjustment, and out of this now has come the clear conviction that there is no continuity of purpose in the social program that leaves the non-professional group of social servants out of account. The volunteers, as one of the younger professionals puts it, "are the real sons and daughters of the community, while the paid worker, though she may be a loving daughter, is often an adopted one." And changes, moreover, in the paid staff are all too frequent. It is the responsible volunteer alone who assures continuity.

But how is he or she to be made responsible? By avoiding the exploitation of the new recruit. He should be given training, should be provided with tasks of graded difficulty, and of sufficient variety to develop his native gifts, should have very definite demands made upon him, and should be treated as seriously, in fact, as one would treat a paid assistant. Will the volunteers rebel?

Decidedly not; those agencies have the largest number of them that give them the most to do and see that they do it well.

"There are trained workers who have a genius for the use of volunteers; there are others who have not, so that there will always be great unevenness in the work, but there is a technique that can be mastered."

Some social agencies are now organizing classes for their volunteer staff, and are adding beginners' classes for the young people soon to be fitted for active service. But classes are the minor half of this training; the major half comes chiefly through daily contact with the trained workers of the staff (volunteer and paid) who believe that time, skill, and patience invested in the new recruit are thoroughly worthwhile.

A trustee of an associated charities in one of the smaller cities finds many eager to undertake the field service of the society, but "mere willingness to help is not in itself a qualification. Intelligence, discretion, and general dependableness are as indispensable here as elsewhere. Therefore it is better to have it understood at first that, paradoxical as it may sound, volunteers are not expected to volunteer, but that they will be asked to work as they are needed. To be asked to volunteer, then becomes something of a distinction, and any possible sentiment of doing the society a favor by serving it is eliminated." As to the value of the service she adds:

Volunteers working in the associated charities come to know their town as they have never known it before; they see sides of it they have never seen, and come face to face with problems they never knew existed. And because their town is like a large family, their interest and their social enthusiasm are caught by other members of the large family, and so on and on.

There is danger that recruits may be drawn too exclusively from the college, the profession, or the social set already well represented in the society's volunteer group. The wholesomeness of the other policy, of drawing in from the community, that is, representatives of as many different community groups as possible, is self-evident.

Let a veteran testify for her part to greater and greater dependence upon the volunteer's point of view for that elasticity and insight without which our tasks become as lead. Dr. Osler advises his professional brethren who are over forty to keep their faces turned resolutely toward the rising instead of the setting sun; our

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faces are so turned, not resolutely but instinctively, when our work is done in a company of devoted volunteer workers, many of whom are of the younger generation. They know the community in ways that we are too busy and too old to know it; they interpret it to us and, through their many points of contact, pass our message on to all sorts and conditions of men. If, at any time in the past, the volunteer has been a Lady Bountiful who ruffled our democratic temper, she is this no longer, but an earnest seeker, rather, after relations of human helpfulness that, through all the imperfect social adjustments of our time, shall still be without condescension or self-righteousness.

Against a certain opinionated and self-righteous attitude in some of the trained social workers themselves we have to be especially on our guard. This world is not a stage upon which we professional workers are to exercise our talents, while the volunteers do nothing but furnish the gate-receipts and an open-mouthed admiration of our performances. Social work is a larger thing than that. When Balaustion recited the moving drama of the aged Athenian upon the steps of the temple at Syracuse, she recited it to an audience to whom the story of Alcestis was far more than a legend, and to whom some of the tragedies of Euripides were known by heart. It is such an audience—a *participating* audience—that is needed for all the finer developments of social work. When we look back over the line of pioneers in social work who held this faith and made it a living thing, who never were content just to do the work themselves but patiently kept step with the beginner, we can say of them, as Balaustion said of her own great countrymen,

Ah, that brave,
Bounty of poets, the one royal race
That ever was, or will be, in this world!
They give no gift that bounds itself and ends
I' the giving and the taking: theirs so breeds
I' the heart and soul o' the taker, so transmutes
The man who only was a man before,
That he grows godlike in his turn, can give—
He also: share the poets' privilege,
Bring forth new good, new beauty, from the old.

We, too, can share the privilege of our masters, if we share their secret; we, too, can "bring forth new good, new beauty, from the old."

"PENSIONS" AND THE SOCIAL WORKER

Published in the Survey, February 15, 1913. This and the following article, Motherhood and Pensions, were written in the course of the debate on what has since come to be called "mothers' assistance."

OF ALL enviable gifts commend me to the one which enables a man to think both quickly and justly at a time of emotional excitement. It was at such a time, when the Venezuelan message of '95 had just been sent to Congress, that an editor of my acquaintance, who had unbounded admiration for Mr. Cleveland, announced sorrowfully but without a moment's delay that the President had blundered. Newspapers of every political faith were shouldering their muskets and marching to the front by the relatively safe approach of the editorial column, but this one man was almost alone in seeing at once what a good many people did not find out until a week later.

Social workers are facing at the moment a more puzzling tangle than the eastern boundary of Venezuela ever was. It must not astonish us that many of them hesitate, for mothers' pensions is not one question but a dozen.

In the first place, it contains two distinct ideas that are often confused: the idea of a payment on the basis of *proven need* that cannot be humanely met otherwise, and the idea of a payment on the basis of *service rendered*. The latter is a pension; the former is relief.

After true Oriental fashion, in the second place, pension advocates attempt to set our widows in a class apart. How surely this must fail in the Occident is shown by the various state pension measures just drawn, some of which include not only widows remarried, but the wives of husbands totally disabled, insane, feeble-minded, imprisoned, or deserting, and mothers who are not wives at all. Some bills "for constitutional reasons" even include both parents.

This drift is inevitable. In so far as pensions are intended to be

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used in caring for children who live with their natural guardians, the laws granting them are neither more nor less than laws granting public relief to families. Their champions may “run the chromatic scale up” in asseverating that their provisions are justice and not relief, but the only law under which such payments could become a true pension would be one granting a stated sum or sums to all of the same class, to all widows with children, for instance. It is true that we social workers have been using the word “pension” loosely in connection with relief work to cover a good many kinds of grants, and that we are responsible, in part, for the present confusion of terms.

There are many, however, who accept every implication of the word “pension” and who urge motherhood as such upon our attention as a service which justifies endowment by the state; and those who take this view are writing in favor of and campaigning for the public relief measures (miscalled mothers’ pension bills) that are now before fourteen different legislatures. They regard them as an entering wedge to another and quite different social policy. We must give attention to this endowment of motherhood idea—it concerns all social work—but, reserving this separate subject for another occasion, let us ask ourselves, as social workers, what our responsibility is for the scores of bills with varying provisions that are now in committee.

These bills assume, most of them, that a grant of six, eight or ten dollars per child per month will automatically assure improved health, improved morals, and improved citizenship. In so far as this assumption is widespread, is not the fault partly ours? Have we not failed to make clear the only conditions under which material relief can be transmuted into human values? The fixed sum per child takes no account of these, nor of the readjustments that must be made to changes in bodily health, in temper, in power of endeavor, and in natural resources.

Many of the current proposals also ignore public and private provisions now existing for meeting the same needs. One bill is fantastic enough to enjoin the public officials who are to administer the proposed law from seeking supplementary or substitute aid from any private agency; and most of the state-wide measures would create a central relief authority charged with the same

duties as those of the present county relieving officers, without suggesting any means by which to readjust or regulate the duties of the latter. But is not this merely an exaggerated example of our own attitude? Have we not, for the most part, turned our backs upon the administrators of public outdoor relief in this country, and busied ourselves about everything under the sun rather than about their work? The danger of new and conflicting public relief authorities is obvious enough. The new departments are to set about an old task under a new name but with no new or else with very inadequate new machinery. But what do they or we, for that matter, know about the old machinery? It has the great advantage of being on the spot, and of having the well localized form of organization which is absolutely necessary for relief work, but what beyond that do we know as to what it is doing or what it is neglecting to do? Content with a general suspicion that the work was not being very well done, we have not thought its processes worthy of study, and now a new public outdoor relief is impending, to be administered independently and contemporaneously with the old, but for neither the new nor the old have we any basis of fact—statistical or otherwise—to show the extent of the needs that it aims to meet, the probable cost of achieving the results aimed at, the fundamental conditions of success, the qualifications necessary in those who are to bring this success about, or the relation of the whole process to the other functions of government. These are not administrative details, as some would have us believe. The difference between the work of the ward surgeon who operates and kills and the one who operates and cures is not a difference of operative detail, but of fundamental skill and knowledge; a difference of nice adjustment; that is, a means to ends.

Good documentary evidence could be produced to prove that, during the last decade, many private social agencies engaged in family work have made great advances in the adjustment of means to ends with child welfare in view, that they are now throwing many more safeguards around child life in families than ever before. We have no body of evidence from the public agencies charged with the same duty; no plumb line has been dropped into their daily activities. Should we not bestir ourselves, community by community, to discover what is happening to this fundamental work

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for families? Should we not, in all our town surveying and stock-taking, make an inventory of family relief too, and, on the basis of its showing, strive to create in each community something more than a perfunctory interest in the task of the outdoor relief official? The state can help by investigating, by stimulating local interest, by encouraging an interchange of ideas, and by frequent inspections, but the community itself must care, and must take part in the process of making better things happen.

There are few more specious appeals than the claim that mothers' pensions are an emergency measure, that we must legislate somehow, anyhow, at once, and trust to getting the question onto a right basis later. It was not time wasted to get the facts and to base our legislative program solidly upon them in the recent factory investigations of New York State, nor to do this in the workingmen's compensation campaigns of several states; we are applauding the long-delayed but now well-launched effort to study the social evil in all its ramifications before rushing into we know not what, we know not why. Here is an equally important cause in which we must also make haste slowly. Bills have been introduced into some of the legislatures creating commissions to study and report upon the question of mothers' pensions. They have been drafted not by obstructionists, but by those who are deeply interested in the welfare of all neglected children. Without attempting to marshal the further arguments on either side of this much disputed matter, suffice it to say that the need of more facts and of more deliberation should lead all practical social workers, whether they favor pension legislation or not, to favor these commission measures.

MOTHERHOOD AND PENSIONS

See note to previous paper. This more ambitious article appeared in the *Survey*, March 1, 1913, and was widely circulated as a reprint from that journal.

ARGUMENTS that will not bear critical examination are being advanced on both sides of the mothers' pension question. Wholesale claims that every need is now adequately provided for by this agency or by that, solemn general warnings about the dangers of pauperism, harrowing instances of hardship with most of the facts pertinent to the subject under discussion omitted, statistics from sources unknown or discredited, startling discoveries that pension plans lean to socialism, or that their opponents conspire to reduce women's wages, or to increase the prestige of social workers—all this claptrap should be brushed aside. Until both sides have had a chance to be heard, until both have brought forward their evidence, the case is not settled, and the effort to settle it by stampeding our state legislatures can only cause delay. If, for instance, bills are passed as a means of emptying the children's institutions, but are so framed as only to increase their population in the long run, it is better to hear what competent witnesses have to say about this before than after legislating. Competent witnesses are often wrong, it is true, but only by witnesses more competent, with facts still more pertinent and unassailable, can they be so proven. And if we legislate that mothers shall remain at home with their children, as we are now doing in some states, without giving so much as a thought to the experience of those who know most about home work and the probable industrial effect upon it of a state subsidy, we may be vindicating our principles and "standing up for motherhood," but we are doing it at the expense of the very group we aim to help.

Decidedly the time to look about us, to compare experiences and reason together, is now, and the time to legislate is after we have done this. Many social workers, though not nearly all, have no

faith in any one remedy applied wholesale by statute to the ganglion of evils that mothers' pensions are supposed to do away with. As campaigners, this places them at a disadvantage. A single remedy, easily explained and picturesquely defended, makes an appeal that they cannot hope to make. But, as has been shown in more than one legislative hearing on this subject already, the people who live close to the facts and are in the habit of thinking about them constructively have nothing to lose by conference and by discussion. The Illinois Funds to Parents Act was passed in 1911 without discussion; and now, when all its friends, from Judge Pinckney down, are striving to amend it, some other states, also without discussion, are adopting it verbatim in its unamended form. This is a wasteful way of getting forward. Surely experience counts for something, and that cause is weak whose advocates close their minds to the lessons of experience.

On what central facts are we all agreed and on which do we differ? We are all agreed, I think, that families are being broken up which should be kept together; that mothers are being overworked with disastrous results to themselves and to their children; and that inadequate food and clothing, together with overcrowding in the home, are physically and morally handicapping the children there. We are further agreed that it is far more important to remedy these conditions, and to remedy them in a way that will prevent their recurrence, than to vindicate our preference for private initiative or public initiative, for the word "relief" or the word "pension." Thus far we should be able to go along together without disagreement.

We are going to differ about the causes of these bad conditions inevitably, and to differ also about the series of remedies that must be inaugurated promptly while we continue to hammer at causes—to push the death rate lower, to punish exploitation in all its forms, to segregate those who should not propagate their kind. Nevertheless, frank discussion helps—discussion, that is, which leaves our opponent some standing ground and does not impugn his motives.

Without further preamble let me attempt to give as my tentative contribution to such a conferring together, some of the arguments that seem to me to be related to this question.

NEW YORK, 1909-1917

THE INSTITUTION ARGUMENT

The claim is freely made that mothers' pensions would empty the institutions, but if, in cities giving pensions to mothers on a large scale, the children's institution population should continue to increase, then, whatever the cause, some other remedy will have to be found for this evil, in so far as it is an evil. If the per capita subsidy system prove to be one of the causes, can a per capita subsidy to the family be the remedy?

Analysis of institution populations would reveal, I believe, the following reasons besides "poverty only" for commitment: death of mother, illness of mother or child, moral disabilities of mother, desire of both parents to be relieved of care until child can earn, need of specialized care of child which the home cannot supply. A certain proportion of the children, a proportion varying greatly in different places, come from homes that should never have been established. As we know more of what it means to a child to be not only well cared for but well born—to have, that is, physically and morally sound parents—the more carefully we feel like scrutinizing any scheme which involves the possibility of making children (by means direct or indirect) a financial asset to parents of unsound stock.

The foregoing statements do not mean that we should not immediately take steps to see that all children are kept in their own homes when they can become good citizens there. I believe that the number now being removed is grossly overestimated, however, and that an equally important if not more important next step, as regards the number of children involved, would be the adoption of much better standards of care for the children that are in institutions and in charge of placing out agencies at public expense.

THE OVERWORK ARGUMENT

The women upon whom work conditions press the hardest today will not be reached by the pensions now proposed. The widow or the wife whose husband is away or permanently disabled is at least relieved of the double burden of wage-earning and child-bearing. In helping that widow and that wife, we must be careful to put no further barriers in the way of the social workers who are

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striving to give all women a more dignified, better organized, and better safeguarded industrial status. But six of the mothers' pension bills on my desk would put up such a barrier, though quite unintentionally, for they prohibit the beneficiary from work outside the home altogether or for more than one day each week, but do not provide complete support. In discussing this aspect of pension legislation with one of the best authorities on women's work, I pointed out that these provisions might tend to subsidize the sweated industries in the large cities. But I was told that the measures would be equally dangerous in less populous places; that no home was remote enough from the freight office and the parcels post to be safe from such exploitation.

It will be suggested that the remedy for this is complete support by the state, and the prohibition of all work for wages, whether in the home or outside. This would be better than the present proposals, but in some of our cities, especially in their foreign quarters, the mothers who have always been wage-earners resent enforced home-keeping and grow very restless under the nervous strain of it. Glasgow tried the experiment in its "special roll" for the relief of widows with young children, and it records that "so many of the women are devoid of domestic and other interests that work for wages is a positive safeguard." But they should be taught, it may be suggested. Here we have the idea of personal service and individual care from which our pension friends are so eager to get away.

PENSIONS AS RELIEF AND AS REWARD

I have said that our preference for the words "relief" or "pension" should not permanently divide us, but the ideas behind those words, as I pointed out in a recent Survey¹ are quite distinct. It was impossible then and will be impossible now to take up all the arguments for and against new pension measures, but at the risk of seeming to digress unduly, I should like to make myself clear on this one aspect of the question, for it has a very important bearing, I think, upon this year's legislative campaign. In so far as the words "relief" and "charity" have undemocratic connotations, I regret it, and would welcome substitutes for them, but the

¹ See the Survey, February 15, 1913, p. 665.

word "pension," to Americans especially, implies three things that destroy its usefulness as a substitute: First, it implies payment for a service rendered *in the past*; second, it implies, without any reference to the needs or the characteristics of the individual receiving it, a fixed rate of payment; third, it implies no responsibility for what happens. Pension advocates are now claiming, quite logically as it seems to me, that "one hundred cents out of every dollar" should go to the mother, thus cutting away at one stroke all careful choice of pensioners in the first place, and all personal service to the children of the household later on.

A case could be made out for a service pension to all mothers, rich and poor, at fixed rates, and a case could be made out for the further development of the relief measures that are now inadequate, whether public or private. But the mixture and confusion of the two ideas of service pensions and relief grants will make nothing but trouble. It is a confusion that has cost our country dear already. The same mixture of motive appears again and again in the records of soldiers' pension legislation—now it is payment of a debt, and again it is charity; now the pension roll is a "roll of honor," and again it is a thing that must be kept private because the veterans are sensitive about its publication. It will not be time wasted to turn aside long enough to see what has been happening to United States pensions. It is true that most of the mothers' compensation acts are only proposing to substitute state for local funds, but federal pensions to mothers have already been suggested, though not very seriously as yet.

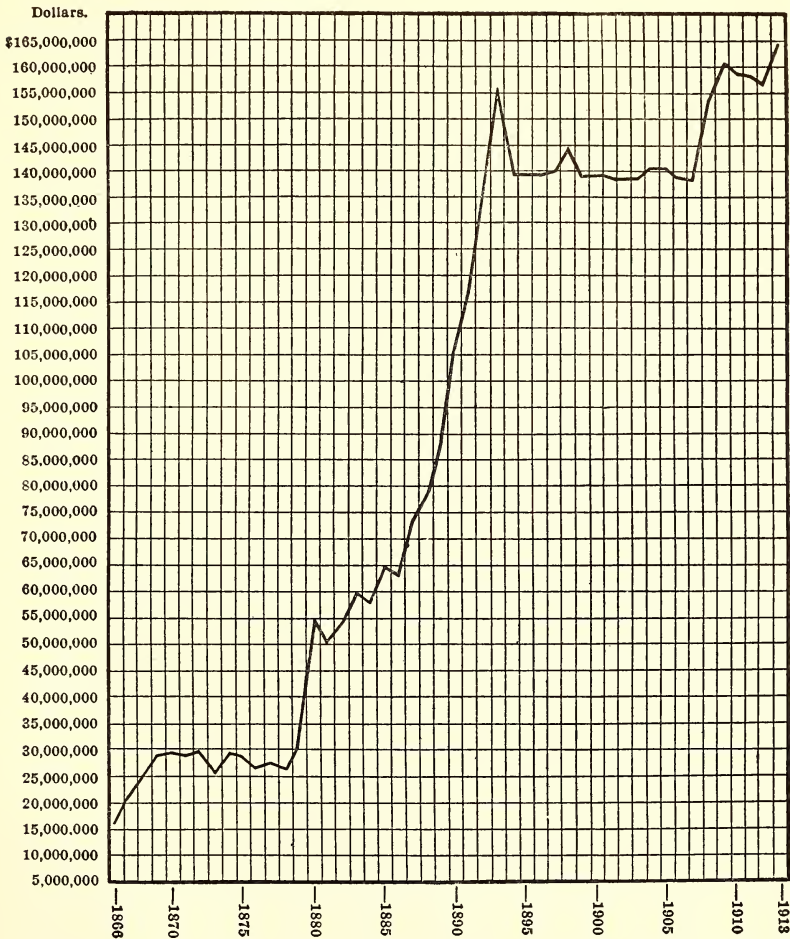
SOLDIERS' PENSIONS

The basal principle of earlier pension legislation, as explained by Glasson in his careful study,¹ was the granting of pensions for "injuries received or disease contracted" in the line of duty, or on account of death directly resulting. No American can quarrel with that or with the desire to provide for the old age of actual veterans; but what are we to say of the piece-meal legislation, ever widening the scope and breaking down the safeguards of these conserva-

¹ Glasson, William Henry, *History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1900. See also Publication No. 331 of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

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tive provisions, which has saddled us with the burden pictured below? Now, in this year of grace 1913, when three-fourths



THE LADDER UPON WHICH SOLDIERS' PENSIONS HAVE CLIMBED

The Congress still sitting as this magazine goes to press has reported out of committee pension bills which would send this ladder up to the \$180,000,000 mark if the estimates published are correct.

of the soldiers of the Civil War are in their graves, we are spending more than we ever spent before; we are spending annually on an

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army mustered out of service nearly fifty years ago three-fourths as much as Germany spends on the second largest standing army in the world. Exclusive of administrative expense, our pension appropriation for the current year is \$164,500,000.

When Garfield reported to Congress thirty-five years ago a pension budget nearly *one-fifth* the size of the present one, he did so with the apology that this would be the maximum, and that in the natural order of things the sum would gradually decrease. What accounts for the quintupled increase since Garfield's budget was adopted? Not the Spanish-American War, whose pensioners are even now less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total. Not bad administration at Washington, for the figures have mounted during good and during bad pension administrations alike. Not deliberate fraud, for though there has been much of this, especially during the years '66 to '78 when pension attorneys were most shameless, the number of pensioners actually decreased in those years nevertheless. Not even selfish special interests that played upon the country's generous feeling for the soldier account for the increase, though it is true that the situation has been used by these. On the whole, it has been honest people who have been betrayed into this unprecedented raid upon the people's treasury, and it has been the honest sentiment of the country that has betrayed them. Many of the young men who came out of the War of Rebellion able and anxious to make their own way had no thought of seeking a government pension until it came to them fourteen years after the war in the overwhelmingly tempting guise of a large check for arrears.

This was by the act of 1879. An act of 1890 still further extended these arrear payments to all discharged soldiers, whether disabled or not, provided they were incapable of earning a living by manual labor. But the newer legislation did not develop instead into a "dignified form of relief" for the indigent, "for it made no inquiry regarding the soldier's property or income." In fact, after the demand for pensions had been artificially stimulated, the cost of sifting the just demand from the unjust was almost prohibitive, and the process, moreover, became increasingly unpopular. Some of the later laws put a direct premium upon perjury, and perjury there was in plenty.

Eloquence—floods of it—addressed to the warm sentiment of

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the country toward the old soldier filled the pages of our Congressional Record. These pages read very like the reports now coming to us from legislatures and mothers' congresses, as the following examples will show:

From an address on mothers' pensions before the Congress of Mothers at Washington, D. C., quoted from the Texas Motherhood Magazine, November, 1912:

The state is a parent, and as a wise and gentle and kind and loving parent should beam down upon each child alike. At the knee of this great, just, loving mother or father, no child should beg in vain. The bounties of opportunity and reward should flow therefrom freely and gladly into each life upon this fair continent. It is not for you and me to struggle and travail under the masks of institutions of charity and benevolent organization, that the children of this parent may have light and love. From the fountain head—the State—all benefits should issue. We, the mothers of the land, should go in a body and make the appeal for what we wish, then stand aside and rejoice as we see our desires expressed—just gifts given by a loving father, received equally by the children.

From a speech in favor of mothers' pensions before the Indiana legislature by one of its number, quoted from the Indianapolis Star for January 28, 1913:

We make an awful mistake when we assume, as often we do, that we can add to or take away from a mother's love, because a mother's love is a part of the mechanism of the soul, and it receives no abridgment from any known condition. It is a jeweled diadem placed upon the brow of a finite creature that the world may honor and obey. We know it to be imperishable, because it bears the impress of an undying perfection, and it is cherished as life's chiefest beatitude, wielding empire over the domain of human tenderness.

From a speech on the "dollar a day" pension bill in the House of Representatives, quoted from the Congressional Record, December 12, 1911. (Pension disbursements for that year, \$157,325,160):

Mr. Chairman, section 3, in my opinion, is a load upon this bill. (Applause.) It closes the door of hope to the old war veteran whose frugality and industry since the war have given him an annual income of a thousand dollars or more. In effect, it is a punishment to him because of his thrift since the war, rather than a reward because of his faithful servitude to his country during the dark days of the Civil War. It is an unjust discrimination which ought not to be made, and which this House cannot afford to sanction. . . .

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Mr. Chairman, . . . the true friend of the soldiers is the man who stands for the framing of a meritorious bill upon the broad basis of relief to the men whose services blotted out the Mason and Dixon line, made certain the Union of these States, and sealed forever the destiny of this Republic, and after such a bill is drafted, works industriously for its early passage. Mr. Chairman, I am glad to say that this House bristles with such men on both sides of this Chamber—men whose hearts are earnestly enlisted in a most noble cause.

Side by side with the development of general pension legislation there had grown up a system of special pension acts. Congressmen pleaded for more liberal legislation in order that they might be relieved of the intolerable pressure of these private pensions bills, of which nearly 36,000 had been passed. But they sought a remedy that only increased the evil. In the closing days of the Sixty-first Congress, in February, 1911, these personal bills were being introduced "at the rate of two hundred per day."

The size of our pension expenditures, which have amounted to more than \$4,129,000,000 for Civil War pensions alone, is not in itself an indictment of the system, if it is clear that the money has been and is being well spent, and that it is bringing better returns to all the people of the United States than any substitute expenditures could bring. No one who has lived in America during these fifty years can fail to know of many cases in which a Civil War pension has been a great blessing, and has been of such definite benefit to the families as to benefit the community also; but the more kinds of people we know and the more intimately we know them, the more certain we are to have also encountered cases of degeneracy either induced or fostered by pensions. The rolls are secret, and no study has ever been made of the effects of soldiers' pensions upon family life, of their relation to social efficiency on the one hand or to social inefficiency on the other.

As to the positive evils that are matters of public knowledge, I do not quote William Bayard Hale or Charles Francis Adams, for, irrefutable as many of their items of evidence are, these authorities may be regarded as taking an extreme view—I turn again to Glasson, who is most moderate in all of his conclusions. He recognizes fully our obligation to all who have been handicapped by actual military service, and to those directly dependent upon them; he might also, in a country without old age pensions, concede the

justice of provision for the aged veteran. But he finds that we have lowered the standard of morality and patriotism among our volunteer soldiers; that we have fostered fraud; that we have led honest people to imagine disabilities; that we have pensioned the affluent on account of disabilities in no way connected with military service; and that youth has been wedded to old age for the sake of the widow's allowance. "The investigator," he adds, "must, at times, turn from the record in disgust."

Glasson is a hopeful man. In his first pension study, the one of 1900, he expresses the belief that pension legislation will cease to be a question of party advantage, as the voting strength of the Grand Army decreases. That was thirteen years ago, and more than a hundred and thirty-three thousand pensioners have dropped from the rolls since. But what is Congress still doing? If this too extended summary of pension administration is regarded as irrelevant and as an appeal to the history of other times and other manners, let us turn to the Congress which is still sitting as I write. It passed in 1912 a new law that sends our pension expenditures to a higher point than they have ever reached before, and is now engaged in sending them, by more bills, still higher.

One of the difficulties encountered by the advocates of universal peace is that every large expenditure in preparation for war helps to create a class in the nation who are specially interested in making these expenditures still larger. Give any considerable group a capitalized interest in one kind of legislation, let that interest find and join hands with a generous public sentiment, and then see all the seekers of special privilege of whatever kind rally to the aid of both. This is why the tide of pensions is always at flood.

There is another aspect of the pension question, however. Veterans are a diminishing class unless we have another big war; not so with mothers. The point of this comparison between mothers' and soldiers' pensions—a comparison which did not originate with me—is that grants to voters, or to those who may, perhaps, soon become such, tend to mount up and up, without any assurance to the state of an adequate return. The phrases "endowment of motherhood," "funds to parents," "mothers' compensation," are already being taken up by shrewd politicians who may give them a significance and a power of popular attraction

that their originators never intended. These latter are rubbing the lamp industriously without any conception of the temper of the genie soon to appear.

CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMANSHIP IS DELAYED

Let us ask ourselves what constructive policies now well thought out could easily be postponed indefinitely by a new flood of pension eloquence and a new series of pension grants. Far as we are from any immediate prospect of a general pension for mothers, we are no farther than the legislators of '62 and '66 and the years succeeding were from spending, as in some years since we have, 97.9 per cent of our total internal revenue upon pensions.

The heaviest cost may be in the further postponement of constructive health measures. Take, for example, the costliest disease and the costliest defect that afflict society today—take tuberculosis and feeble-mindedness. We know what to do about both of them, but we are not doing it. We have decreased the tuberculosis death rate in New York City, but we are very far indeed from having the disease under social control. We have known for a long time that the segregation of advanced cases is indispensable, for instance, but we still follow the line of least resistance by treating them at home instead. If the most careful estimates available mean anything, the only way to secure social control of tuberculosis in the United States is to increase five times over our present rate of expenditure upon care outside the home. The bearing of this upon pension problems is shown by the percentage of dependent widows who lost their husbands from this particular preventable disease. Out of 985 records of such widows recently studied by the Russell Sage Foundation, 799 gave the cause of the husband's death. In 29 per cent of these it was tuberculosis.

Very conservative estimates place the number of feeble-minded in the United States at 200,000, but recent students of the subject believe that 300,000 would be nearer the real number. Here is another group for whom home care is a failure, but only 20,000 are in institutions for the feeble-minded. The segregation for life, or at least during the child-bearing age, of a whole generation of the feeble-minded would bring this terrible curse under social control.

The interesting fact is that we apparently have already wasted

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enough money on soldiers' pensions to do both of these things—not to eradicate every case of tuberculosis or feeble-mindedness, for that is not going to be possible, but to bring both of these scourges under subjection and make them almost negligible quantities. We could do this, I believe (provided the custodial and supervisory powers granted were made commensurate with the expenditure), for a billion dollars less than has been unwisely spent for pensions.

The basis of this estimate, which is only of the roughest and most tentative kind, of course, is as follows: If the natural decline in soldiers' pensions shown for the years 1871 to 1879 is projected to the present year, we get an estimated pension disbursement of \$11,890,000 for the fiscal year 1913, and proportionate amounts for the intervening years. These may be regarded as the normal Civil War pensions. Taken together, they amount to \$680,590,000. Add to this the pensions granted on account of the war with Spain and in the Philippines, \$38,114,000. We may then assume that pensions to soldiers not otherwise provided for, beyond the age of sixty-five, are legitimate, purely as old age pensions, and for such payments add a billion dollars more. If we now deduct the sum of all of these items, \$1,718,704,000, from the \$4,106,585,000 actually spent on pensions during these years, we have still a total unnecessary expenditure of \$2,387,881,000.

Only a small part of this money actually could have been spent on either of the preventive campaigns named, because science had not discovered and social workers had not fully worked out the details of care or of prevention. But if the same rate of unnecessary pension expenditure were to continue (there were 508,812 applications for United States pensions or for increases in the same in the year ending June 30, 1912), or if our plans for cure and prevention had been ready earlier, a portion of this money could have been spent in a ten years' campaign for the control of tuberculosis, and another portion for a thirty years' campaign for the control of feeble-mindedness.

The highest estimate available (Easton's) places the cost of control of tuberculosis in New York City, where control is peculiarly difficult, at less than \$50,000,000. Let us say, then, \$45,000,000 in New York City, with its 10,000 deaths from tuberculosis per

year, and multiply that by 15.5 for the country, which has 155,000 deaths per year from the same cause, according to Irving Fisher's estimate, and we have a total cost for social control of approximately \$700,000,000. This is probably an estimate which could be much lowered by good social and medical engineering.

The feeble-minded must be cared for longer—for thirty years, but their care is not so costly, and the most important single factor is the uncared-for woman of child-bearing age. Assuming that one-third of the total 300,000 of both sexes do not need custodial care, and estimating school care, exclusive of buildings, at \$175 per year for seven years, and adult care at \$100 per year (according to Johnson's plan for partial self-support) for twenty-three years, we have the enormous total of \$705,000,000. But from this it is fair to deduct the cost of caring for the 20,000 already in institutions for the feeble-minded, and the cost for the estimated number of 47,000 feeble-minded now in almshouses, insane asylums, and prisons and reformatories. This leaves an estimated cost of \$408,750,000 for care, to which should be added \$133,000,000 for buildings. This gives a total estimated cost for the social control of feeble-mindedness of \$541,750,000.

Deducting the estimated cost of both tuberculosis and feeble-mindedness controlled from the estimated unnecessary payments in pensions, we still find \$1,146,000,000 remaining for the social control of other preventable diseases, and of such other social maladjustments as can be attacked from many sides at once by government activities.

In all our social planning nothing must be done which will deprive us of this power of attack on many sides. It is useless to spend large sums in an unrelated, piecemeal way. We need a combination of high administrative standards and of deeply social motives; of competent technique and ample volunteer service. The advocates of mothers' pensions have no such carefully thought out program, or, if they have, they have not yet stopped to realize the demoralization that must come to social plans and social results from government per capita grants that are open to all the objections ever made against our present pension system.

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RELIEF AND CHILD WELFARE

No attempt has been made to keep to widows' pensions in this discussion, because the legislation already proposed in many states goes far beyond this. One publicist has said that these new pensions should be called children's pensions, and this title is the one, probably, which most accurately describes their purpose. If the pension bills introduced are passed, most of them will permit the present public relief officials to relieve families in which there are children, and the pensioning authority newly created will be expected to do the same. Now, the relief and oversight of children in those families which have a male breadwinner does not demand skill that is essentially different from the skill needed for the relief and oversight of families that have no male head. Family problems and child-helping problems are involved in both tasks, and both should be undertaken, whether at public or at private expense, by that agency in each community which is best able to secure good results.

It is true that there are many neglected children in their own homes today, and both the service and the relief that they are receiving are pitifully inadequate to their needs. The claim is made that it is only more income which is needed; that personal service, supervision, continuous oversight and care are not only superfluous but even impertinent. If individualized care is not necessary at this point, if "case work" has no place, then we are confronted here with the solitary exception in the whole range of social endeavor, in so far as such endeavor touches individuals. Human beings are different, and to get socially helpful results we have to do different things for different people. The dispensaries and hospitals are discovering this and are trying to socialize their work; the public schools are finding it out, in connection with their truancy work, their home and school visiting, their vocational guidance, and other activities. A list of the departments of human endeavor that are just waking up to the fact that they must individualize their clients would fill this page. None of them has the requisite skill as yet—our agencies for family rehabilitation certainly have not, but their workers cannot acquire even a modicum of the technique necessary for this particular task without becoming immediately in demand far beyond the boundaries formerly given to social work. We social workers would welcome being put

out of business by the general adoption of our program, but we want it adopted in full, and not in fragments.

I have said that no one remedy can meet the need or even relieve it. By those who are willing to accept this view and to agree to a plan of campaign in which more adequate material relief shall be made a part of more individualized, more skilful and more thorough treatment, what immediate further steps might be taken to advance child welfare in families?

1. Community by community, we must know what is happening. This is not the place in which to present a bill of particulars, but the experience of the best child-helping and family workers should be utilized in drawing up and making available a series of questionnaires that would help to bring out the salient facts as to relief and family dependency in each city, town, and rural neighborhood.

2. The relation between the conditions discovered and the campaigns of cure and prevention already launched in this country should be made very clear indeed, in order that relief administration and its accompanying work for individual families may no longer be regarded as an unimportant matter by a considerable group of social reformers.

3. Whatever undeveloped resources for service exist in each community, let us develop them. If the public agencies are carrying the chief burden already, and carrying it with any degree of responsibility and efficiency, strengthen them, aid them in every way, work to secure for them more adequate resources in relief and in service. If the private agencies are the chief burden bearers, do as much for them.

4. Some places will show very inefficient public and very inefficient private care of families, and an unaroused public sentiment as to their needs. Bombard the public with facts. Be sure that you have them first; devise a reasonable program based upon them, and then make these known by every engine of publicity, every graphic means.

5. Untiring work must follow. People and not surveys or exhibits must make things different by hard and steady pulling together. And to the solution of one family's difficult problem, to the safeguarding of one child's right to health and a fair chance, might well be brought, in contribution, everything that human ingenuity has devised or human sympathy has longed for.

TO THE VOLUNTEERS OF 1915

(Privately Printed)

An address to the volunteer workers of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, February 4, 1915, printed in the Charity Organization Bulletin for April of the same year. The volunteer spoken of was Miss Anna Justice of Philadelphia.

AS THE train brought me back this morning to the city that had been my home for nine years, I found myself speculating more or less idly upon the numberless Philadelphias on which the passengers were looking out from their car windows. Every great city presents as many aspects as there are observers, I suppose, but for me (who can hardly be called an observer, so much am I still a part of you) Philadelphia has meant for years, will always mean, the home of a group of people who have given to the individual victims of misfortune in this community a personal service of rare devotion and beauty. This service of which I speak has centered in the Society for Organizing Charity. You have never claimed any monopoly of it nor do you now. I realize that volunteers have worked in the other social agencies of your city loyally and well, but is it not the simple truth that, in a service which has addressed itself to family rebuilding and has striven to be continuously helpful, you have been the leaders, and that your city is a more humane place today because of that service?

The steady growth, in fact, of the whole charity organization movement—a growth which continues through waves of popular approval and disapproval—has been due to its faith in the ability of volunteers to do charitable work skilfully, continuously, and thoroughly. It has given them important tasks, involving the permanent welfare of certain disadvantaged people, and has believed implicitly in their seriousness, their patience, and their devotion. It has expected them, too, to prepare themselves for difficult responsibilities by serving first under those who have had longer

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and wider experience. The beginner who enters the ranks of the army of social volunteers has a right to demand from the agency in which he or she enlists, both interpretation and leadership, and I should guard my work jealously, if I were you, from any extension or digression, however attractive, that would make it impossible for you to give these two things to your volunteers, just as I should guard it from any usurpation of authority or any assumption of special wisdom in matters social, for these too would interfere with your task of interpretation.

I cannot better illustrate what I mean by personal volunteer service, and by its interpretation to the volunteer, than by telling you of one who served here among you but serves no longer, save as her memory is still a continual inspiration to her old associates. The telling is not going to be easy, but I feel that you have a right to know.

She came to me, soon after her college days were over, at a meeting of the College Club, and, offering to become a volunteer worker in the Society for Organizing Charity, was sent to its Eastern District. Four years later, when I was preparing a paper on Friendly Visiting, I asked her and a number of others to write for me certain memoranda of their experiences. Her own notes are still in my possession. One of them reads:

It does seem to me as if too much care could not be taken in the working in of a new visitor, and the district superintendent can so easily forget that perhaps her visitor is not so accustomed as she is to go among the crowded parts of the poorer districts. The tenderfoot is always difficult, but I think I told you how Miss W. encouraged me (I did not know where I was going when I started out) by saying that I should find Mrs. S. living in a nice little street. It seems ridiculous now, but I know if I had been sent first to the M's third floor tenement [she had said in another connection that this Italian family was furnitureless and foodless when she first went there] I should have come home and never gone near them or the society again. This was simply the point of view of a person who never had thought or known much about the real conditions in which some of the poor live.

Under such guidance as the society could give, this volunteer's point of view changed rapidly, and the passage brings to mind now, as illustrating the connection between the humblest service and the widest social usefulness, a night when its writer had been work-

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ing very late at the central office. There had been a hurry call sent out for volunteers to address envelopes to friends of a housing measure at Harrisburg—a measure which seemed at the moment to be in grave danger. As she threw the last envelope on the pile, she said, “If only the people we are writing to could have seen the housing conditions that I saw yesterday, they would not merely write to Harrisburg—they would go there in person and take the Capitol by storm!” When one who is very quiet and self-contained says an emphatic thing, it is remembered.

I remember, too, her distress over the attitude of a former classmate, who had entered some work of personal service in another city and had later taken a tone of complete disillusionment—the poor were “so unsatisfactory.” The same quiet critic was sure that the chief responsibility for this failure lay with the agency that had made the connection carelessly, without interpretation or leadership. Her classmate had not been hard or inconsiderate in the old days; there had been another side to appeal to, and she felt all the more keenly the mistake of any social agency which sends inexperienced volunteers into the homes of the poor and then washes its hands of the results.

Here is another passage from the notes:

Friendly visiting has meant so much to me in the past four years that, in looking back, I find more has been gained than given. . . . Is it out of place to say here that the spirit of our district superintendents seems to me something quite worthwhile to have met with, and that people not at present interested do not know one of the pleasantest sides of the work—the acquaintance with the “paid worker”?

There was none of the spirit in her that exalted the volunteer at the expense of the professional, and she found in the society’s staff of paid workers none of the self-assertiveness which is the natural reaction against such an exaltation.

Recollections crowd in upon me of talks during the last journey that this friend and I took together, now more than seven years ago—talks about that family in the third floor tenement, already mentioned, with plans for the girls, plans for the boys; talks too about future developments. “I begin to see things,” she said, as the train sped northward, “in longer perspective. Mrs. M., who is a widow, has had her hard struggle in a new country, but there are

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many consolations for a mother in her children and in the brightening outlook ahead of them. Some of them will be leading citizens before they die. Plans develop for one family after another, for one whole group after another. Even in my own short experience I can see that. But I do not see what social workers have done or can do for the unmarried woman whose health is frail and whose training has been inadequate. Take the crippled girl that I am visiting, who works hard, earns \$6 a week, and comes home to a household of two aunts, one bedridden and both quarrelsome. What is there ahead of her but a slowly narrowing circle within which there will be few interests and fewer resources?"

When was the girl crippled? In childhood, but she did not know how. Well, in the future we were surely going to see that prompt and more competent medical care came to everyone. Were the hours of work too long? We both agreed that there, too, much was going to be done. Much has been done since, and we social workers can never be grateful enough to the people who have made a fine beginning in the better regulation of working hours for just such girls as this one. Wages too must not be left entirely to the chance bargaining of those who are so ill equipped to bargain. The problem of training for work also remains to be grappled with seriously, with all the brains and patience that we can bring to it. Yet, after all had been said that honestly could be said at the time by way of reassurance and encouragement for the future, I had to acknowledge that the problem could not be wholly solved by impersonal means. It could not be so solved for this girl, who was fortunate (I urged) in having a good friend—one who understood and cared. I had no hint then of what I was to learn in a few weeks; namely, that that friend, out of her slender store, had left the girl, as an expression of an understanding and caring that passed beyond life itself, a legacy of some hundreds of dollars.

I know only too well that it is possible to speak of volunteer work and of any work of social betterment, indeed, in a way that removes it from reality and from any sense of contact with life. At the risk of seeming too personal, I have ventured for this once to speak in other terms. We charity organization people are accused of harping too much upon the future. Today I have spoken of the past, but I know of no present that can have any depth of meaning save

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as it keeps both the past and the future in view. In striving to build up personal relations between those who have—I do not mean riches—but those who *have life abundantly* and those who have it not; in building this bridge over which many others beside my friend have passed back and forth in unheralded and self-effacing service, the society has done a work for its city which Philadelphia may ignore at times, but cannot fail to be the richer for.

And now let me turn to the present, to a subject so engrossing because of the greatly increased burdens under which you are struggling forward in this emergency winter. What I have to say about this second theme is more closely associated with the spirit of true service than may appear on the surface. As you know, I am a veteran, and am able to think of this country's relief happenings in 1915 in the light of what happened in 1893 and in 1908. It is plain now the country over, as it was in those earlier periods of depression, that distress can be made more acute and unbearable by any form of charitable action that causes a great congestion of applications at one point. Action there must be, concerted, co-operative, quiet and steady, but action which is none of these may easily do harm in the long run. The immediate effects of a winter such as this one are apparent enough and distressing enough, but it is the longer, slower effects that are the most distressing. I have had to know them in detail, remember, after two other periods of exceptional hardship, and I believe it would be impossible to exaggerate their seriousness. The exhaustion of savings; the removal from the street to the alley, from the separate house to furnished rooms; the decreased privacy and resultant lowering of moral tone; plans abandoned for the better education of the children; physical deterioration from privation; the moral deterioration of enforced idleness—all these results will make work for your children's children if you neglect the beginnings of progressive deterioration now. For whatever check is now put upon lowered standards of living in the years to come, we must depend upon the very work of rebuilding that I have already referred to, and, whatever other work may be undertaken in this year of emergency, this must not be dropped.

It has fallen to my lot during the last few years to have to read a great many family histories taken from the records of different kinds of social agencies in different cities. I have not been looking for proof of the position that I have just taken, but it has been forced upon my attention that many of the most distressingly complicated and hopeless situations recorded were developed in families that had made their first application for assistance of any kind in a year of industrial depression. Relief had been given, the immediate and outstanding need had been met, but nothing else had been done. Under pressure of many demands, the situation had not been grasped as a whole or dealt with as a whole, and some maladjustment, which existed but was not obvious at the time, had developed later into a condition past the ability of social service to cure.

But, you may say, now is no time for being thorough, for giving individualized and differentiated service to different groups and different individuals; all we can do at a time like this is to see that people do not starve or freeze. I admit that this latter duty too is imperative, but it does not supersede the other. If everybody insisted that it did, including the volunteers in the Society for Organizing Charity, there would never be time enough or service enough in this community to undo the consequences. This is a counsel for ourselves alone, remember. Whatever others may be moved to do at a time like this is the outgrowth of their own experience, but as to ours, our hands are already on the plow, the line of the furrow is before us, and we are not willing to face the consequences of dropping the individualized work for which we stand.

In a neighboring city, the police referred the other day to a district office of the local society for organizing charity the name and address of a destitute widow with five children. Her family had been known to the society during her husband's lifetime, but she had moved away and left no address and so had been lost sight of. A visit now in the middle of the afternoon found her oldest child, a boy of seventeen, in bed. He was feeling tired, and habitually refused to work, his mother said. Her boy of fourteen had been examined earlier by a specialist and pronounced a low-grade imbecile, but she had refused then and refused now to have him placed in an institution. In their crowded quarters, he was associating

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constantly with the three younger children. The death of her husband had made the widow somewhat better off than before, because he never had supported her and now her father was willing to do so in part. But she had never been a homemaker, nor able to influence her children. Do not misunderstand me—all of her failings and those of the oldest boy too could be accounted for many times over, probably, and no one was trying to blame them, but what should be done? I do not know how it is with you, but in that other city I assure you that the state of the public mind is such at the present moment that it would be almost as much as your life and a great deal more than your reputation is worth to do the right thing by that family. But how can we say that we have not the time to do it, when we realize the waste of time and the waste of life that must come from not doing it?

The society's own past dealings with this same family point that moral clearly enough. When it first knew them, the oldest boy was fourteen, but he had not "made his grade" in school and could not get his working papers. He had not returned to school and was not working. Instead of grappling with that problem then and there, with the school law as an aid, the society had devoted itself chiefly to other aspects of the family situation. Its work was heavy, workers were few, time pressed, with the result now that no law can touch the case of a boy with three years of confirmed idleness behind him, and no one can estimate the amount of social work, the amount of time and effort that must go into the attempt to make a man of him. It is failures, sins of omission such as these, that have burned into us the conviction that social work in families cannot afford to be superficial ever.

What can you volunteers do to help? If the society has ever served you, now is the time to show your loyalty, your steadfastness, and also your appreciation of the true meaning of distress among the poor of Philadelphia this winter—a distress so serious that, though relief in much larger sums than usual is needed and must be given, relief alone will not relieve the situation. The service side, therefore, must not be forgotten.

First, you can so arrange your own personal affairs as to give more time to your district, and can interest others in doing the same. Second, if regular hours are selected and strictly kept, your

service will be far more valuable, especially if the volunteer schedule can be so arranged as to assure an even distribution of service throughout the week. Not only can follow-up visits be made by the less highly trained volunteers, after a plan has been devised by the others, but there is desk work, office work, telephoning, shopping, taking of children to clinics and much other work to be done of such wide variety as to fit the capabilities of all who have tact and genuine good will to contribute.

Let me mention, in closing, one more service. You may not know that, in my first year in Philadelphia, there were circulated the wildest tales and no small amount of gossip—some of it good-natured, some not—as to what I had done to poor people and what I was going to do to them. Some of the volunteers here rendered a service to the cause of social work which I shall never forget. They made it their business to take every charge that could be made specific (they insisted that charges should be so made) and examined all the facts for themselves. They gave out no general denials and were satisfied with none, for they applied the “case method” to the situation. Everything was sifted quietly and explained quietly, without heat and without intermission. It was a magnificent service. We made mistakes then, and you still do, I imagine. In so far as we *had* blundered, we said so frankly and promised amendment. But, needless to say, many stories of our indifference and our stupidity melted away before the genial inquiry to which they were subjected.

When a clergyman assures you, with every circumstance particularized, that the New York Charity Organization Society refused to help a family of five because \$6 a week was enough for them to live on, you would be taken aback, perhaps, as a New York acquaintance of mine was when a clergyman so protested to him. But I sent my acquaintance back for the name and address of the family, with the promise that, if I could possibly bring it about, someone should render a strict accounting for such an attitude. In seeking the address, the clergyman learned from his church visitor that those damaging things were what she thought the society *would have said* had she referred the family to it at all. Whenever, therefore, you hear adverse criticisms of your society’s work, seek for the specific details, bring them to headquarters, insist upon having

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a full and documented statement of what was done and why, then carry the result, be it vindication, explanation or apology, to everyone who made the original charge or who heard it made.

This is the sensible and the kind treatment of our critics. But always remember this too: It is not what we say or what others say that counts in the long run. The only things that count are what we do, what they do, and the ultimate results thereof. With this standard of measure, with the noble tradition of service behind you and the responsibility of service before, stand shoulder to shoulder, then, and be of good cheer.

THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER IN A CHANGING WORLD

An address delivered at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1915. Five years earlier, in a paper entitled *The Interrelation of Social Movements*, page 285, Miss Richmond had been pleading that family rehabilitation be recognized by the reformers, if not as a specialty, then at least as a very necessary and important branch of social service. So far has the pendulum swung in the other direction that we find her here deprecating the social reformers' "determination to have a new kind of case worker for every conceivable situation!"

"IT IS not easy," says one of our modern musical critics, "to discuss recent painting with people who believe that Futurism and Post Impressionism are the same thing; or to discuss recent music with people who ask you 'if you like such composers as Strauss or Debussy.'" Our own social work terminology is in even more of a muddle, so that it is necessary to explain at the very outset that by the none too happy title of social case work we mean that half of social work which has to do with the social treatment of individuals, individual by individual, as distinguished from all those processes of social reform which deal with individuals in masses. I realize that a great deal of case work does not deserve to be described as "social" and that many reform measures, put forward in all sincerity, are not truly "reforms," but the comparisons made here must be confined to the good of each kind. Social case work does different things for and with different people—it specializes and differentiates; social reform generalizes and simplifies by discovering ways of doing the same thing for everybody. Together it is possible for them to achieve social well-being; acting separately and more or less at cross purposes they achieve only the most partial and transitory results. The only kind of social case work in which I believe, therefore, and the only kind to which I shall refer today, may be defined as the *art of doing different things for and with different people by co-operating with them to achieve at one and*

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the same time their own and society's betterment. Such work is not confined to any particular group of agencies, of course, nor is it necessarily confined to agencies known as "social" in the more technical sense. It is recognized, wherever we may find it, by its method of differential treatment and its aim of social betterment.

The foregoing is the most didactic paragraph in this whole paper. I apologize for it, though, at the same time, I must warn you that my time limit is going to force me to generalize where I should like to be specific.

The subject that I have chosen was suggested to me by an incident at this National Conference when it met in Memphis last year. On my last day at the Conference, and just when I was hurrying to the train, a social case worker whom I had not previously met asked me, on a street corner, "Where do *we* come in? I've been attending meetings all the week in some of which the details of my own work have been earnestly discussed, and in others of which the whole of social reform in its broadest sweep has been considered, but no one has told me the relation between these two things. In the march of social progress, where do we case workers really come in?" I was not able to tell her on the street corner; I should not be able to tell her in any adequate fashion if she were here today, but her question did set me thinking more seriously than I had thought before of the relation between social work, individual by individual, and social work for the mass.

You are aware, of course, that some of the better established professions have this same problem to face. Adjustment of the relations existing among the medical specialties has been no primrose path, we are told, and Dr. Barker's presidential address before the Association of American Physicians, Flexner's reports on medical education—all the more recent utterances, in fact—go to prove this. A few years ago, all but the wisest of the medical research workers and the sanitarians were quite outspoken in their contempt for the clinicians, but Dr. Barker said, in 1913, that the situation was gradually righting itself, and of even later date is the lifting of the clinical sciences to a place of new dignity in some of the medical schools. "The air," he says, "has become thick with applicable facts of the most diverse origins," but he makes it clear, by telling illustrations which I must not stop to quote, that

many of the new discoveries in medicine are useless until the clinician has adapted them to the living organism, and that many others are powerless to be born even until the distinctively clinical sciences of diagnosis and therapy have been pushed forward with the same enthusiasm and devotion that has gone into the non-clinical branches.

At present the attitude of the social reformers toward social case work would seem to vary from a desire to brush it aside altogether, as a patchwork thing which only delays the coming of social justice, all the way up to a determination to have a new kind of case worker for every conceivable social situation. We have these twin phenomena to contemplate. Last year, at the National Conference of Charities, our president was not a case worker, nor could a majority of the section chairmen be so described, but of the formal addresses delivered, no less than nineteen described and pressed upon our attention the need either of some new form of case work or else the further extension of some existing form. During the twelve months succeeding, on the other hand, books have been published by social workers in which the broad statement has been made that community action for the common good is "far more important than successful case work"; and former contributors to organizations engaged in some form of case work have written letters, one of which at least has been published in the *Survey*, explaining that they could contribute no longer because certain measures (not specified) were going to render case work futile.

Now, in so far as this enthusiasm of each man for his own hobby enables him to pursue it strictly at his own expense, it is an amiable weakness at the very worst. But the number of social case workers, you will admit, is rapidly increasing. Whatever else social reform eradicates, abolishes or prevents, the two great facts of human variation and of variable human response to stimuli would seem likely to remain. Whatever the legislative and governmental changes of the next fifty years, whatever the industrial changes, whatever the improvements in conditions and in folks, it will still be necessary to do different things for and with different people, if the results of our doing are to be more good than bad. I hope and believe that the level upon which the case worker operates is going to be steadily raised; that most of us here present are going to live

to see this level lifted very appreciably. We are also going to see many changes, probably, in the form of organization responsible for case work tasks, but the tasks will remain, and the demand for workers competent to do them will continue. May not a possible mischief be done, therefore, by the people whose greatest pleasure is found in the tearing down part of up-building? We need case workers of better native equipment, of broader training, wider imagination, deeper sympathy. In so far as the rapidly growing supply of workers is likely to be depressed in quality or hampered in opportunity by such attitudes on the part of social reformers as those that I have instanced, surely the antagonism is going to be socially mischievous.

The champions of case work are the champions of social reform also, remember. They have welcomed and still welcome every change that will tend to make health as contagious as disease, that will increase industrial opportunity, dignify leisure, and enrich the mental and social life of man. Their record in educating public opinion about these things, in securing legislation and in promoting concerted community action for the common good, is not their only or their most distinctive contribution to social progress, and I do not intend to enlarge upon it, therefore, but it is a good record which will bear examination; it is an all-sufficient guarantee of their whole-hearted sympathy with reform.

The failure of a good many social reformers to give case work the sympathy and support that it needs in return is due, I believe, to an entire misconception of the processes by which social progress is finally and actually to be achieved. That conception of democracy which pictures it as always doing the same thing in the same way for everybody is a conception still too common, but we have only to examine it with some attention to see that it is essentially autocratic and outworn.

Aliens all look alike; that is the autocratic conception. Men, our brothers, look and are different; that is the truly democratic conception. Our public schools flourished for two generations on the idea that all children were alike and should all be taught alike. One of my colleagues in the Russell Sage Foundation, Dr. Ayres, told the teachers of the National Education Association recently that there is greater difference in classroom ability between differ-

ent members of the same grade in our schools than there is between the abilities of the average child in the lowest and the average child in the highest grades, and that this must mean inevitably differentiated courses for differentiated children. But this, you may say, is about teaching and has nothing whatever to do with social work. True, but discoveries similar to this one of the schoolmen are now being made in our hospitals, in our courts, our prisons, our workshops, our every institution that touches intimately the lives of human beings. These discoveries are pressing in upon us social workers the newest need of democracy—the need, namely, of recognizing human differences and of adjusting our systems of education, of cure, of law, of reformation, and of industry to those differences.

Suppose the school authorities should attempt on any adequate scale differentiated courses for differentiated children. Where would the new adjustment most need to be made, if not at the point at which our home and school visitors are now actually beginning to work out a correlation of school and home plans and activities?

I do not need to dwell upon the true democratization of the hospital. There has been no more brilliant adaptation and extension of the ideas and methods of modern social case work anywhere than those that had their beginning at the Massachusetts General Hospital in the year 1905. Nor does the relation between the judicial function of the presiding officer of the court and the socially interpretative function of the case workers need illustration here. None know better than you that, not only in our juvenile courts, and our domestic relations courts, but in all courts engaged in adjudging men in their human relations, a better administration of justice waits upon a better supply of social insights and social evidence than we social workers are yet able to furnish. So too with penology. When the great discovery was made that “it is the nature of the criminal rather than the nature of the crime that should determine the character of the protective measures to be taken by society,” social case work was postulated then and there. The supply of competent case workers still lags far behind the demand that would make the suspended sentence and the indeterminate sentence the truly beneficent reforms that they are destined to become.

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The personal side of social service was so humble in its beginnings, so tentative, not to say timid, in its earlier planning, that we scarcely realize into how many fields it has penetrated or what great developments still wait upon its completer realization of its own distinctive function. All unconsciously, the workshop, too, is discovering anew and adapting to its own need (though very clumsily as yet) a modification of our basic idea. In his testimony before the Industrial Relations Commission in January last, the head of the Ford Company said:

The company maintains a corps of forty men, good judges of human nature, who explain opportunity, teach American ways and customs, English language, duties of citizenship, who counsel and help the unsophisticated employes to obtain and maintain comfortable, congenial, and sanitary living conditions and who also exercise the necessary vigilance to prevent, as far as possible, human frailty from falling into habits or practice detrimental to substantial progress in life. The whole effort of this corps is to point men to life and make them discontented with a mere living.

If this is not a form of social case work, what is it? I do not pretend to know how its processes and results compare in detail with those with which you and I are familiar, but it is more than likely that each group of practitioners could learn something from the other.

I did not attempt to say all of these things to my new acquaintance on the street corner, or I should have missed my train. But I did say, in reply to her question as to where social case work "came in," that it seemed to me that it came in before and after the mass movement for any given social reform. The whole is greater than any of its parts, and no one essential part can be described as "more important" than any other, provided the other is really essential. Contact with what Dr. Barker calls "the living patients themselves" gives us a certain distinctive point of view, and the people who have shared such contacts tend to make that point of view known and felt in those early stages in which a new social reform has been conceived but is not yet born. Sometimes our share is a very small one, and all the pre-natal care comes from some other quarter, but often it is a very important factor, especially in its influence upon those citizens still to be converted,

whose minds move habitually and with caution from the concrete to the general. Mr. McKelway has testified to the staunch support, often against powerful interests, that social case workers, from Maryland to Texas, are now giving in the struggle for child labor reform. The reason is plain. Their cumulative case contacts (always provided that the contacts are intelligent) could not fail to give point and momentum to a demand for legal enactment. But their most difficult and serviceable share in the southern fight will come later, *after* the laws are on the statute books. I know from personal experience in a difficult state what case workers have to endure after the law has been passed, standing as they do on the firing line, bearing more abuse than they have ever had to bear before, perhaps, but sustained by the thought that the thousand and one adjustments over which they are patiently laboring will help to establish in their community a new standard of child welfare. Wherever you have such a group, familiar with the homes of the people, habituated to detailed educational processes in those homes, and with the patience to make adjustments, there the assimilation of a new standard goes forward unchecked; but otherwise the law on the statute book is often no better than a dishonored promissory note.

Often, but not always. Sometimes it is possible to achieve good social results for both the individual and the community by doing exactly the same thing in the same way for everybody, with no adaptations whatever. Some very beneficent services are of this kind, and, in the successful inauguration of such measures, social case work is unnecessary. Workingmen's compensation laws, if at all adequate, belong in this class, I believe.¹ Minimum wage laws, on the contrary, will make certain kinds of case work more necessary. I have no desire, you see, to claim that case work is either the whole of social reform or the major part of it. But I do wish to submit to all earnest social reformers of whatever party or shade of belief these few questions: Do they realize the goal toward which social case work is really moving? Have they ever taken the trouble to discover what a useful and necessary part of social prog-

¹ In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper many illustrations were given of the way in which case work experience was not only helping to secure just enforcement of existing compensation laws, but their further amendment. The writer was forced to conclude, therefore, that her example was not well chosen.

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ress it is destined to become? And, since, unlike the obnoxious laws with which they are accustomed to deal, it cannot be repealed; since it is here and would have to be at once re-created if it were not, is it not a pity to take an attitude toward it that is certain to make it count for less on the side of solid social advance than otherwise it could be made to count? Instead of making the test of the case worker's sincerity the extent to which he neglects case work for other social reform processes, would it not be wiser, therefore, to test him by the extent to which he is able to carry social reforms into his daily work and make them effective there, by the extent, also, to which he is able to transform some of these measures by subjecting them to a series of practical experiments? Why not give those particular services, which are not, I acknowledge, of the bell-ringing variety and so are easily ignored, a more generous recognition?

THE COLLEGE AND THE COMMUNITY

(Hitherto Unpublished)

Miss Richmond delighted to meet with groups of young people. The little speech that follows was made at a student dinner in Davison Hall, Vassar College, on the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the institution, October, 1915, which she attended as the official representative of the Russell Sage Foundation.

IN ANY discussion of the college and the community, of "town and gown," I must always present the side of "town." This necessity enables me to do one thing that none of my hearers can ever do again; namely, to see the college from the outside.

I so viewed it consciously for the first time when, before Johns Hopkins University was opened, I heard its president-elect address my elementary school and ask the children, of whom I was one, how they would like to live in a university town. Though I was never to go to the new university, it came to me, for its opening changed my whole outlook upon life. It determined my occupation, my associates, the character of the daily paper that I read; it actually changed the quality of my care when sick and of my recreations when well. Looking back through the years, it seems to me that the greatest service that the university rendered the very attractive but rather provincial community in which I grew up was to supply it, for the first time, with a strong "through draft" of ideas. Baltimore's life became more flexible, more varied, and more vivid. Surely no other service to a community can be comparable with this one. Professional social worker as I am, and proud as I am of my home city's developments in social work—developments in which the university has always borne a large share—I cannot point to these as the sole or the chief community service of the Johns Hopkins.

Of late years I have been closely identified with a group of people in the Russell Sage Foundation who are often asked to act as advisers to American communities. They would all agree with me,

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I think, that on the social welfare side, at least, many American communities are still very backward, and that nothing would further their social welfare so much as a through draft of ideas, an overcoming of the tensions and rigidities of prejudice, a prompter and freer communication between the brain that conceives and the hand that executes. They would further agree that the colleges are the institutions that can best fit American citizens for this service, for the overcoming, that is, of fixed attitudes and of insularity, wherever they are found.

The "community" of our assigned topic is not merely, I take it, the college town, but also the communities from which college students come. Collectively these places constitute the "community" of Vassar, for instance, in a very real sense. I have reason to know how strong an influence goes back to each one of these places from your own college, through the fair and fearless thinking, the patient and unassuming doing of your graduates. I have reason to know also that fathers and mothers begin to look upon their contented and sometimes rather airless community environment with new eyes, when they first think of it as the atmosphere in which daughters just back from college, with active minds and aroused social consciences, must continue to develop. This entirely human motive, this almost pathetic desire to keep the younger folk near the home nest, has been behind new social achievements in more than one American town. In others, the beginning of new things has had an even more direct relation to your college life. A graduate of Vassar who has just returned to her home city gets into prompt communication, for instance, with the professional workers who are engaged in social field work upon a national scale, paves the way for their entrance into her community—an entrance always denied them before—and then throws herself with enthusiasm into consolidating the civic gains thus made possible.

Not alone through the study of sociology and economics, not alone through social service field work in the town in which your college is placed, have these gains come about. The "through draft" which can so refresh the life of our American cities comes not merely from this one form of specialization in college, but from whatever courses of study, whatever college activities develop the

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open mind and give it energy and tone. It would be easy to magnify the importance of any specific services rendered by undergraduates within a specific area but we cannot enlarge too much upon the significance and value of good mental habits in community service. If we are pledged always to be "radical" in our social thinking or always to be "conservative," we have inevitably a certain rigidity which makes for insulation, but if we have the open mind, if we are pledged to a habit of thinking that is at once fair and thorough, then and then only are we able to give our American communities what they most need—always provided, of course, that we have also a mind to work.

Over all the sluggish and unbending muscles of our community life—how sluggish and how unbending you can hardly realize in this atmosphere—I like to think of the free play of ideas, the spirit of flexible and comprehending participation that will come back to our cities, to relax and to stimulate, with each return home of a class of graduates from this college.

CASE WORKER AND CLIENT

(Hitherto Unpublished)

This discussion of ethical relationships was to have been a chapter of *Social Diagnosis*, following what is now Chapter XVIII. At the period of writing it (1916) Miss Richmond planned to make two parts out of the present Part I. The present Part II was therefore to be Part III; which explains the reference in the first paragraph of the paper.

Just why Miss Richmond withdrew this chapter, and substituted for it the present Chapter XIX, we have been unable to learn. Possibly she felt that it was not germane to the rest of her material; or that it was difficult to compress into limited space the discussion of so important a topic; or that she knew that others were preparing to treat the subject more exhaustively elsewhere. Only after considerable hesitation did the editors decide to include a document in the present volume which the author had deliberately refrained from publishing, but they were impelled by the consideration that nowhere else has Miss Richmond set down any of her views on ethical relationships. Fragmentary and incomplete though the paper is, we believe it should be preserved.

WITH regard to the relations between case worker and client certain questions suggest themselves that belong less to the technical discussions of the preceding pages of Part III than to the larger subject of the professional ethics (if one might so speak of them) of social work.

When two human beings prove, after inquiry, to bear to one another the relation of oppressor and oppressed, which is the case worker's client—the one who first applies or the one who is found to stand more in need of his service? When the interests of a client seem to conflict with those of the community, what is the case worker to do? And who is to be the judge of the best interests of the public in this connection? Again, what emergency justifies the withholding of knowledge from a client to which in ordinary circumstances he would be entitled? What danger lurks in such a measure even when it is an exceptional and a justifiable one? These questions of professional ethics have been suggested during the course of the record reading for this volume. They are important

enough to receive independent study and treatment instead of the merely incidental consideration which is all that is possible here. However, failing such study, brief consideration must be given.

In matters so delicate as truth of intercourse, fairness of dealing, and the balancing of claims between the individual and the community, records of cases provide clumsy data for testing failure or success. Neither do they, as a rule, provide the highest exemplars. Finer tests and higher stimuli might be found in a case worker's applying to his own relationships with his client a progressively exacting standard of self-criticism and in conferring frequently with his colleagues about ethical questions which puzzle him.

I. FRANKNESS OF INTERCOURSE

Dual Responsibilities. Before citing any cases that illustrate the difficulties, as between case worker and client, that have just been suggested, it may be well to do once more what we have done many times in these pages; namely, turn aside for the briefest possible examination into the history of like relations in some of the other professions. The relations between doctor and patient, priest and parishioner, lawyer and client, come at once to mind. They all have behind them a body of tradition, of slowly accumulated precedents and procedures that dwarf those of social work. And in one other particular, if in no more, relations between social worker and client have a different setting from the relations existing in these other callings. From the nature of the movement out of which the social worker's specialities have grown, he is pledged to recognize his responsibility to the community as of equal importance with his responsibility to his client.

So true is it that for social reasons a case worker must look beyond the good of the single individual, that he has often to make clear to himself why his services, in a difficult situation where a number of people are involved in his client's demoralization, should not be given to one of them rather than to his client. To cite only one instance, a man appears at a family agency seeking relief and employment. He is clever and appealing, a gambler, as it proves, and addicted to drug-taking. There is no question of his need of social treatment, of his inability to solve his difficulties unaided; but what about his helpless mother, who is found to be in mental

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subjection to him, and to have been dragged hither and yon as the fancy seized him, and even to have suffered physical abuse from him? Which one in the end becomes the case worker's client if, as happened in this case, the question arises of protecting one from the other, even at the risk of losing influence over that other? Sooner or later these difficult choices have to be made in all the professions, but, owing to the nature of his task, they have to be made both frequently and promptly by the social worker. Not only must he choose between the weaker and the stronger, as in the case just cited, but often his choice must be made between the one and the many.

It is true that the best interests of the individual and those of the community appear to conflict more often than in reality they do, but it takes hard thinking and repeated trials to make the way of reconciliation clear. A new and beneficent community measure which is still on trial, like the prohibition of the sewing trades in tenement rooms for instance, finds its most ardent champions among our present-day social workers. During the first months or years of the enforcement of such a law—the adjustment period—there are often hardships for the individual. By instinct and training, however, the social case worker who deserves to be called trained at all regards himself as pledged to defend the public welfare and to bear his full share of the brunt of difficulty in all such adjustments. Fair dealing is not easy anywhere; it is made doubly hard for the social case worker just after a new housing statute or a new industrial law has been enacted, when, as almost invariably happens, the more backward members of the community, likely to become his clients, adjust themselves to the new measure with painful slowness. He sees both sides of this situation—that of the worker to whom home work is forbidden and that of the social reformer—as the reformer without case work experience cannot, but in so far as he realizes the relation of his work to a larger whole, he interprets and supports the new regulations. Social case records sometimes show that the case worker's client received short shrift when his superstitions and ignorance were obstructing the enforcement of a good health law or the establishment of a better industrial standard.

By contrast (though there have been changes here) the medical

profession, in like conflicts, still places the stronger emphasis upon a safeguarding of the relations of doctor to patient, and the legal profession is even more emphatic about the privileged character of communications between lawyer and client. These latter were protected long ago by legal statute.¹ Later, the same becomes true of medicine, whereas it is only in comparatively recent times that the community has insisted upon its own protection by another and, to some extent, a conflicting set of safeguards.

Conspicuous examples of this new tendency are the laws for the protection of public health. So rapidly are adjustments made that we no longer remember the indignation aroused among the medical profession by new regulations for instance, requiring the reporting of contagious diseases, nor do we realize that many of the measures set aside (though only at one point) the older laws protecting the confidential relation of doctor and patient.

The compulsory notification of infectious diseases began to be publicly discussed in England in 1876. Many of the medical profession opposed the placing of this new responsibility upon physicians on the ground, among other objections, that "the system is repugnant to the unwritten law of professional honor, as it compels medical men, under a penalty, to divulge to the authorities knowledge acquired in professional confidence."²

The opposition in France came later, after a law enacted in 1893, on the ground that if physicians were freed from the obligation of professional secrecy "in regard to the most common diseases, there is an end to the prestige and moral authority which they owe to their respect for this traditional code."³

In America, about the same time, the registration of tuberculosis was opposed in resolutions passed by the College of Physicians in Philadelphia.⁴

In the professions that have long had special statutory protec-

¹ The manuscript bears at this point "Supply footnote" in Miss Richmond's handwriting.—EDITORS.

² Anderson, A. M., "The Compulsory Notification of Infectious Disease to Local Authorities: Its History and Development, with an Account of Its Working in Dundee." In the *Sanitary Journal*, Glasgow, vol. 7, August 6, 1883, p. 169.

³ De Ranse, "Intérêts professionnels." In *la France médicale et Paris médical*, vol. 41, April 20, 1894, p. 241.

⁴ Da Costa, J. M., "Registration of Tuberculosis." In *International Medical Magazine*, vol. 3, March, 1894, p. 118.

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tion in their relations with their clients, the adjustments assuring a larger measure of protection to the public are going to be the difficult ones to make.¹ But with the social workers, the more difficult adjustment is going to be in meeting the increasing need for adaptation of community claims to the rights of individual clients. Social work was not recognized as a profession and did not begin so to regard itself until after it had begun to think in terms of mass betterment. Trained social workers need no special warnings that they must consider not only their individual clients but those who suffer by and because of them. They think instinctively in these terms, and their special temptation is more likely to be a tendency to ignore the rights of the individual immediately before them in order to save either the community from imposition, or a child from neglect, or a family from moral contagion. So true is this of the great majority of social case workers today that emphasis in the few case notes which follow and in their interpretation will all be placed upon the rights of the individual and upon the case worker's duty to his client.

The Assumption of Knowledge and Its Withholding. We have seen in earlier chapters that the accumulation of information is only a way station on the road to individual and mass betterment. We arrive by travelling every inch of the road, but undue pre-occupation with any portion of it may hinder or prevent arrival. In our eagerness to procure certain items of fact, we must not endanger our relations with our clients and thereby cripple our use-

¹ For example, take the case of a lawyer who publicly announced his belief that his client—a witness and accessory in a famous murder case—was himself guilty of the murder for which an innocent man was to be hanged. The New York Times in its issue of October 11, 1914, presented a number of opinions from prominent members of the bar as to the propriety of such an announcement. The three which follow sufficiently represent the diversity of the views held.

J. F. McIntyre: “. . . If a lawyer is not to disclose the guilt of his client in a criminal case, when he has clearly discovered that his client is guilty, the attorney would connive at the crime and he doubtless could be punished for such an attitude.”

D-Cady Herrick: “In an extreme case where it is necessary to divulge facts told by a client in order to save an innocent man's life, I believe that it is the duty of the lawyer to speak, although at the same time it must be remembered that it is—in ordinary cases—for the public welfare that strict safeguards be thrown about a client's rights and his communications to his attorney.”

Henry A. Wise: “. . . I simply cannot conceive of any moral, humanitarian, or other motive that would justify a lawyer in invading the sacredness of his relationship with a client. It seems hard to say it, but in the Georgia case, or any case involving the questions raised there, it would seem to me the lawyer's duty to let the innocent man hang before he should turn upon his client and denounce him.”

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fulness to them. Three of the four illustrations which follow are given as instances of unfair methods of inquiry.

A woman asked a child-saving agency for a suitable boarding home for her baby, giving as a reason that she must go to work, owing to her husband's reverses. She was very reluctant to give the names of relatives, though some were finally secured with the understanding that they might be needed as reference in obtaining a boarding home, but would probably not be used. In reality they were asked for and were immediately used in trying to discover whether the woman and man were married. The relatives lived in another city, and the charity organization society there was asked to visit. These visits soon reached the ears of the applicant, who turned her anger on the children's agency, always stating that it was not the visit to the relatives that angered her, but the securing of their names under false pretenses. For five months the agency labored in vain to obtain an interview with the man or to learn the truth as to his and the woman's relationship, using threats of court action and "no marriage record" as weapons. Later the woman visited the investigating society in the city where the relatives lived, with the purpose of stopping the visits to them. The agent of this society, in one office talk, obtained a complete confession from the woman and an interview with the man.

Here we have an extreme instance, perhaps, of giving a misleading explanation to a client, but it comes from an agency in which excellent case work is done and it contains a warning that many case workers should take to heart. The next example is so mild an instance of assuming knowledge in order to get it that a number of social workers to whom it has been submitted have declared that they saw nothing wrong with the method employed. An unsubstantiated piece of hearsay evidence was assumed to be true, and the assumption brought confirmation of what had been little more than a rumor before. It is included here because the worker and the agency responsible were both convinced that their method was unfair.

A family temporarily in the city had been helped by an associated charities after a disastrous community fire, and funds had been raised to return them to their own country. At this point, a neighbor reported that the family had a large bank account; whereupon, the worker who had the case in charge revisited a relative who had previously denied that the client had money, and—by assuming the main fact of the bank account—secured all the details that proved the family to be in no need of assistance.

A social worker reports her indignation at an unfair method of extracting information, as tried upon her by a physician. He telephoned about a

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certain girl for whose welfare she was concerned, and came later to her office, saying, "You already know of my interest in Mary B. I hope you will be perfectly frank with me, as I am sure it is the only way in which we can arrive at anything satisfactory for the girl." At the end of the interview, in which she had given a number of details in confidence, she was shocked and angered to discover that the physician was acting for a lawyer who was a friend of his and also counsel for the plaintiff in a case in which the girl was the defendant.

This third example needs no comment. The fourth is a good illustration of a method of procuring knowledge without assuming more than is true.

A medical-social worker, after hearing an unmarried girl's explanation of her pregnant condition, asked the girl's family whether the account was true. They could give no definite facts but did not believe that it was. In her next interview with her patient the social worker was careful not to assume definite knowledge, but said, "From what I have heard, I do not think you have told me everything." This led to a quite different account which it was possible to substantiate later.

Withholding from a client knowledge to which he is reasonably entitled is a common failing of less experienced social practitioners. Another common failing is their lofty, professional detachment. As in the other professions, the relatively unskilled suffer most from professionalism; the worst blunderers can do nothing simply, so entangled are they in the meshes of a technique only half understood. Inability to explain simple things simply and directly is often due to this half-knowledge and to failure to see the immediate task in its true relation to a larger whole. Here we have one main cause of lack of frankness.

Another cause is the desire to keep a promise that should not have been made. Some social agencies, notably the charity organization societies, have allowed their case workers to be sent to families in trouble by citizens who have stipulated that the identity of the sender should not be revealed. Usually this request should not have been acceded to. Case workers should protect their relations with their clients by refusing to make promises or to receive confidences which would force them into any form of deception. This does not mean that we are bound to tell our clients all that we know or to answer questions that they have no right to ask, but that we do owe them reasonable and truthful explanations of

the things that immediately concern them, and that we should scorn small subterfuges as a means of eliciting information or avoiding trouble.¹

In still another way the rights of the individual may be infringed upon when the social worker attempts to interpret to him, as he often must, the community standard not yet clearly expressed in a legal enactment. It is easy to use the words "community standard" or some such phrase to describe his own private notion of the way in which public welfare would best be served. He has a perfect right to his opinion, of course, but he has no right to impose it upon his clients, unless he is very sure that it has at least the sanction of a professional experience, or of a group judgment, with deeper roots than his own private views can have.

The following suggestions are urged, therefore, upon the attention of case workers in their relations with their clients: First, the personal habit of truth telling. Second, the avoidance of professionalism, of the assumption, that is, that their plans and purposes cannot be understood by the layman and cannot be discussed with him. Third, the habit of thinking clearly about their work as a necessary preliminary to explaining it simply and convincingly to others. Fourth, the avoidance of entangling promises to clients on the one hand and to co-operating citizens or agencies on the other. Fifth, the need of making sure that community standards not enforceable by law are not misnamed, that they really have some form of community sanction.

It would be easier to end here and to ignore the exceptional cases in which withholding of knowledge becomes necessary for the protection of weakness—for the protection, more especially, of the aged, the defective, and of children. Knowledge had to be withheld in the case already cited on page 386 of the son who was abusing his aged mother. It was not possible to discuss with him the

¹" . . . Of course, we will not speak all we know," says Gross, "indeed a proper silence is a sign of a good criminalist, but we need never lie. The beginner must especially learn that the 'good intention' to serve the case and the so-called excusing 'eagerness to do one's duty,' by which little lies are sometimes justified, have absolutely no worth. An incidental word as if the accomplice had confessed; an expression intended to convey that you know more than you do; a perversion of some earlier statement of the witness, and similar 'permissible tricks' cannot be cheaper than the cheapest things. Their use results only in one's own shame, and if they fail, the defense has the advantage. The lost ground can never be regained." *Criminal Psychology*, p. 475.

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agency's plans and purposes looking to the mother's protection without running the risk of her and his disappearance. It is not humanly possible, sometimes, to make all our plans and purposes clear where there is a clash of racial standards, as in the case of the foreign groups mentioned in an earlier chapter.¹ One of the families there described was buying land on which to build and seeking, at the same time, the relief and services of a family agency. Another family, that of an Italian widow who had received \$1,200 in insurance and benefits, was concealing these resources whilst in receipt of a mother's pension. The state of mind behind these specific circumstances is that of an imperfect sympathy with American ideals and institutions, combined with a certain pride in the ability to trick the social agencies. When these latter are too confiding, foreign clients with these particular characteristics lose respect for them and feel that they are ill fitted to hold their own in a clash of wits. Knowledge had to be withheld for a time, also, in a real emergency described on page 132,² where an agent of the society to protect children arrived at a home for the first time, to find a girl dangerously ill. The case worker had gone there to investigate charges of serious neglect of children by their parents, but the nature of her errand could not be revealed; adequate care for the sick girl had to take precedence of all explanations.

The danger that always lurks in emergency measures is that we are tempted to carry them over into the more normal situations in which they have no place. Real emergencies are few. Unless we are very careful, we shall find ourselves behaving as if they were many.

To sum up this discussion of frankness of intercourse: The social case worker must discover and protect his real client—the one, that is, whose social need is most urgent. He must never lose sight of public welfare in his endeavors for the welfare of individuals, but even public welfare is capable of a too private interpretation and his plans should have community sanction, though not necessarily in the form of law. Last, he must guard jealously the credit of a new profession, with ethical standards ill defined as yet, by holding

¹ The reference is to chap. 13, p. 263 of *Social Diagnosis*.—EDITORS.

² This reference is also to *Social Diagnosis*.—EDITORS.

to a high standard of personal relationship between case worker and client.

II. TWO OTHER WARNINGS

The Scolding Habit. It is difficult to say whether it is lack of training and resource or lack of emotional background that may be the root cause of an irritating habit developed by some case workers; namely, the habit of scolding. It seems ordinarily to be the habit of workers who are little at home in the processes of social diagnosis and to be used as a substitute for these processes. The older type of "relief agent" who lost his temper and bullied his clients was not necessarily a hard man, but he was often a man without chart, compass, or seamanship, who was serving a board of directors or a public department which was equally resourceless, and whose members were without any vivid experience of human fellowship. Resourcefulness and a good technique cannot be put forward as complete cures for faults of temper, nor do they make up for lack of sympathy and imagination, but much of the case worker's irritation at being balked by the stupidity or the stubbornness of a client may really be due to inability to take the steps which will reveal his point of view and his actual situation. Miss Helen Pendleton [in an unpublished paper] emphasizes the need of preparation for the task in the following passage:

The sudden plunging of untrained workers into the full responsibility for investigation and treatment is apt to result in one of several ways: The imaginative worker breaks down under the strain, or becomes nervous and irritable, and the more phlegmatic one becomes skilled in remembering facts and the accepted modes of interpreting them, but whatever powers of originality or insight were natively his become stifled. Unconsciously, perhaps, the mind of the latter worker forms an habitual conception of what applicants generally say and seem and feel. He may give the closest and kindest heed to the words of the speaker and yet hear only the story he has prepared himself to hear; he learns what is already in his mind, sees what he expects to see.

The incriminating record card often shows this. In a district office known to me, cards may be found beginning, "Woman tells the same old story," which means that she is a deserted wife. . . . On the contrary it is never the same story. That is just where the imaginative social worker who has been well trained parts company from the unimaginative one who hears only the "same old story." The former sees all the differences in gradation from the most obvious to the most subtle as they are

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brought out in the investigation, grasping the inner significance of even the commonest characteristics and recognizing their variability with each personality.

The case worker who has learned to examine deeply enough finds every case unusual and interesting. One of the tests to apply to a case worker's records is to seek, in comparing them, for signs of this power to develop an individual and colorful picture.

In training new workers, we should require them, as has been said more than once, to set down in black and white in each individual record the assets for reconstruction discoverable in the case history, and should not allow them to overemphasize the pathological side—the bad things about people, which must be known and reckoned with, but must not destroy our perspective. “I want to go back,” exclaimed one earnest but inexperienced worker, “and tell that woman that not a word she said to me was true!” “Well,” said her adviser, “if you took all this trouble to look up outside sources of information in order to test her truthfulness, pray do; but hadn't you some other object in view?” The real object, as it proved, was to discover the best way of helping the woman's two children, one of whom was a wayward girl and the other a truant. The accomplishment of this object would have been hindered by a scene with the mother, though nothing could possibly have been gained by any sort of make-believe that the truth had not been discovered. Its discovery should have been kept where it belonged, in a place quite secondary and incidental to the social tasks which confronted the worker.

The No Thoroughfare Situation. Readers of case histories have learned to note, as one outstanding symptom of lack of skill, the frequent development of what may be described as “no thoroughfare” situations as between the individual or family under treatment and the case worker responsible for treatment. The skilful worker avoids ultimatums. His task should have a definite goal, it is true, and no small degree of firmness may be needed to keep that goal well in view, but he cannot too rigidly lay down each step by which the goal is to be achieved, and he may have to develop ingenuity in the discovery of alternative approaches. A critic of a family agency's case work makes the following comment on one of its case records:

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Man 58, Woman 59. No children. A couple that have "come down" from well-to-do circumstances, the man more or less of a peacock and willing to have his wife work at "menial" occupations while he has always expected to have work of importance. We do not get very far in real knowledge of the past life, though much is written about it, the relative and one friend being the chief sources of information. I should have concentrated in an endeavor to obtain one or two definite clues to persons who knew the man in a business way, so that the facts regarding his successes and failures could have been obtained directly and not indirectly through these women. This would have aided in the mental suggestion treatment which must be provided for the man after consultation with some psychopathic expert. You cannot make the man over at his age, but you can direct his foibles to useful ends (when you know the way) and the "opposition" stand now being taken by your agency only means that the woman will work harder and the man loaf more.

THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER'S TASK

Presented at the National Conference of Social Work in 1917

FIRST of all, it would seem necessary for the social case worker to stake out his claim to the word *social*, for I find that some members of this year's Conference are inclined to dispute it. They assert, for instance, that a recent book of mine should be called Individual Diagnosis because it is not and does not pretend to be a diagnosis of the ills of society. Well, in medicine a diagnosis describes disease as it appears in the individual organism; in botany it describes not the genus but the combination of points which are characteristic of the individual plant. When, therefore, we describe the social difficulties of a human being, as we more completely understand them through a study of his social relationships, it would be tautological to call the description "an individual diagnosis." But it may well be distinguished from physical diagnosis on the one hand and from mental diagnosis on the other by calling it *social diagnosis*. There may be other uses of these two words in combination, but the use now rapidly being adopted by social case workers is both literal and sound.

It is true that the word *social* has many meanings. As it has been adopted in the usage of this Conference and is now incorporated into the Conference title, it has a meaning at once more inclusive and more exclusive than some who glibly use the word seem to realize. The criterion of the social, its indispensable element always, is the influence of mind upon mind. This influence may be exercised in a small group, such as the family, the kindred, or the other personal contacts of a given subject, or it may be the result of a loose-jointed but vital international fellowship. Many things termed social lack this essential element utterly because there is no mental interaction within the group. The dependent classes, about which we have heard so much in these conferences, are not a social group at all, nor is any other arbitrary grouping likely to become so. The approach to social questions is a varied one. One

may be deeply interested in the manifestations of social relationships in the individual, realizing, indeed, that the individual is their product, that his central self is bounded "by his conscious interests and affections"; or one may instinctively begin at the other end and seek a better adjustment of social relationships by the manipulation of larger units, by what we call mass betterment. Social work includes both approaches; so closely do they interplay that it would be a top-heavy and ineffective thing if either were neglected.

Dr. Cabot has just pointed out the folly of trying to treat a portion of the eye without knowing the whole eye. The social life of man is even more complicated than the mechanism of the eye—so complicated that this evening's program might be taken as a partial demonstration of the need of combining many points of view and many explanations when we attempt to be social. The social case worker can hardly hope to effect the best possible adjustment in but one human life awry without seeking the special knowledge of others about occupations, recreations, government, or without seeking the aid of still others whose art is healing the body, and of others again who heal the mind. The social case worker has a specialty, too, however. His, too, is an art—the art (if I may venture a definition) of *bringing about better adjustments in the social relationships of individual men, or women, or children*. It matters not in what agency, public or private, this is achieved. If this chiefly is what we are doing—whether in a school, a courthouse, a hospital, or wherever—we are social case workers.

It should not have needed these three years, or nearly three, of war to convince us that such adjustments are going to have to be made and on a large scale. That they should be made not athwart the stream of mass progress but in closest sympathy with it, and in closest co-operation, too, with such professions as are represented on this platform tonight, should be self-evident also.

The attitude of some of the social reformers in this Conference toward the social case workers who make up the bulk of its membership reminds me of an anecdote of the Spanish-American War. A young woman, approaching at that time a man in uniform, inquired, "Are you one of the nation's heroes?" "No, ma'am," he replied, "I'm just a regular." We social case workers are not

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heroes and do not so regard ourselves, because there are so many of us. The study of men, however, and the advancement of their welfare through the study of their social relationships is no mean task.

We were all interested two years ago in Mr. Flexner's analysis at Baltimore of our professional standing. We had to acknowledge that in so far as (under the name of social case work) we were merely matching folks and disabilities; in so far as we were tagging the one with the other and trying to call in the appropriate practitioner, we richly deserved his characterization of *middlemen*. Is that really all that we are doing? Too often it is. A reader of social case records sometimes gets the impression that the one who does such work has only to be a good shot. You drop your clients into one pigeon-hole or another, and there you are! The trouble is that there *they* are, too. But as we listened to Mr. Flexner we were more or less aware that quietly and behind his back, apparently, there was developing a skill quite different in method and in aim from the work that he described. We were not all behaving like the telephone girl at the switchboard who pulls out one plug and pushes in another; many of our social agencies were something better than animated clearing-houses, we felt. In fact, the distinguishing marks of their work were, first, skill in discovering the social relationships by which a given personality had been shaped; second, ability to get at the central core of difficulty in these relationships; and third, power to utilize the direct action of mind upon mind in their adjustment.

If not now, then very soon, the social case workers of this Conference are going to be recognized by the different professional groups that deal with human beings one by one—by the doctors, the jurists, the teachers, for example—as collaborators in a division of work among equals. We shall have a skill of our own, a point of view of our own, and shall act as middlemen to the extent that any professional worker who wants to do a good all-round job must so act, and no further. Nor will the fact that our skill was first developed and first practiced in certain charities damn us utterly, either. More than one of the other professions have worked out their technique under the same capacious mantle.

It seems natural enough to draw my only illustrations of this

development, and of the line that I believe it must soon take, from the contacts of the social case worker with medicine. From none have we had more generous recognition of the things that we know how to do than from the best of the physicians.

I have told elsewhere of the first instance on record of seeking social case work advice for a well-to-do patient. The request came from a physician who knew what such skill had meant in his hospital practice and felt that he could not cure his private patient without it. Others have followed this lead in a number of places. Only a few weeks ago a fresh instance came to my attention from a part of our country in which medical-social work is unknown. I found that the secretary of a charity organization society in a town in the far South was often asked by local physicians to help them in pellagra cases which were not complicated by poverty. These doctors had learned to value the art of a social case worker who could discover and touch the hidden springs of interest in patients who were suffering from the horrible depression characteristic of one stage of that disease.

They had learned that aggressive cheerfulness was worse than useless with pellagra patients, but that one who knew how to fill in social backgrounds and foregrounds could often find in them somewhere the one thing that would make life seem to the patient worth living.

It would be easy to cite other illustrations in fields far removed from the medical, but I must pass on to the one other point that there is time to make; namely, to our great need of a deepened sense of professional solidarity and of professional standards.

"Battles are not won by phrases" but by knowing every inch of the ground and by a detailed working together, through methods which all have mastered, toward a common goal. The developments that point toward more social case work under public auspices will be a dismal failure unless we can work out standards and then achieve an enthusiasm for them which will assure their maintenance in our city and state departments.

I was impressed anew with the importance of bestirring ourselves about this after a recent visit from a surgeon who was interested in improving the clinical records of hospitals and dispensaries. He felt that they had been rendered worthless for medical study and

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progress in the past by the way in which they had been kept, and by the fact that the terminology used for disease had been whatever the private judgment of the different house officers happened to dictate.¹ On the medical side he and his colleagues were making progress in remedying this, but, recognizing the importance of making social data a part of the medical record, he was seeking a terminology of social case work which could be placed beside a medical terminology already adopted in a number of the larger hospitals. It was impossible to tell him where such a terminology could be found because it does not exist. Evidently it will delay medical thinking in certain directions that our own thinking is still so inchoate. A terminology for the whole of social case work cannot be worked out by any one group of practitioners, any more than a medical terminology could be devised by the neurologists alone or by the surgeons alone. But is it not time that we got together and registered our differences, at least, as a preliminary to wearing them down to smaller proportions and building in their stead a common body of knowledge expressed in a language which is our common property?

I know that some leaders feel that this would be quite futile, that social case work as a separate discipline is soon to disappear, to be absorbed into medicine on the one hand and education on the other. Both of these are welcome to absorb all that they can contain, but there is going to remain a large field quite neglected unless we cultivate it. As democracy advances there can be neither freedom nor equality without that adaptation to native differences, without that intensive study and intensive use of social relationships for which social case work stands.

¹ This was Dr. Hugh Auchincloss of Presbyterian Hospital, New York, whose interest in the subject was largely responsible for the publication in 1927 of *A Medical Social Terminology* (by Gordon Hamilton, assisted by Edith Kruckenberg).—EDITORS.

THE SOCIAL CASE WORK SIDE OF PROBATION AND PAROLE

Presented at the annual meeting of the National Probation Association, 1917, and taken from the Proceedings of that year.

I KNOW that many probation and parole officers are inclined to dispute the statement that they are also social case workers. Perhaps this is due to some vagueness in our common usage of the term. One of the difficulties in defining social case work is that, at present, skilled and progressive, unskilled and retrogressive, social endeavors are all called by that name. They grow side by side like the wheat and the tares, with little recognition on the part of the community of any difference between them. Those of us who often travel 22d Street in New York used, until recently, to pass there a large shop in which were exhibited plaster casts of human heads with all their bumps carefully parcelled off among various human attributes, such as alimentativeness, ideality, combativeness, and so forth. In the very city in which had been made, in recent years, some of the most important discoveries of experimental psychology, this phrenological concern seemed to be doing a thriving business. The same jumble of reason and unreason exists in our field also.

Any description of social case work would have to begin with recognition of the fundamental fact that folks are different, that they respond differently to like stimuli and like social institutions. In the autocratic view, the general run of folks are all alike; in the democratic view men, our brothers, look and are different. It is this democratic idea carried into our law courts which has given us probation and parole.

Six years ago or more, when I began studying the ways in which individual resemblances and differences could be measured by social workers, I went to one of the best juvenile court judges in this country and asked him who was the best probation officer

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known to him. He named someone not connected with his own court—a woman. Unfortunately, she was allowed no stenographic service by the court of which she was an officer, and we found that her records were meager. Recognizing, however, that here was a social worker of rare insight and real experience, I arranged that one of my assistants should spend practically her whole time for a few weeks in this officer's department and get from her as much illustrative case material and as many observations as possible. Though folks are different, the value of the accumulated experience of those who honestly study their differences cannot be exaggerated, and I have always felt grateful to the probation system of the country for the lessons that came to me from observations of this one officer's work.

Usually, however, such lessons come best from well-kept case records. These are not the waste of time that some social workers think them, for we are going to have to depend largely upon the study of full and accurate case records for our own advancement in skill, in the first place, and for the advancement, in the second place, of the body of knowledge that we social workers hold in common. It was little short of a crime that no permanent record was being kept of the work of the probation officer whom I have just mentioned. But we all of us—whether our work is above the average or not—can learn from the recorded details of our successes and our failures. Usually, we dwell upon our successes and try to forget our failures. It is all very well to make much of our successes—I have no quarrel with that—but we should *study* our failures. Just where did this treatment begin to go wrong? Was the failure avoidable? If so, how can I avoid it next time? Then, when I find that two facts or events are happening in juxtaposition more than once, and that the juxtaposition, in case after case, is unexplained, here are things to be put side by side and studied carefully in the hope of making a discovery which will be useful in my own work and useful in the work of others. This last method of turning records to account is called the “notation of recurrence.” The method is ground into medical students throughout their four years of study. It would be just as useful to us too, if we learned to be equally careful to test our tentative explanations, one by one, of the possible meanings of the juxtaposition. When

one boy, and then another and then another under circumstances apparently similar, begins to go wrong in the same way in the same neighborhood, note the recurrence of this happening and seek for a common cause—keeping your mind open, however, to the possibility that quite different causes may be behind the like manifestations. Study such as this cannot go far without well-kept records.

The value of our case records as teaching material is coming to be recognized in our departments and agencies and in our training schools almost as generally as in the law schools. Successes and failures alike are useful in teaching, but the record must have been fully and honestly kept, in order to be of service. In addition to the knowledge that his handiwork is being thus used, there will come back to the recorder the stimulation of outside criticism of his treatment of the case; for the teacher of social case work can often find in recorded work both merits and demerits that the too accustomed eye of the probation or parole officer who made the record had overlooked.

I realize that probation has its own separate technique and that parole has the same, but, if your experience is anything like mine, you will find that what we social workers all have in common in our case treatment is the most important part of it after all.

Some years ago, I was invited to address a local meeting of adult probation officers on the subject of the preliminary inquiry often made by them before the judge pronounces sentence. I realized, of course, that I spoke as an outsider and said so. But, incidentally, I did venture to suggest that it was unwise, in a first interview with a man already found guilty of an offense against the law, to try to catch him tripping by asking leading questions; that we must try to arrive at the truth by winning his confidence if we could and even when we failed in this must avoid detective methods. I was astonished to find that this minor observation of mine proved to be the point around which centered the discussion of the evening. No one had a good word for my idea, which seemed to some of the judges present a visionary way of trying to deal with "dangerous criminals," until the Dean of the Fordham University Law School, Paul Fuller, came to my rescue. I have always wished that I had made a transcript of the lucid words in which he ex-

plained why a seeker for the truth must beware of the careless use of leading questions. How, when we seek the truth, because we do not already know the truth, can we dare, by the form of our question, to suggest what the answer shall be? We are seeking, remember, not legal evidence to convict but social evidence to reveal, if may be, the way of reconstruction for a life confessedly awry. This, or something like it, was his thought. I came away with the determination to submit my manuscript on Social Diagnosis, if I ever had one, to Paul Fuller for criticism, for here evidently was a lawyer with the clearest of insights into the social point of view. But before my chapters were ready to submit to anyone, Paul Fuller had died.

I sent some chapters instead to another law school teacher—one of the best known of living authorities on the law of evidence. His criticisms were not all commendatory by any means, but he was good enough to say that he had not realized before that there was such a rich field of usefulness for evidence outside the court room. "And," he added, "the great thing is that in the court of the next generation, with its staff of social workers, these materials and methods will be the main ones, and our present technical rules will have gone by the board."¹

We have a long road to travel before we can any of us lay claim to such a knowledge of the elements of social evidence and of social work as would even begin to justify this prophecy, but surely the goal is worth striving for and, meanwhile, every stage of the journey will be full of interest and reward for the social worker engaged in court service who has once had a vision of what social case work might really mean.

¹ Dean J. H. Wigmore of Northwestern University Law School.—EDITORS.

MAKING A BEGINNING

(Hitherto Unpublished)

Part of a chapter for a book on volunteer service, written for newly enlisted volunteers, and designed to be one of the Social Work Series published by the Charity Organization Department of the Foundation. Miss Richmond began to write this book in 1917, but never completed it, probably because the war intervened, and for the time being changed the conditions of volunteer social service completely. When several years later she again took up the project of particularly addressing lay workers it had become something quite different. *What Is Social Case Work?* is designed for a more sophisticated, more restless, more highly schooled audience than the earlier book was planned to reach; although the material in some of the chapters of the old book was worked over and now appears in the new. (See page 120.)

WE HAVE seen that the human element in man's environment is "under all normal conditions by far the most important element." Assuming, then, that a new volunteer elects to work in this human element and to work thoroughly and intelligently, what are the first steps to be taken and what ground will she wish to cover sooner or later before she can regard herself as in any way equipped for her chosen avocation?

The important thing in making a beginning is to choose the guidance of an agency which employs highly trained social workers in its case activities and allows them time to give new volunteers the proper amount of attention. These professional workers must believe, moreover, in the possibilities of volunteer service; they must have the teaching spirit. The name of the agency is no guide. Charity organization societies have been pioneers in developing the trained volunteer, but in some cities they have made no real place for such service and a volunteer would do better to go elsewhere. A beginner with a missionary spirit may feel that the social work in which to engage is that in which volunteers are fewest and the pressure of work heaviest. But this is not the best way of accomplishing one's mission. Go first where good habits

MAKING A BEGINNING

of work and genuine insight may be had. Later, go by all means where the need is greatest.

Some social agencies use volunteers in a very wasteful way, keeping them at clerical tasks when they could easily be made ready for more responsible work, employing them to "fill in" where the work is heaviest, or sending them on important commissions without full instructions or any explanation of the relation of the task to the end in view. If I were seeking a singing master, I should try to avoid the one who, by encouraging careless use, destroys his pupils' voices. But I should also be on guard against the one who keeps his pupils on after he finds that they have no aptitude. Honest and frank dealing with the student in social work is quite as necessary as in a music school. If she also, after fair trial, proves to have no aptitude, she should be told so, should be urged not to waste her time on case work but to use it in a form of community service for which she is better fitted.

THE ESSENTIALS OF METHOD

In all forms of social case work there is certain ground that the beginner should cover, some of it relating to method, some to content. Under method, the student's experience will have to include

1. Approaching for the first time the person or family needing some form of social treatment.
2. Getting acquainted with the details of the situation and with the personality or personalities.
3. Apprehending the core of the difficulty.
4. Making, with the help of those most concerned, a plan to meet the difficulty.
5. Interesting others in the plan, and utilizing agencies, institutions, and individuals in its carrying out.
6. Ordering all procedures in a systematic way, and keeping memoranda or records of things that ought to be remembered.

In a simple problem, these processes may all be covered in less time than it takes to describe them. In a complicated one, their application may extend over months, may have to be developed with infinite patience. But the principles underlying the method are the same, and the method itself, once mastered, is applicable in so many different ways—in every way, in fact, affecting im-

portant decisions about human beings—that its mastery is well worthwhile. This is not a manual of social case work, but it may be well to state in the barest outline what training in each of these processes involves. They are given here in their logical sequence, which is not the order, of course, in which a student would seek to master them.

1. *The Approach.* First contacts with a human being in need of guidance and help are important because it wastes precious time to have to overcome a bad beginning. If we are too ready with advice and plans before we grasp the true situation, or if, on the other hand, we press too eagerly for insights that must come slowly, we build barriers to future intercourse. Every interview with our patient, client, applicant (as he is variously called) is important and each one should add to our power to influence his situation and his attitude toward it, but our first interview more especially should give him an opportunity to present his story fully, without impatient interruption, and with a growing sense on his part that he is getting our attentive and sympathetic hearing. At the same time, it is possible to learn, through training, to help him to look beyond the immediate difficulty and give the listener some clue to aspects of his situation which are more important than the particular aspect that looms largest for him at the moment. This habit of trying to see a man's life as he sees it, and then trying to see it also as it is revealed by his associations, intimacies, daily pleasures, and occupations is one of the distinguishing features of the social case worker's equipment. Another is the habit of marshaling or calling up into our consciousness from past experience the possibilities of social service, of reminding ourselves of the things that have been achieved and can be achieved again, then accepting or rejecting each as a possibility in the situation now before us. This marshaling of possibilities must often be repeated, but at this early stage it is done not to prompt immediate action—this would be premature—but to suggest lines of further inquiry.¹

2. *Getting Acquainted with the Situation.* Many difficulties with which the social case worker has to deal involve others besides his client—they would hardly be *social* difficulties unless they did.

¹ There is a blank space in the manuscript at this point with the word "illustrate" in Miss Richmond's handwriting.—EDITORS.

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This means that it will often be necessary to confer with others before any adequate idea of the situation can be arrived at. With each important source of insight consulted, the early sketch of the first statement begins to acquire greater solidity, and the "thing as it is" begins to take the place of the thing as it was imagined to be by one who may have been too close to his difficulty really to see it, and certainly too close to see the possible solution.

During these consultations with other members of the client's family, with relatives outside his family, with employers, teachers, physicians, or whatever other appropriate sources are suggested by the client's story, the thing still to be avoided is snap judgment. Some professional workers get so thoroughly drilled in the habit of withholding judgment that they withhold it too long, but the beginner is far more likely to go to the other extreme. A volunteer in the Home Service of the Red Cross writes:

One thing I am trying to learn to avoid is forming snap judgments. In a recent case I was very pleasantly impressed with a woman's quiet, steady manner and her desire to make as good a home as possible for her little boy. On interviewing her sister-in-law I was disappointed to learn that both the man and the woman drank, and that she was an incapable housekeeper and mother. Following further, however, I heard nothing but praise of the woman, and learned that the sister-in-law was an ardent Baptist who could never agree with her Catholic relatives. At one time she visited the family while the husband and wife were having a glass of beer with their supper, which she insisted warranted the charge of "drinking." I find it saves much wear and tear on one's emotions if one can reserve judgment altogether until the last word has been said.

And a medical social worker of long experience writes:

The facts to be obtained and the steps of an investigation are comparatively easy for a trained worker to teach volunteers, but the attitude of mind which weighs and sifts, distinguishing the important and the unimportant, and which gets for result a picture with light and shadow, not a silhouette, is a much more difficult thing to convey.

3. *Apprehending the Core of the Difficulty.* This apprehension comes readily enough in some cases; in others the fringe of the difficulty is mistaken for the core; in still others, however, there is deliberate review of the evidence, an attempt to supplement it where it seems weak, and then an interpretation of the whole, and a naming of the social situation in specific terms, or what is known as a social diagnosis. This, the goal of the inquiry, is only the gateway to the social treatment which is to follow.

"I was given the usual errands, committee and clerical work while in training," writes a volunteer in an associated charities, "and it was not until my return from a winter abroad two years later that our district secretary gave me the task of making a full investigation of a new case. This vitalized my interest. It is, I think, the thing which gives volunteers the most confidence and the basis from which to help other volunteers." Formerly volunteers were not given such work—it was regarded as too difficult. Now they are brought in on equal terms and given every part of the work to do, whenever, that is, they are willing to apply themselves and take pains to learn.

4. *Making a Plan.* It is useless to dogmatize about the preliminary stages of case work, about the study of the situation which some will recognize at once as vital and others will wish to slur over. But the plain fact is that it does make one feel foolish to discover that plans built up and put through with energy and enthusiasm were based upon the shifting sands, that they fell to pieces owing to a misapprehension of what the situation really was. And the misapprehension, more often than not, will have been due to no deliberate falsifying on the part of the one most concerned. Everybody will have been in a mirage, including the client. Repeated experiences of this sort teach a new respect for the kind of service which finds out instead of guessing.

Diagnosis, however, is only preliminary to therapy; we find out what is the matter in order to find out what to do, and we find out what to do in order to do it. Given such and such difficulties revealed by inquiry; given the special resources in this case similarly revealed, given also the resources of this community as they now exist or as they may be developed, what things can be done? What, in detail, do they involve in the doing? In what order does it seem practicable to undertake these tasks? Of those now interested, who can help both in planning and doing? Whom, of those not now interested would it be wise to interest? Who will be responsible for watching changes of circumstance that may render necessary a prompt change of plan?¹ These are a few of the queries involved in making a plan. As just suggested by one of them, the plan must not

¹ A marginal note at this point in the manuscript reads, "Add on the mental and influence side."—EDITORS.

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become rigid and inflexible, nor should it be abandoned without cause. It is useful as a mariner's compass to steer by, but, if we are not careful it may be more fittingly compared to a strait-jacket or a pair of handcuffs.

5. *Interesting Others in the Plan.* The intelligent use of agencies, institutions, and individuals in carrying out a plan often implies their co-operation in helping to make it. It also implies ability to discover what each agency in the community is best fitted to do, and a ready understanding of the ways which will most help and least hinder them in the doing. It further implies skill in calling in and getting the best service from specialists of many kinds. Next to trying to do everything ourselves, the worst failing under this head is the habit of washing our hands of a task altogether when it has been dropped into the too busy hands of the nearest available specialist. If, without bothering him, we could show that we are still interested and ready to help in the details that he is too busy to carry out, many knots could be tied which are now left at loose ends.

6. *Being Systematic.* One of my correspondents, who has evidently taken the lesson to heart, reminds me of Mr. Porter Lee's dictum that a volunteer should have a desire for facts, a regard for routine, and a willingness to work under leadership. And Miss Mary Goodwillie advises the many beginners who have accepted her leadership to "establish quiet, orderly, simple systems." We are all familiar with the people who pride themselves upon their impulsive and unsystematic ways. Probably it was the trouble that these had made which led some trainers to overemphasize clerical work and record reading and writing. It is a mistake, I believe, to give volunteers many social case records to read at the beginning of their training, or to keep them at routine clerical tasks in the belief that these have educational value. A volunteer in a medical-social department says,

One caution I would give, and that is, don't have the workers read too many records to start with. Let them read some and then meet the real people. It is so much easier to understand the family history if you have a face before you instead of a face card.

But the same correspondent adds,

The first record I wrote was all wrong. I couldn't see the use of asking a woman what her maiden name was, where she was born, the names and

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addresses of relatives, and so forth. I was told they were important and did my best to fill the spaces. Soon, however, I found out. I was very anxious to locate one woman and have her return to our dispensary. I tried all the agencies in town, but she was lost. Finally, I wrote to the one relative whose address was given on the face card. In this way I found the woman and learned the things that were important about her condition.

Of course, there are many other arguments for keeping records. They should be carefully safeguarded and treated as strictly confidential, just as many of the records about each one of us—medical, financial, and so forth—have to be treated, but their existence saves time, avoids serious blunders, assists us to think more resourcefully and helpfully about the subject of the record, and does all this in addition to advancing our stock of social knowledge and suggesting better ways of serving humanity in the future.

In all this consideration of mere method neither trainer nor trained can afford to lose sight for a moment of the personal equation either in the social worker's client or in the social worker himself. The personality of the client is a far more important thing than any of the objective facts about him. Our interest in such facts depends, in large part, upon their revelation of the client's mind and character. As regards the social worker, method says to him, in effect, "I can give you the benefit of accumulated experience, can save you from your own awkwardness, can release you from certain conventional ways of thinking and doing, and then, having released you, can only urge you to *express yourself* in all your work." The highest case work achievement depends upon this power of expressing one's true self in action. The greater our skill the greater our freedom and adaptability. It is only the half trained who are afraid to take risks, try new experiments, break new ground.

THE ESSENTIALS OF CONTENT

At the same time that the various parts of the method of service are being mastered the content of social experience, in outline, at least, should be firmly grasped. This content includes a wide variety of things, but the following items are of especial value to the case worker:

1. The community's background and present salient characteristics.

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2. The health matters that a layman should know.
3. The dietary facts that affect health most vitally.
4. The place of recreation in the normal life.
5. The relation of industry and of industrial conditions to case problems.
6. The importance of the first start in going to work and the right training for it.

I have no intention of trying to describe these matters in any detail. Some will be found in books, some, by following a good outline, can be studied for any given locality.

The place of reading in any volunteer's training must depend upon the volunteer. There is a growing literature of social work and part of it is interesting enough and sound enough to hold the attention of anyone who has the reading habit. On the whole, however, a good plan is to let reading supplement and explain experience rather than precede it. "I remember," says a correspondent, "being presented at the beginning of my training with reports and various articles to read which meant nothing to me because so unrelated to anything in my experience. After I had done some actual work, however, the same things were intensely interesting." "Read the valuable literature that has come and is coming out on our subject," advises another. "It will prepare your mind to receive quickly such instruction as busy professional workers have time to give you and will give you that broad view of what you are trying to do that will make it seem worthwhile through discouragements of detail and minor failure which you may have to go through." From this latter point of view biography has distinct value. To get a conception of a social reformer's life as a whole, especially if he was a pioneer in his special field, is to get a new idea of the way in which improvement comes and of the relation of personality to social advance. Lord Shaftesbury, Florence Nightingale, and Octavia Hill in England; Dorothea Dix, Samuel Gridley Howe, Dr. Trudeau, and Josephine Shaw Lowell in this country are among those whose biographies will repay study. More important than the when of reading is the how. The important thing is to read constructively and thoughtfully—not to cram.

PART FIVE

NEW YORK, 1917-1928

A profession which did not know its own history, which was indifferent to the memory of the men and women responsible for its making, would still be a shambling and formless thing.

FROM BIOGRAPHY OF A SOCIAL WORKER

PART FIVE

NEW YORK, 1917-1928

INTRODUCTION

SINCE the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, Miss Richmond had followed with increasing absorption the progress of the struggle. Always independent and internationally minded, she agreed with President Wilson in his policy of non-intervention; but it became increasingly difficult for her to do this in the face of repeated encroachments on our peace, and it was with relief as well as apprehension that she hailed the declaration of war. She believed that Germany's policy was that of deliberate aggression, and that through war lay the only way to a renewal of safety for civilization. At the same time, Miss Richmond never lost the tie that bound her to the liberals, even those on the extreme left. Her sympathy with the true conscientious objector was keen; and she showed it in various helpful ways during times when intolerance stalked abroad. It is a matter of record that she was one of the small band who literally "stood up for" a member of the National Conference who was being put out of office in 1918 on account of his expressed anti-militarism. At a time when some social workers thought it best to take no open interest in the plight of interned enemy aliens and their families, Miss Richmond gladly helped to organize a national committee on their behalf, and secured the co-operation for this committee of a number of the charity organization societies throughout the country. Anything that threatened human rights of speech, thought, or action instantly aroused her fighting spirit.

Yet she was herself no pacifist, as is clearly shown in the paper which begins this section. Once we were in the war, we were in it to win, as far as Miss Richmond was concerned. Each, she felt, must contribute to this end out of his special skill; and she was most eager that the special skills developed in the case work field

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should be made available to the greatest possible degree in caring for the families of soldiers and sailors. The name "Home Service" for this national work was devised by Miss Richmond, and was her first important gift to the American Red Cross.

Her second was the preparation of a Manual of Home Service, which she was asked to compile in June, 1917.¹ Mr. W. Frank Persons had just taken charge of Civilian Relief operations under the Red Cross. "There was little or no literature on the subject," Miss Richmond wrote in her department report for that year, "and plans for the vast undertakings of the Red Cross in this field were still to be developed. It seemed the opportunity of a lifetime to explain in the simplest possible language the essential principles and methods of social case work to a far larger audience than had ever heard them before." The Manual, a pamphlet of 36 pages, was published by the Department of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, the following month. As the first literature available to help the newly organized Home Service Sections with their problems, it was circulated in enormous quantities, and its influence in steadying the new movement was beyond price.

This task out of the way, Miss Richmond immediately set about providing material to be used by Home Service Institutes in training the swarm of inexperienced volunteers who had to be prepared for the work. The printed case records already available in the Department were first supplied to the leaders of these institutes, and later, case records of dealings with the families of men in the service were secured, edited, and printed for teaching purposes. All such case records were accompanied by a detailed set of suggestions for their use, since institute instructors were frequently persons unused to teaching. Miss Richmond was thus able profoundly to influence the development of Home Service in line with the tested principles of case work. For the duration of the war, she gave freely of her time and thought to the Red Cross.

The coming of peace found that body in a high state of organization, with some of its leaders looking forward to an ambitious peace-time program of social and health work, which should go on indefinitely in the local communities. This Miss Richmond felt would be in violation of the tacit agreement under which the social

¹ Karl de Schweinitz assisted in preparing the manual for publication.

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agencies of the country had released their best workers to the Red Cross to meet a war emergency. Furthermore, she deplored, for peace-time purposes, any organization of local social work "from the top down," even though this method might seem for the moment more efficient. The controversy never attained public expression; but it did develop a marked cleavage between those who believed that the Red Cross was and should remain an organization to deal only with large-scale emergencies and disasters, and those who provisioned for it a continuing and commanding place in the current social work program.

With Social Diagnosis safely launched, another project began to take shape. "It has been felt for some time," says Miss Richmond's report for 1917, "that, in sharp contrast with [the Department's] recently completed studies, there was need also for a series of small books written for the larger public which is now becoming interested in practical case work problems. Each little volume should be authoritative but not too detailed, and the form of presentation and of printing should be designed to attract and inform the less initiated."

An early pencil memorandum in Miss Richmond's handwriting shows that she was considering the following subjects, only three of which, however, were eventually included in the Social Work Series.¹

- Inebriety
- Feeble-Mindedness
- The Deserted Family and the Homeless Man
- The Crippled and the Blind
- Spending the Income
- What Is Charity Organization?
- Development through Social Contacts
- The Immigrant Family
- The Unmarried Mother
- The Case Committee
- The Widow with Children
- Getting Acquainted with your Problem

Immediately after the publication of Social Diagnosis, she records in her annual report that she has begun work upon "a handbook for the volunteer who is thinking of undertaking some form of social

¹ For a complete list of the books in this series, see Appendix B, p. 624.

case work." This book proceeded slowly; at the end of the summer of 1919, she says in a letter to a friend:

I contrived . . . to write four chapters of a book—not a big book this time. I made one or two false starts, but feel now that I am on the right track. My undertaking will not be for the general public, but for the people who are already in social case work or thinking of going into it, and [who] would not object to reading a sort of prologue before the curtain rings up on the next act.

This quotation makes it plain that her conception of the book was not that which underlies *What Is Social Case Work?* There were to be other modifications, including a complete change in the audience she was addressing, before the latter volume took shape. In 1919-1920, the book addressed to volunteers was abandoned. One chapter of it is reproduced in part here—*Making a Beginning*, on page 406. The material in other chapters was drawn upon and recast for *What Is Social Case Work?*

The altered status of volunteer service since the war no doubt influenced the change of plan. Another potent influence came through the stream of case records flowing into the Department which showed profound modifications taking place in the practice of case work, with a new emphasis on the development of personality.¹ The book, when it finally appeared in 1922, was addressed, not to the practicing volunteer but to the intelligent lay public, and was an attempt to portray these new emphases, and to define the objectives of which case workers had only recently become conscious. It was Miss Richmond's hope to make intelligent readers see that social case work consists in developing the strength rather than placing props under the weakness of a client; and that this method is applicable to all human beings in difficulty, and is not confined to "the poor." An underlying motive was to convey the idea that material relief and case work are not identical, and not even necessarily closely conjoined.

When she finally decided upon its form and purpose, the writing of the book proceeded rapidly, and it is probable that it gave her more real pleasure than any of her other books. It placed in the hands of the profession a much needed explanation of their craft;

¹ A second series of these case records was prepared for circulation, showing more complicated situations and methods than had been apparent in the earlier series, in the *Charity Organization Bulletin* mentioned on p. 275.

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and while its circulation has never reached the figure of Social Diagnosis, it is easily the most widely known of the Social Work Series. It has, moreover, attained the honor of translation into two other languages, French and Dutch.¹

During each cycle of unemployment in the United States, Miss Richmond was able to render a real service to her colleagues who were struggling with its effects. During the depression of 1921, Mary van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation, who had been appointed a member of the President's Conference on Unemployment, asked Miss Richmond to give her a short memorandum on relief measures for use at the Conference. In response to this request, she received the elaborate memorandum on Emergency Relief in Times of Unemployment, which will be found on page 510. In the course of the research that preceded the memorandum, Miss Richmond discovered how unsatisfactory and incomplete was the literature on unemployment relief, and how much valuable experience had never been recorded. She decided to put an investigator into the field, to gather this information at first hand from the social agencies. Philip Klein was engaged for the purpose, and his book, *The Burden of Unemployment*² published in 1923, was the result.

Miss Richmond, both as a reader and as an author, was always in search of the word that was exactly right. She felt keenly about the meanings of terms, and their careless use disturbed her. Someone, she thought, should be doing something about the haphazard development of the professional jargon of social work. To be sure, her own usages underwent development as well; the title of her first book, *Friendly Visiting Among the Poor* sounds singularly out-dated today. As late as 1907 we find her at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the New York Charity Organization Society speaking strongly in favor of the retention of its name.

Bringing that word *charity* back to its original meaning is just as good a single task as we can undertake. If we change our name, it is going to be harder to bring the undeveloped mass of charities the full way with us.

¹ Les méthodes nouvelles d'assistance: Le service social des cas individuels. Translated by Mme. P. de Chary and Dr. René Sand. Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris, 1926.

Maatschappelijk Hulpbetoon. Translated by Zuster A. M. F. Onnen. W. L. and J. Brusse, Rotterdam, 1926.

² Klein, Philip, *The Burden of Unemployment*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1923.

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Yet in 1916, she favored dropping the words "Charities and Correction" from the title of the National Conference. As a member of the special committee on change of name, she made an eloquent plea for "National Conference of Social Workers," as against a name containing such terms as "social welfare," "social service" or "social betterment." In her report to the committee, she pointed out the absurdity of their calling themselves "social bettermenters," and the clearer co-ordination that existed between the terms "social work" and "social workers."

Does the Conference membership stop to realize how large an army of social workers now require its unifying influence? They need a national body which recognizes their calling and is jealous for its good name. Ours should be their common meeting ground, for they have no other. Every year we should make the name of social worker mean more. We should make it our own and fill it so full of meaning that those who bear it rightly will be given an opportunity to do their best work.¹

She supported her statements by a careful count of the use in the previous year's Proceedings of the various terms which had been suggested; and in the end the Conference was induced to adopt its present title, National Conference of Social Work. When those in the charity organization movement became restive under the handicap of their name, she approved and furthered the change to "family social work" or "family welfare" on the part of the national association and its constituent societies.

The publication of *Social Diagnosis* brought out in high relief the lack of any distinctive terminology for social work; and in 1918, Miss Richmond organized a group of well-known social workers representing different fields, as a Committee on Professional Organization² with the two objects of developing a terminology and a code of ethics. A memorandum prepared for discussion at one of its meetings will be found on page 474, in which it appears that Miss Richmond was scouting on ahead of the main body for a better term than "social case worker." In spite of her championing it in 1916, as the best available name for the

¹ Bulletin of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, February, 1917, p. 28.

² For a fuller account of the Committee on Professional Organization, see "Miss Richmond and Professional Organization," by Ida M. Cannon. In *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 352.

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National Conference, she always felt that it was awkward and without precision, and would have preferred a single word to describe her profession, could one have been found or coined.

The Committee on Professional Organization continued until the formation of the American Association of Social Workers in 1921. At the historic meeting at Providence the next year, Miss Richmond was one of the first to come forward with a personal pledge to support the young association, and her confidence, expressed in a stirring speech at the meeting, was an important factor in winning the support of others. She was consulted informally and freely by those foremost in organizing the American Association of Social Workers. Although she was active only in an advisory capacity, she took a keen interest in the development of a professional organization for social workers, and saw in it the chief protection for the future, against the domination of social work by alien influences.¹ In a letter written in 1927, she finds one of her suggestive parallels. She has been speaking of the folly of "putting business in charge of social work" and of imagining that the successful director of large-scale disaster relief operations can thereby undertake to organize "the readjustment of human situations that must be dealt with one by one or not at all." She continues:

If I knew anything about acoustics I'd be able to work out an analogy between the capacity of the human ear and the right unit of administration for social work in our cities. There are vibrations too rapid to be audible and vibrations too slow. There are administrative units too small for effective social work administration and units too big. Each form of social work has its right sized unit, but not all forms prosper under the same unit. For intelligent experimentation in this field, however, we are substituting uniformity.

Another illustration comes from the drama. I do wish I knew the history of the drama during the last thirty years in America, or where to find an authentic account of it. I know that the theater trust and the quantity or multiple producer brought us at one time to a very low ebb. We seem to have been saved—not wholly so yet, perhaps, but given a comforting hope of salvation—by two things, the amateur spirit that fed the little theaters . . . and the Actor's Equity Association. The story of it all would be interesting in and of itself, and it points the two ways for us, if we have the grit to take them— (1) back to the volunteer, (2) on to the professional organization strong enough to influence the situation.

¹ See p. 443.

Miss Richmond's service to the National Conference went far beyond that mentioned in earlier paragraphs. As long as her strength permitted, she was a regular attendant and a frequent speaker at its annual meetings. She served at various times on its executive and program committees, and often helped to carry out special assignments, such as that on the change of name, and on financial support of the Conference. As chairman of the committee to arrange for the special fiftieth anniversary meeting at Washington in 1923, she was largely responsible for the plan which was adopted. In 1922, she allowed herself, against her better judgment, to be nominated for president of the Conference. She felt her bodily strength even then beginning to fail, and she was aware of the strong current of opposition to policies for which she stood. To her great relief, her candidacy was unsuccessful. "It means," she wrote to a member of her staff that summer, "that you'll have a happier, more equable work-mate than would have been possible with that weary task ahead of me." She never considered allowing herself to be nominated again, and died without having received this particular recognition at the hands of her colleagues.

The important interest developed during this period was, however, a study of the administration of marriage laws in the United States. This took form early in 1919, and was to absorb much of Miss Richmond's time and attention, as well as that of her Department, for the last decade of her life. She says in the introduction to *Child Marriages* that her own attention

. . . was first attracted to the subject of marriage administration in the course of case committee work in a family welfare society—the Charity Organization Society of New York. Many instances of marital maladjustment came to our notice there. While by no means all of these troubles were due to causes which we could identify, and while not a few that could be so identified seemed beyond any skill then available, it was clear that a considerable number could be traced to ill-devised and indifferently administered marriage laws. Here then, was a subject that had received scant attention and one that could be studied objectively. Accordingly, we began by preparing and printing a digest of American marriage laws.¹

¹ Hall, Fred S. and Brooke, Elisabeth W., *American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects: a Digest*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919.

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From reports and other documents it appears that the plan of the entire investigation as Miss Richmond conceived it in 1919, was for a series of brief studies (of which the administration of marriage laws was to be only one) dealing with marital relations in connection with social case work. Detailed plans for the study of administration were made in 1920, and the collection of material from the field was begun under Fred S. Hall.¹ Until the field work was completed in 1923, Miss Richmond had only a general supervisory relation to the project. When, in 1923, she started to work on the collected material, she could not have suspected that the piece of work to which she had set her hand would ramify into not one but three books and a pamphlet, occupy five years, and develop at the last into a race with death. But gradually, during the following year, as she saw the extent of what she had undertaken and realized her own flagging strength, she must have come to the decision to put all that she had left into completing the task. She writes from the country, in the late summer of 1924:

You know my great desire is to finish *Marriage and the State* as decently as I'm able to, and I'm forced to make everything else secondary to that.

A study of such magnitude inevitably aroused interest and a desire for tangible results in many quarters. So strong did the pressure become that in 1925, Miss Richmond decided to publish in a separate volume that portion of the material nearest completion, which dealt with child marriages.² In the same year, Mr. Hall's study of medical certification³ was issued in pamphlet form.

In the meantime, the early digest of *American Marriage Laws* had become somewhat obsolete, and the edition was exhausted. A lawyer, Geoffrey May, was secured in 1926 to revise and greatly enlarge the volume, and his book, *Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States*, was finally brought out simultaneously with *Marriage and the State*, in January, 1929.

There is no doubt that the long-drawn-out preparation of this

¹ A detailed account of the processes followed will be found in the introduction to *Marriage and the State*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1929.

² Richmond, Mary E. and Hall, Fred S., *Child Marriages*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1925.

³ Hall, Fred S., *Medical Certification for Marriage*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1925.

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work told heavily upon her spirit. From year to year, she had hoped to see the last of it, and be free to turn to other things nearer to the practice of case work; but her exacting sense of craftsmanship demanded of her that she scant no part of what she had begun, even while her failing strength cut down her output month by month.

On the personal side, therefore, the last ten years of Miss Richmond's life constitute a "closing in." She said of *Social Diagnosis* what George Eliot had said about *Romola*—that she began the book a young woman and finished it an old one. At all events, her health began to fail from the summer of 1918, which was the last she spent at Lelherth. She passed the next summer in the mountains of Colorado, where the high dry air improved but did not cure the bronchial condition. "The villain of the piece," she said once, "is the New York climate."

In 1920, and each year thereafter until the last, the summer months were spent in Franklin, New Hampshire, where conditions seemed more favorable. Here she became part of an interesting colony of university teachers and their friends, and enjoyed the community life, the impromptu picnics, and especially the Sunday night gatherings for informal discussion, of which Dr. Yerkes gives a charming picture.¹ In such intercourse, she drew out of the specialties of her neighbors fodder for her own subject, and also suggested to them ideas for further inquiry and speculation. The long summers were by no means times of rest and relaxation; she worked at least half of every day, and her letters while on vacation always recite the number of chapters planned, written or in process. "A cockney," as she always called herself, Miss Richmond took a mild pleasure in the sights and sounds of the country without being wholly apperceptive about them. She was more keenly alive to art, something man-made, shaped and directed on the æsthetic side, than she was to natural beauty. In life, as in books, it was people and their ideas that interested her; her letters seldom or never referred to her natural surroundings.

Next to people, Miss Richmond loved animals. They had for her personalities as distinct as human beings, and she could be

¹ Yerkes, Robert M., "The Personality of Mary Richmond." In *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929.

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endlessly entertaining about cats she had known intimately, from the two kittens she owned at the age of ten (called respectively Gil Blas de Santillane and Scipio Africanus Richmond) down to that David whom many of her friends knew. David, she said, like certain leisured ladies who were at the time besieging the legislatures, "always got his own way because he had absolutely nothing else in the world to do but get it." And of her fascinated interest in dogs, a friend says that "when she met one on the street she gave the effect of walking backward till it was out of sight."

In 1921, Miss Richmond was greatly pleased at being awarded the honorary degree of Master of Arts, for "establishing the scientific basis of a new profession," from Smith College. It always roused her college-bred friends to affectionate wrath to learn that she considered them the possessors of something superior in the way of an education to her own; that she believed that in some mysterious way, their minds had been trained while hers had not!

After 1924, when she moved with a friend to the neighborhood of Columbia University to live, she spent less and less time in her office at the Foundation, and did more and more of her work at home. Her consuming desire to finish *Marriage and the State*, and her frail health, played into each other in a sort of vicious circle to reduce the scope of her other activities. She had been unable to hold the Institute since 1922, and was cut off from contact with the younger group of social workers, so that to them she became a sort of legend. Old friends continued to seek her out; but the combination of lack of time and lack of health gave her few opportunities to make new ones. During two winters, she gathered a group of friends who met once a month at her apartment for discussion of all things "under the sun and t'other side of the moon"; and these meetings lessened for a time her increasing isolation. The methods of history, the newer biology, the lives and works of Faraday and Pupin, the electrodynamic theory, and what all these meant in terms of religion—such were the impromptu programs of "The Talkers."¹ An Outline for Readers of Biography² was prepared as a basis for a series of these meetings;

¹ See *The Family*, vol. 9, February, 1929, p. 322.

² See p. 593 of the present volume.

and its date, 1926, marks the emergence of a new interest—the last of many expeditions into new territory. Her well-marked copy of Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi* which she read in 1920 shows that her interest in the psychological aspects of biography covered a period of years; but only during the last two or three years of her life did it become a passion. It seems to have started with her reading of Cushing's *Life of Sir William Osler*, in the summer of 1925. The next year, after reading the life of Dean Briggs, she writes apropos of his devotion to his mother:

It occurs to me that a good deal could be dug out of fairly full biographies about the family relationships of the subjects—the relations of husband and wife, fathers and daughters, fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, mothers and sons, brothers and brothers, brothers and sisters, sisters and sisters, and so on. After a load of it was assembled it would have no scientific value whatever, but a good deal of human interest, especially if the group of readers or the one reader had no thesis to prove at the beginning, and few prejudices acquired en route. The men whose mothers get such a raking over the coals by the psychoanalysts are the failures or semi-failures who go to them. But Briggs was an unqualified success—the best Dean, the most useful person ever. However, neither that nor anything else would be the point to be proved. People whose biographies are worth writing are the people whose lives presumably have some points worth noting by the ordinary run of folks. What are these points as they relate to family life? Confining the field to English and American biographies in order that the physical and social background may be a fairly familiar one, I wonder what, after years of reading and note-taking such a search would yield.¹

Amy Lowell's *Life of Keats* delighted her, and her copy is marked throughout to show how closely she was studying the meticulous methods of research as well as the significances in family relationships which it disclosed. Of Professor Lowes's *Road to Xanadu* she writes the year before she died:

It's interesting to see how much can be revealed of a man's mental processes by a method that no psychologist has used, so far as I know; namely, by a thoroughly critical handling of the subject's documents and of the documents of other men that came into his hands.¹

It does not seem a rash prophecy that, could she have been spared another five years in which to work, this would have been the direction she would have taken; and that biographies would have

¹ From unpublished letters.

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been made to yield up unsuspected riches for social work as case records had earlier been put under tribute. It is no mere coincidence that at the troubled end of life, as in her anxious youth, she found the same solace; hard and purposeful reading, the quest and the discovery of ideas, bore her spirit upward and on.

The last task Miss Richmond undertook jointly with her fellow social workers was to propose and to work out general plans for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the family welfare (charity organization) movement in America. It was her emphasis that led this meeting to be, not a recital of accomplishments, but an examination into the state of Family Life in America Today. She spent much time and thought upon the program and list of speakers and induced Elizabeth Shippen Green (Elliott), an artist friend of Philadelphia days, to design its emblem, the lighted torch, while herself wording its motto, "Light from hand to hand, life from age to age."¹ Her own part in the program gave her much anxiety. She was in the home stretch of life and felt it, although she was not aware of the exact nature of the disease that was even then sapping her vitality. She usually gained physically during vacation period, but in the summer of 1927 she lost ground steadily. The first and last chapters of her book on Marriage and the State were yet to do. Her paper for the Conference on Family Life to be held that fall in Buffalo was to her a major assignment, yet she could *not* make it come right. Three times that summer she scrapped what she had written and began again. In August, in a letter to a friend, she said:

I've written enough of a Buffalo speech to fill the allotted time, but, when I read it over again today (nearly 40 pages of it) I realized that it wouldn't do as it stood and that I ought to be able by rewriting to make it a good deal better. The difficulty about letting all my present ideas get cold before I use them is that it will take it out of me badly to wait to get some more or else to attempt to warm the present ones over again. When you begin to write biographies you will realize better what I mean. There is a now or never about writing. If you have the amazing luck to wake up and have an idea in the morning, it's much better to get it down before night.

The paper, in its final form with the magnificent "ave atque vale" which is now so well known to social workers, stands as the last of this volume.

¹ See p. 617.

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Although she was weak to the point of invalidism, she went to Buffalo, made her speech, and received an ovation warm enough to recompense fully for the effort she had made. It was the last opportunity granted her fellow workers to convey to her their appreciation. Early the next year, an internal malignant growth was diagnosed, and an exploratory operation disclosed that there could be no surgical remedy. Meanwhile, she had finished *Marriage and the State*, and she went to hospital, and later to a nursing home in Brighton, Massachusetts, with a mind at rest. She had won the race with death.

Throughout a summer of increasing pain and weakness, she kept at work, correcting the proofs of the book she was never to see, and ignoring as far as possible her physical condition. She had always been deeply interested in politics, and never more so than during the presidential campaign of 1928. Although she detested the radio, she rejoiced in the opportunity it gave her of listening to the acceptance speech of her candidate, Alfred E. Smith.

To the very last, she kept a face of courage turned to those about her, and there was no dimming of her mind or spirit. Many of her close friends journeyed to Brighton, not so much to pay a visit of sympathy to her sick-bed as to experience again, perhaps for the last time, the joy of fellowship with her. As her strength grew less, her interest in world affairs and in the adventures of the mind appeared if possible to heighten. Lighter books were read aloud to her, but the difficult ones, written by scholars for scholars, she insisted on reading for herself. Henry Osborne Taylor's *Human Values and Verities* interested her enormously, but the last chapters remain unread.

She died at her home in New York on September 12, 1928, and was buried in her beloved Baltimore.

“STAND UP AND TAKE THE WAR!”

(Privately Printed)

The paper which follows is made up of combined and abridged editorials from the Charity Organization Bulletin; the first written before the United States had actually declared war on Germany, the others as our country forged farther into the great conflict. Read as a unit, they tell their own story of the contribution made by organized social work in time of war. The title is supplied by the editors.

ON THE VERGE

March, 1917

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

This, whatever happens, is the part that the charity organization societies have to play—not, of course, to organize the common sense of the world, but to bring organized common sense to bear, at least, upon the social needs of their own communities, especially when social needs concern those least able to find a way out for themselves. In case of war, three things are likely to happen which will affect our immediate task—more planned help than usual will be needed, more unplanned help than usual will be forthcoming, and all the cranks, it may be predicted, will have ideas as to what everybody else should do. . . .

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

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

BEYOND THE VERGE

May, 1917

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

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

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

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

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

We charity organization workers are not by temperament or training one-remedy people; we can plead “not guilty” in the matter of the improvised programs. But the call of the hour has found some of us taking a romantic and some a realistic view of our present responsibilities. Not all of the realists are staying—some are leaving our ranks temporarily to do work that they are pecu-

liarily fitted to do, while those who remain are cheerfully assuming double burdens. It would be difficult to say which show the finer spirit of adventure—those who go or those who stay.

CLOSE RANKS!

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

OPEN RANKS!

The social case worker is going to be “worth her weight in gold.” But so is the volunteer who knows nothing of case work but is so eager to serve that she is eager to learn. Have we faith enough in the fundamental importance of our own task to be willing to take endless pains to share it with a much larger group of volunteers than ever before? That is the additional test which the genius of the hour is about to apply to us. A willingness to turn work over

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to others and then wash our hands of the consequences will not satisfy that genius. The proof of our metal will be genuine sharing.

THE SINGLE STANDARD

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

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

As regards the second assumption, that the sending of the breadwinner away alters the case and renders individualized care unnecessary, there is sound justice behind the feeling that the nation owes the families of its soldiers not charity but wages. Over and above the government's separation allowance, however, the breakdowns in family life that follow upon separation and the causes of breakdown that have preceded it will both have to be dealt with. It would be an ostrich policy that ignored them. In every country now at war, the need for home services in addition to home allowances has been fully demonstrated. With the long and continuous development of such services in the United States, we should be able to make a new record, to carry through more adaptable and far-seeing plans for the protection of the home than have yet been attempted. What, however, could be said of the democracy of our people and that of our social agencies if either or both were to agree

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that the family of the humblest civilian should receive at any time or in any place a service and consideration short of the best. In so far as we ourselves have failed in adaptability and consideration in the past—and we have often failed—now is a good time to turn over a new leaf. We should not stultify ourselves, however, by agreeing that there can justly be more than one standard of service.

EIGHT MONTHS AFTER

January, 1918

About the time that war was declared last April, the editor of this Bulletin received one of those voluminous questionnaires in which is demanded, item by item, an estimate of one's capabilities as a driver of motor trucks, a waitress in camp restaurants, a tiller of the soil, a knitter of socks, and so on through not less than a hundred or so of separate occupations. She found it humiliating to have to think "zero" as she read each useful activity on the list. If any other social worker has suffered embarrassment from a similar questionnaire, the remedy is at hand in the results of another and quite different one. These we give in this number under the title of War Service. They show that there has been plenty for charity organization workers to do, work which they were peculiarly fitted to do. Here, as in the matter of relief, they have been wise when they have refrained from centralizing effort within their own agency, have developed their ability to train others, and have been generous in lending staff workers and volunteers to train others.

The prompt way in which those identified with charity organization societies came forward last spring and organized training classes has been a factor in the development, for example, of Red Cross Home Service. "A considerable number of our volunteers," writes one large society, "are giving more time than usual to our work, to release staff members needed in other service." A smaller society reports that its Home Service training class has given it a wonderful chance to spread the gospel of social case work. One member of the class had no idea there was so much to learn about social work; another "trembled to think" of the mistakes from which the course had saved her. In a town in which there is no

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C. O. S., the Home Service Section writes to know why the work that they are doing for soldiers' families is not needed in other families too.

The figures given on another page show, in so far as figures can, the Red Cross and other war service that is being given by that half of all the charity organization societies which replied to our inquiries. But the figures cannot show what war service is doing for the societies. A month after England declared war in 1914, Punch printed a cartoon with this legend:

LADY OF THE HOUSE: "Just the person I wanted to see. I've started ten committees in connection with the war and I want your help."

VISITOR: "My dear! I've just started twelve and I simply *counted* on you!"

Compare this with the following tribute from the London Charity Organisation Review for October in which a group of recent American Red Cross pamphlets on the subject of Home Service are reviewed:

It is evident that America as a looker-on has been studying the game. She has had the great advantage of having been able to choose her moment for joining in, and one compares the thoroughgoing preparations for the administration of civilian relief with the sketchy organization of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association in 1914, which was all there was to cope with unprecedented needs in our own country. Had it not been for the wide and deep progress in public opinion which the principles and aims of the C.O.S. had made—and they underlie much work for which they will never get the credit—there might have been overwhelming catastrophe. So in America the ready equipment of all its resources to meet the sudden demand has been made possible by the intellect and enthusiasm which for many years have been given to social study.

Those of us who prefer order to chaos cannot be too grateful to the Red Cross for what it has saved us from in the matter of improvised programs and hen-headed committees. We may well do all we can, in return, by encouraging attendance upon Home Service Institutes, by helping in the organization of Chapter Courses, and by accepting membership upon Chapter Committees, when appointed. What may seem like self-abnegation now will be wise statesmanship for the future. On the other hand, we believe that the societies should discourage the tendency shown by a few Home Service Sections to hand their work over bodily to the local social

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agencies, usually to the C. O. S. There is going to be a healthy reaction against any such tendency to "farm out" the task, but our societies should not wait for the reaction before doing their best to encourage the organization of Sections doing real case work, carrying the responsibility for soldiers' and sailors' families, and working co-operatively with the social agencies.

MONEY RAISING

In cities which have not already felt that other reaction, sure to come from sinking the identity of local social work in a joint money raising campaign with the Red Cross, we believe that the reaction will come in decreased interest in the real work of the agencies and in some justifiable indignation that more direct methods were not used by them. Whatever apathy they now encounter will increase, we believe, unless a strong personal campaign is made at once on the true merits of the case. Canada went through this same difficult period. The social agencies there have survived because the people who believed in them got out and worked for the things in which they believed. There was never a better application of the work test, and the American cities which have dodged it by joint campaigns in combination with the Red Cross have not been living up to C. O. S. principles. Direct public interest in the work of established social agencies must be maintained. If that interest is diminishing, it may easily be that the war is not the only cause, but, in any case, increased and not decreased activity is the only remedy.

The following statement was made by the Director-General of Civilian Relief, Mr. Persons, at Pittsburgh in June:

The Red Cross knows perfectly well that the existing social agencies must be maintained in full efficiency and their resources augmented, both now and after the war. No matter what the Red Cross may do, your own problems will be greater than they have been as the war goes on, and when it is over, the broken families and devitalized men unable to pursue their usual occupation will greatly increase your problems. The present emergency must be made the opportunity for the building up of a clientele for the existing agencies much broader than has existed. Many in each community are going to come to be conscious of a social responsibility they have not recognized before. The number of givers should increase, especially of small givers. It is our earnest hope that existing agencies doing useful work shall have increased membership and larger resources and become much more useful to their communities.

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It would be unwise, we believe, to publish the figures given in this number, which show how heavy a share of war service, especially in the field of Home Service, the charity organization societies have been carrying since Mr. Persons' statement was made; it would be unwise to use the facts in letters of appeal. But we see no reason why they could not some of them be used in personal interviews with responsible persons whom a director of one of the societies is trying to interest, with the statement added that the facts are not for publication. Such personal interviews will be needed, for it is very unlikely that the usual circular letters will bring returns adequate to the present situation.

The discussion of relief-giving, under the caption of The Mine Fields, also has a bearing upon charity organization finance in war time. The relief question is, of course, not one which is confined to war times, but it is intensified now.

At the beginning of November, a letter was addressed to each charity organization society in the United States by the Charity Organization Department, asking for a list of staff workers, members of their central boards, and other volunteers who had become engaged in specific forms of war service since this country's preparations for war began. "Do not count," the letter suggested, "such extra services as nearly everyone is now rendering, but service that could be described as 'full time,' 'half time,' 'one-third time,' or not less than 'quarter time' for a considerable period, whether continuing now or not."

Replies were received from 151 of the societies—just about half of all listed, but considerably more than half if size and activity were taken into account. These societies reported 912 staff members, directors and other active volunteers, engaged in war service since preparations for war began, and so engaged to the extent of at least one-quarter of their time. Of these, 231 were staff members, of whom 77 had been withdrawn for *full time* service; 347 were central board directors, of whom 82 had been withdrawn for full time service; and 334 were other active volunteers, of whom 112 had been withdrawn for full time service. Thus of 912 in all, 271 gave full time service and 641 gave service varying from quarter time to something less than full time.

As regards the nature of the service, 86 had enlisted in the army,

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5 in the navy, and 11 had become war nurses, making 102 in all who had joined some branch of the service.

Of the 204 engaged in civilian occupations (aside from Red Cross work) that could be described as war service, 59 were active members of state councils of defense and committees of public safety, 34 were engaged in food conservation, 24 were or had been members of exemption boards, 30 were in recreational and other camp work, and 57 were engaged in [miscellaneous] war activities.

But out of a total of 912 persons reported by the 151 societies, 606 were engaged in Red Cross work.

Twenty-seven of these 606 had gone abroad and were rendering the following important services:

- Director of the Department of Belgium
- Assistant Director of the Department of Belgium
- Chief of the Bureau of Refugees and Relief for France
- Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Refugees and Relief for France
- On the Red Cross Commission to Italy
- Manager of the Red Cross warehouses abroad
- Attached to American Friends' Unit in France (three persons)
- In the Bureau of Care and Prevention of Tuberculosis in France (three persons)
- In Canteen Section of the French Army Division (three persons)
- In charge of a Home for Convalescent Officers in France
- Giving instruction in surgical dressings in France
- Other work abroad, evidently for the Red Cross (ten persons)

The largest single contribution of the societies to war service, however, has been in the field of Red Cross Home Service. The 151 societies have contributed 404 workers in all for the upbuilding of this new and important form of work, of whom 181 were taken from the paid staff of the societies, 48 of them for full time; 85 were members of the central board, 4 giving full time to the new service; and 138 were other volunteers in the societies, of whom 24 gave full time to Home Service. The 404 have rendered the following kinds of service:

Director General of Civilian Relief	1
Assistant Director and Division Directors of Civilian Relief	15
Directors of Home Service Institutes	9
Supervisors of Field Work of Institutes	9

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Field Work Trainers of Institute Members ¹	26
Leaders of Chapter Courses in Home Service	29
Chairmen of Home Service Sections	46
Executive Secretaries of Home Service Sections	43
Other officials of Home Service Sections	12
Other members of Home Service Sections	91
Visitors for Home Service Sections	106
Members of Home Service Institutes	17
	404

The contribution of the charity organization movement to war service will continue to increase, in all probability. At the same time it is necessary to remind ourselves that many of the services here counted were rendered freely and gladly by *individuals* as Americans and not as members of charity organization societies. That the societies have, in many instances, made the service more useful than it could have been without their long and painstaking development of social work in times of peace is something to be thankful for, but not a thing to boast of or to turn into publicity material.

Within the family it constitutes an appeal to family loyalty, and a measure also of the added burdens put upon those who are left when 271 people are withdrawn for all of their time and 641 others are giving a good part of their time to other service. Assuredly, the work that does not appear here—the work of holding the home organizations together and keeping them efficient in these months of change and disintegration is all one with war service, equally necessary and equally for the public good.

TO THOSE STILL ON THE JOB

A LETTER TO STAFF MEMBERS OF CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

March, 1918

Who are to be more congratulated, I wonder—those whose work has been of such a nature that they have been able to leave it with a clear conscience at a time like this, or those who have been constrained to see in their task something too fundamentally needed to be abandoned? At least, all will agree that to have work of this

¹ This does not include C.O.S. workers who have been giving less than quarter time to this work.

latter kind for one's very own is no small compensation for the thrill foregone.

The Red Cross points out with justice that the morale of army and navy depends, in part, upon the important home service now organized for the families of soldiers and sailors; in furnishing field training and instruction for home service, those still "on the job" in our societies will have to bear a large share. But the question of morale extends far beyond all this. Should this war be a long one, the morale of the whole nation will be involved in it. Not only will the home service of the Red Cross be war service, but so will all family case work which is thorough and is not confined to any one group in the community. Such case work is going to be vitally needed in seeing this war through. Already we are finding family life endangered by the sudden privations of war time, by lowered standards of local administration, by unstable industrial conditions; and this difficulty is going to be a progressive one.

Some of the social work of normal times can be transferred to camp and field. Only the other day, for example, a social worker familiar with the organization of the Y. M. C. A. was explaining to me what had happened. In many places, he said, the usual activities of that body, important as they were, had been reduced to "a mere shell," had been set aside in order that all available Y. M. C. A. men might be used in war activities. My informant inferred that the same process was going on in the charity organization field. But it is not. Despite many extra demands, no such thing is happening. The indispensable character of family case work makes impossible any setting of it aside for more normal times. The less normal the times, the more is such case work needed.

The more thoughtful of our workers have had a new vision, in fact, of the opportunities for service which these extraordinary times are pressing in upon us. Not only do they recognize the fundamental demand of keeping their work intact, but they are seeing it with new eyes as they realize better than ever before what it may mean to family life in America, to the development in this country of a profession of social work, and to the social welfare of the smaller communities.

It is in the light of these new opportunities rather than in the name of the charity organization movement as such that forward-

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looking case workers continue to march under its banner. As I attempt to enumerate these opportunities very briefly, they fall into three groups:

First, wars have profoundly affected family life in the past. Just what a foreign war is going to do to the American family we cannot know, but the better and more intensive our family case work now, the more intelligently can we serve our country in the period of reconstruction which must follow the war. Agencies newly created in war-time to do case work will necessarily do some of it superficially, but volunteers were never so eager to learn as now, family case work was never so fully recognized as a thing worth studying as now. Now, therefore, is the time to advance standards wherever the appeal can be made, within our societies, to the needs of the hour. Standards never stand still; either they move forward or they slip back. For the protection of all that most needs protection in our national life, ours must be advanced.

By multiplied committees and causes which are eager to secure workers, demands are made upon our societies which are not nearly so logical as those of the Red Cross. “I thought,” wrote one recently of such a change of work, “that here was going to be a chance to do case work from another angle. But we seldom see any client more than once.” This sounds like sheer waste for one who knows how to do real case work instead of merely going through the motions of doing it.

Second, and again looking to the not far distant future, social work needs a strong professional brotherhood more than it needs any other one thing. It is beset by more or less ingenious, well intentioned, and mistaken attempts from the outside to make it efficient. These must be confronted and superseded by a strong, self-organized professional brotherhood. The self-determination of social movements rests upon the same sound principle as the self-determination of peoples. The assumption is too common among contributors to social agencies at present that, in the name of a purely mechanical type of efficiency, or of a misguided economy, they can superimpose upon the living body of social work a series of ready-made standards. The efficiency expert, so called, is abroad. Well organized professional brotherhoods, such as medicine and the law, are able to deal with him, but there are few things

in social work that he cannot reduce to a meaningless dead level by his schemes of combination, federation, or commercial control. Often he will accept a commission from a community first, and begin to make inquiries about the standards in a given social work field afterward—doing all this in a way that would be naïve enough if his clients were not still more so. Everyone who shares responsibility for a social agency's work, either in financial support or in service, is entitled to a voice in its affairs; but that the people giving highly skilled service, whether paid or unpaid, should have no organized way of sharing in the development of an agency's policies, in so far as its policies affect professional standards, is a serious drawback at present to the progress of social work. Each professional group, which is acquiring standards in common, such as that of the social case workers, should organize its own brotherhood, develop its own terminology, formulate its own code of ethics, devise its own measures for the steady advancement of standards. And by "professional group," be it repeated, is here meant all who have achieved a certain professional skill in service, whether paid or unpaid.

Corrupt politics in our cities is a serious menace to the development of social work under public auspices. Since the autumn elections of a few months ago this is realized with new vividness in a number of places. But professional solidarity would have a steady-ing effect at this point also, especially when the essential unity of all social work had won recognition through that wider understanding of its aims which would follow upon first-rate technical achievement. As I have observed the spirit of the different groups which make up the National Conference of Social Work, it has seemed to me that none of the social case workers in attendance there was more ready to take the necessary first steps in bringing about these reforms than the charity organization group. Concessions and sacrifices would have to be made; the goal would be achieved slowly. But is it not time to begin to push toward the organization of a brotherhood of social case workers of professional rank? Could anyone share in a more worthwhile task?

Third, and quite as important as these other two, is our share of responsibility for community development. What the council of all the social agencies may become to the large community as

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interpreter of needs, developer of social programs, and encourager of esprit de corps in the professional social work group, that and more too the charity organization society is and will probably have to continue to be in the smaller city. The name makes no difference, of course, but the form of organization is important. That form must make the society independent of any one group of people in the community or outside of it, it must include in its management many interests on equal terms, its policy must be self-determined, it must do general family work, it must be supported by voluntary contributions, it must have a trained social worker for its executive. Often, this executive will be the only trained worker in the community at first. But the supply soon creates the demand for more workers who can see as clearly and do as effectively as this one. When the time arrives that the public departments of the city are also ready to carry their share in the social advance, such a worker, employed by a voluntary body, becomes the strongest ally that public social work can have. When breakdowns come, as come they probably will in publicly appointed or elected bodies for some years still, the voluntary body carries over and utilizes the energy already generated, and is ready to prevent that complete break in the continuity of reform which otherwise would follow.

The American Association for Organizing Charity always hesitates to tell in its fulness the story of a specific community development under charity organization leadership, though such developments have been going forward in this country quietly and steadily now for some years back. In the archives of the Association, a community is a case; as such, its "record" is confidential. But to know what the newer charity organization societies of the country have done for socially backward cities is to get a new kind of conviction as to what charity organization means to these United States and a new sense of responsibility for conserving work so centrally vital.

A social worker was called in some years ago to advise an industrial city with a large foreign population. The field visit led to the reorganization of the city's public department of charities and to the employment of a trained social worker from another city to become its head. He soon found himself handicapped by the absence of any voluntary family agency of modern type in the

community, and helped to launch a charity organization society. When, several years later, after the resignation of this first executive of the public charities department, there was a political upheaval, and the second good man who had taken charge had to leave, the position was offered to the secretary of the relatively new local C. O. S. After going over the matter very carefully, he decided that the center of social work influence in the city was not in the public department and could not be for years to come—that he had a unique opportunity to further better administration of both public and private social work where he was. And there, at some personal sacrifice, he has remained.

In a smaller city than this one, a live charity organization secretary secured, in three years' time, better housing, a community recreation program, better court care of neglected children, and effective control of public dance halls. Every item in this program grew directly out of the case work of the society.

In the capital of a western state, the local C. O. S. was the means of organizing the first real medical clinics in the city; it also reformed the health department, developed medical inspection in the schools, was instrumental in securing a state tuberculosis survey, and launched a municipal lodging house and a city club. Some of these things were done publicly in the name of the society, some were done privately by its individual members, but all owed their success, directly or indirectly, to the great impetus given to social thinking by a type of family case work which was confined to no one group or class, and was managed by people who represented many interests in the community.

Is not the morale of the nation involved in the morale of its social work, and can we be helping anywhere more effectively this moment—unless, indeed, it be in the trenches—than by doing just what we are doing and by doing it with all our might?

I am not blind to the difficulties. It is because we have faced them one by one in the past that the wonderful advances of this last year have been possible. And not only courage in facing difficulties made them possible; vision and faith were necessary also. The question for each of us is not, therefore, where does our work happen to stand at the moment, but in what direction is it facing and what is our vision of its future possibilities?

WAR AND FAMILY SOLIDARITY

This paper shows plainly Miss Richmond's interest in marriage laws which was soon to become a dominant one. It was given at the National Conference of Social Work in 1918, and had a large circulation as a reprint issued by the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation.

THE topic assigned to me has such wide significance and so many aspects that it is only fair to explain at the very outset within what narrow limits my own share in this discussion will have to be confined. We social workers could learn from history the fateful relations of war to family life if only we were wise enough to adapt her lessons to a world situation which is altogether unprecedented. Statistics could furnish us with valid social data, too, if we were able to thread our way with safety through the maze of variables in which any comparison of statistical data immediately involves the student.

I found myself in such a maze recently over the simple discovery that marriages decreased 29 per cent in New York City during the first year of the Civil War—in 1861, that is, as compared with 1860—and that they *increased* 8 per cent in the same city during 1917 as compared with 1916. How is this marked difference to be accounted for? Obviously here is food for thought, but the more I look at these figures the less sure I am of their meaning. War was declared in April in both years, but here the resemblance ceases. We do happen to know that nothing so promptly depresses the marriage rate as an industrial crisis. There was a panic in 1857 and another smaller one in 1915. Marriages are postponed at such times, so that when prosperity returns there is a marked advance in the marriage rate. The drop in the hard times of 1915 was slight, however,—less than 4 per cent—and many other factors may have to be reckoned with in trying to account for the rise of 1916 over 1915 and of 1917 over both, especially when we realize that the vital statistics of 1861 show a sharper curve in the opposite direc-

tion. As between the two periods, a few of the factors that must be taken into account, over and above the prosperity one, are (1) the draft of 1917 (there was no draft in the first year of the Civil War), (2) the promise by our government of family allowances (liberal allowances too, when we compare them with Civil War policies), and (3) the effect of the present European conflict upon migration to this country. Just how far each of these enters in it is too early to say, and it is too early to extend this comparison of vital statistics in the two periods to the country as a whole, for in many states the statistics for 1917 are not yet available. The comparison would have to be limited to certain states, in any case, for the reason that many states had no trustworthy vital statistics in the 60's.

I mention this one instance to show how futile it would be at this stage of the war to attempt either summary or forecast. The time for comprehensive summaries is not yet. Of prophecies concerning what war will do to the family we already have a large crop, but then the besetting sin of prophets is to be sure that the thing which they wish to see happen is going to happen.

Why not wait, therefore, and discuss subjects that we know more about? The reason that we do not is obvious enough. Crude as our thinking has to be, we consider war in its relation to family life without delay because we are deeply concerned at the present moment with the welfare of families in which war has wrought changes. I refer, of course, to the families of our men now in service in camp, in the danger zone, and at the front.

We are in no position to dogmatize, but some sort of a day-to-day working theory we have to have, because we are acting daily. There is more than a possibility that this war will influence family life in America profoundly, and we are anxious that all our acts down to the very smallest of them may weigh on the side of family welfare. Indeed, as I interpret the spirit of Red Cross Home Service, in which so many of you are interested, it implies, does it not, a desire—not to explain when too late, but to shape and control, while yet there is time, the forces of this fateful hour in their relation to the American home.

What is happening, and how may we observe and report in order that we may plan and serve? In the earlier experimental

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stages of the attack upon any new human problem, I know no better witnesses than the social case workers. They have the interest that must precede observation, they have the habit of observing, and they are by no means credulous. Accordingly, following a plan that I have tried before and never without grateful appreciation of the patience of my correspondents, I have sought, in preparation for my share in this meeting, the aid of a number of experienced social workers, selecting by preference those now actively engaged in the work of the Home Service Sections of the Red Cross. Their evidence, together with that of a few Canadian workers, must be violently foreshortened in this brief presentation, but I shall try to sum it up under the six heads of (1) the unstable husband and father, (2) the unstable wife and mother, (3) the recently married, (4) the unmarried soldier or sailor, (5) the stable and responsible head of a family, (6) what we can do about it.

I am deliberately avoiding the observations and suggestions already recorded in Home Service publications, and I warn you that you will find this attempt to supplement them all too fragmentary. We have only a brief experience to record, but even so I must try to avoid speculation and prophecy by keeping within that experience.

I. THE UNSTABLE HUSBAND AND FATHER

Upon this first sub-topic, the conclusions of my correspondents in the United States and of those in Canada do not agree. Our own social workers are almost unanimous in the opinion that war is doing the unstable head of a family who has enlisted nothing but good. Take, in illustration, such instances as these, of which a good many more have been reported to me:

1. Wife and two children practically deserted two years before the husband joined the army. Now his attitude is entirely changed. He writes regularly, feels financially responsible for their care, is making plans for his family's future welfare, and seems to have an entirely new conception of the meaning and value of a home.

2. A case of estrangement that had gone so far as to lead to a decree of divorce on the ground of abuse and non-support. The soldier now takes a new interest in his three children; the divorced wife evinces marked pride in her former husband.

It should be added, however, that a number of the American reports received dwell upon the improved conditions now assured to families formerly neglected by the head of the house, but that these reports fail to mention any corresponding improvement in the absent man's attitude toward his home. My Canadian informants are of the opinion that the unsatisfactory family man will, after the war is over, be more unsatisfactory than ever, and their experience of war conditions and influences covers a longer period than ours. Reasons for our hopeful attitude toward this group of what we used to call "married vagabonds" are found in the disciplined and wholesome life of camp, which has so obviously given many men a new self-control and a new physical vigor; the subtler influences of group psychology have also played their part, for the prevailing sentiment of an American regiment, whether in training or in active service, is overwhelmingly a home sentiment. Added to this is the softened feeling of home folks for men who have unexpectedly risen to the occasion. On the other hand, these strengthening influences are going to be offset, probably, by the nerve-racking effects of life under fire and by the effects of prolonged absence. In this latter regard our men are at a great disadvantage, as compared with those of any of our allies except the colonials; they will be unable to see their families every few months when "on leave."

But, either way, should not Home Service take note of the changed conditions in this particular group of families and, in so far as the change is at all favorable—either for the wife and children, the absent man, or for all of them—accept the challenge and make advantageous use of each new opportunity? Our experience is brief, but not so brief but that we have found the new conditions, to an extent at least, controllable. Then why not strive to control them, why not give each handicapped family a new chance of health, of self-discipline, of self-expression, while the army or the navy is giving the absent head of the house his new chance too?

II. THE UNSTABLE WIFE AND MOTHER

We all know, of course, that the danger of family disintegration is much greater when the mother, rather than the father, is the weak member. Where both have shown marked weaknesses there

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is always a chance that the wife will be able to do better away from her husband than with him. There are instances now of women whose husbands are away, who are better able to keep sober and better able to do their duty by their children than was the case before the war. My informants report, however, a number of families in which the direct opposite has been true—in which the wife and mother was able to carry her responsibilities with credit when her husband was at home, but went to pieces morally with great suddenness after his departure. These sudden breakdowns do not necessarily imply any deep-seated abnormality. People equal to a certain degree of strain and worry often fail under a heavier demand; even among those of us who pass for normal there are marked differences in this capacity to endure strain. One interesting account comes from Canada of a woman who temporarily went under, abandoning her children and seeking low companions, but who has entirely recovered her sense of moral values and interest in her family. Her recovery was aided by a skilful rallying of better influences and associations. We have to remember, therefore, that these failures are not all of them irretrievable, though it is necessary, of course, to discover to what extent actual mental defect enters into the individual situation.

III. THE RECENTLY MARRIED

A trainer of Home Service volunteers reminds me that not all the hasty and ill-advised marriages of war time can be charged to the war. A good proportion of the contracting parties would have been married "in haste" in any case. The points of view of young wives in some of the Home Service families brought to my attention lead me to wonder whether the danger of absence is not greater for both husband and wife in the first year of marriage than at almost any other time. The new home has no well established habits and traditions. If the woman left behind faces the birth of her first child away from her own people, she may easily become morbid and lose her courage. In fact, in the case of one young wife known to me, who was not away from her people at all but living with her mother, it soon became evident that, with the best intentions in the world, these two women were putting their heads together and blaming every small inconvenience upon the absent

husband. This slant of theirs reached such a pitch that, when the baby came, neither one wanted to let the father know of its arrival. Nothing in his past or present conduct seemed to justify their attitude. In all probability, if the young couple had spent their first year of married life in their own home and the wife's nervous depression could have been eased by the knowledge that her husband was there and was sympathetically sharing her troubles, no such sense of estrangement could have come to her. The Home Service worker of experience may well help to interpret life to a young thing who insists upon looking upon the dark side before her baby comes; taking to some extent, in this service, the place of the wise woman relative who is absent, and counteracting, it may be, the influence of the unwise one who is present.

IV. THE UNMARRIED SOLDIER OR SAILOR

History is being made so rapidly in these days that, before the proceedings of this meeting are printed, my first comment under this fourth head may be quite beside the mark, but I cannot help expressing the hope that the day may be hastened when all of our men will be fighting under their own American commands. I urge this, of course, not for military reasons, about which I know nothing, but for social reasons. I am entirely willing to believe that the brave men in the British and French armies are "just as good" as our own boys, but each nation has a different background, each needs a different discipline when it comes to such matters as recreation, social hygiene, the use of alcoholic drinks, and so on. The provisions made with loving care by the American people for the health and recreation of our soldiers are necessarily better adapted to American needs than any other provision, however good, could be.

Many of our unmarried men at the front look forward definitely to marriage, of course, but the alternation in army life of the two extremes of months of dull routine followed by weeks of feverish excitement does not tend to fit men for a quiet life in one place. We have to recognize that a long war will mean not only later marriages but, with many men, an acquired taste for adventure and change which may turn them from home life altogether. A Canadian woman writes, "My brother has spent nearly three years

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in France. Judging from his restlessness while on leave last winter, I should think any regular, humdrum life impossible for him for a while. He has changed from a quiet boy with considerable power of concentration to one who wished to be 'on the go' every minute, jumping from one thing to another continually. I have observed the same change in many of my friends. Some of this will wear off, of course, but it cannot fail to influence their relations to family life."

Evidence comes from every quarter that the mothers are wonderful. As one Home Service leader puts it, "In the past a mother's affection for the boy just grown up has often been overshadowed by apprehension, but now all this is changed to affection plus a burning pride." So deep is this affection that we often find it difficult now to get any clear picture of the background of the boy who has given trouble in the past. According to his mother, at least, he has always been good. Then, too, there is the compensation that the boys often become more expressive. One mother said to a visitor, "I know my boy so much better now. When he was at home he was one of the quiet kind whose nose was always in a book, but now he writes to me every day and he tells me everything."

V. THE STABLE AND RESPONSIBLE HEAD OF A FAMILY

Social workers engaged in war work are beginning to realize, as never before, the importance of fathers. Edward S. Martin declares that the boys who lacked a father's care during the Civil War and became ne'er-do-wells later on (as many of them did) were as much sacrificed to their country as though they had been killed in battle. We must ask ourselves what were the elements that the absent father especially supplied in the home life, and strive to see that, to some extent at least, these elements are made good.

We are all familiar with the type of efficient person who makes everyone round about him inefficient. It often happens that when the responsible head of a family goes his family have been so dependent upon him as scarcely to know where to turn. There is opportunity here not merely for service, but for stimulation of the power of self-help.

VI. WHAT WE CAN DO NOW

I realize that each one of these topics bristles with aspects upon which I have not even touched. The philosophy of family life is not my theme; I have been hurrying on, rather, to the one aspect of the subject upon which I shall take time to dwell. The outstanding problem of the Home Service worker during the strenuous months immediately ahead is the problem of the psychology of absence under conditions of unusual stress and strain. The textbooks have no division devoted to this subject—it is practically an unexplored field. No group in the community has ever had such an opportunity to study the effect of absence upon social relationships as you are going to have in the fulfilment of your daily task. By keeping your eyes and your understanding open you can add not only to the world's sum of comfort and right adjustment, but to its sum of knowledge and experience also.

What are a few of the things now practicable that might have a wholesome effect upon the mental attitudes of the absent and of those who remain behind? I venture to make seven suggestions, some of which may seem to you trivial, but when we are exploring a new road we have to begin where we are.

1. One of the temptations of Home Service is to become so interested in constructive and helpful plans for family betterment that the plans and ideals of the absent head of the family may be forgotten. My first suggestion is that we *continue to consult* the absent husband and father whenever this can be done without giving him undue worry and anxiety over small nagging things from which he can be spared. What are *his* ideas about this cheerful plan which opens a new window of opportunity? What modifications would he suggest? Consultation is no new idea to the social worker, but its close relation to the sense of family responsibility needs to be emphasized anew at a time when so many are discovering the possibilities and the satisfactions of service.

2. A member of the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War declared that the two things that did most to keep the soldiers well were music and *letters from home*. As between the family and its absent member everything should be done to keep all channels of communication wide open, while making that communication as vital as possible. Every Home Service visitor should be sure that

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letters are going regularly and frequently from the homes she visits, and should strive in tactful ways to be sure that these letters are stimulating rather than depressing. Years ago we learned the lesson in social work that the man sent to the tuberculosis sanatorium often left at the wrong time and came back home no better in health, not because he was indifferent to the measures taken for his cure but because he was intolerably homesick and hungry for home news. In other words, the social worker had neglected, after securing the right medical care, to take the additional step of urging the home folks to keep him thoroughly informed of home news and as cheerful as possible about conditions there.

Then, as now, illiteracy was often a bar. A friend tells me of one Home Service family in which a mother had two sons at the front. She reported to the visitor that she heard regularly from the older one of the two, but not from the younger. Tom and she had "had words" just before he left home. She was sorry now that they had parted in anger, but the visitor failed to find out in this interview whether the mother had ever written and said that she was sorry. When the Home Service supervisor suggested that this be done, the fact came out that the mother could not write. Here, and in many similar situations, the Home Service worker finds a definite opportunity for usefulness.

As regards the tone of letters, a Home Service leader received some time ago a letter from an officer in France in which he says of his wife's letters, "Clara writes often, and her spirit reaches even over here." In telling this incident my informant added, "I was careful to ask Clara the next time I saw her about her letters. She explained that she was at great pains to keep all fretfulness out of them, but was equally careful to tell just what was happening." A mother, whose immediate family consists of two sons who are now at the front, thought seriously of closing her comfortable home in order to devote an even larger share of her time to war service. The boys protested, however, writing from France, "Whatever you do, Mother, be sure to keep the home together. It steadies us to know that it is there and going on as usual. Be sure to tell us about the dogs and don't forget to let us know when the flowers come up in the garden." Here is surely a strong argument for keeping families together and the home life as near to its

normal standard as possible. In a rocking world the home becomes the one fixed center of the soldier's hopes and memories. The homeliest things—the dogs, the flowers, the little daily happenings—are the best things to write about. Unimportant in themselves, they assume vast importance as symbols of the unexpressed and inexpressible.

3. The exigencies of ocean travel under present conditions have barred out *parcels from home*. As conditions change for the better, this embargo will be lifted, let us hope, for nothing carries more definitely the genuine home flavor than a parcel wrapped at home (however badly wrapped), planned at home, and packed with loving care and thought. Then too we may hope that local newspapers will go freely to the man who has not ceased to be a citizen and an active participant, in thought at least, in the affairs of his home community.

4. One colleague of mine suggests that Home Service visitors "work *the camera* for all it is worth." Here is a powerful aid in making absent ones seem present. It has been suggested that not only is it well to take frequent snapshots of all the members of the family in their everyday occupations and surroundings, but that each photograph be carefully labeled and dated on the back.

5. We are arrived at a time in the world's history when much should be made of festivals. The nation is turning the great national holidays to account as an effective way of giving expression and point to public feeling. Similarly, the *home festivals and anniversaries*, such as birthdays, wedding days, and so forth, should be emphasized more than ever, should be prepared for in advance, and celebrated at home and in the trenches simultaneously.

6. The development of new interests in common has been definitely aided by the organization of *clubs of wives and mothers* planned on a democratic basis. Exchange of the news from the front which comes through letters helps unquestionably to stimulate correspondence, and the organization of classes in war geography, in current European history, or in international politics multiplies points of contact and increases continuity of interest as between the absent and the wives and young people at home. Unorganized and empty leisure is one of the greatest dangers which

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assail the stay-at-homes among rich and poor alike. There should be no such thing as *empty* leisure in these strenuous times.

7. Proof is not lacking that there is plenty of courage in our army and navy. As the months of war ahead of us measure a year, or a series of years, the supreme need for courage is going to be in our civilian population. Home Service has found no lack of things to do. Its workers are taking up the new tasks with energy and enthusiasm. In the sheer joy of the doing they must not overlook the need of sharing. In fact, in all their contacts with the wives and mothers, boys and girls, of our soldiers and sailors, let them remember that courage stays and courage grows not by shifting family burdens to those outside the family circle but by the kind of stimulating help which makes home responsibility bearable. In other words, Home Service, like every other form of service which is genuine and social, must be a *partnership affair* in which the families visited and aided are to be helped to find their part and play it gallantly. Family solidarity demands this—that our contacts shall release energy in helpful directions and aid each individual who is a member of a family to do his part in the kind of self-controlled, self-helpful living without which this war cannot be won.

This ends my list of suggestions for direct action in individual families, though it omits many items with which the Home Service Manual and other Home Service publications have already made you familiar.

There is time to no more than mention another part of the social program which falls not so much to the Home Service Sections as to other agencies in the social field, though the sympathy and understanding of Home Service are going to be most valuable aids to social workers in helping forward these reform measures. Just as the physical and mental examiners of the army and navy have brought to light certain weaknesses in our country's social program on the health side, so the work of draft boards, of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, and of the Red Cross is bringing to light weak spots in the marital and social relations of our people. Not only rational law, but its intelligent administration, will help to strengthen family life where it is now weakest. This is no plea for a standpat attitude toward the institution of the family, but a

plea instead for a conservation of those human values which the family at its best can best maintain. Take, for example, the present laws regulating marriage in the different states. It is impossible to examine these with any care without finding gross inconsistencies—inconsistencies not only as between different states, but inconsistencies in the laws of the same state. This is especially true wherever common law marriage is still recognized as valid. We social workers are coming to feel that not only should the marriage laws of this country be studied and revised—revised conservatively, that is, in the light of our daily social experience—but that the detailed administration of these laws and their adaptation to varying human situations should be worked out as carefully as we are now working out the administrative details which affect industry. The clerk who issues licenses interprets the marriage laws. How does he interpret them? How intelligently are marriage records kept? How large a proportion of false statements do they record?

Then again, we have known theoretically that the marriage of the mentally unfit must be prevented, but as a practical measure this reform lags far behind because many American communities have not a single practitioner competent to detect a mental defect or to diagnose it properly. Social workers must create the demand which will increase this supply; they must learn, too, to increase the supply of competent practitioners in an allied field by creating the demand for prompt diagnosis and treatment of all those controllable nervous and physical conditions which are most dangerous to family life. This side of the family program would emphasize, therefore, not only socialized laws and their socialized enforcement, would try not only to put new vigor into the present attempts to control and segregate the mentally defective, but would also seek, by studying the human values in real families, to bring about those delicate adjustments which would tend to conserve the rights of the individual. In the supremely important task of family conservation, few processes are more important than those which assure such adjustments. In all these tasks, social work will need either the active co-operation or the sympathetic backing of Home Service.

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Last of all, if I have seemed at any point to dwell upon the dangers and difficulties of family life or to strike a minor note, let me assure you in closing that I am well aware also of the great outstanding fact that many, many homes in America—homes saddened by war and by absence—are sound to the core. War is applying to them the test of fire, and they are facing the terrible experience of our day in a spirit of faithfulness, of self-sacrifice which cannot fail to store up for them in the future a faith assured, a treasury of memories destined to enrich family life in America for generations to come. Thus we have the old paradox of the wheat and the tares growing together—a mingled harvest, but a harvest infinitely worth our service and our pains.

A naval officer wrote recently from the cabin of an American destroyer in the war zone to his wife at home, "I must close and get a bit of sleep. It seems as if, when it is all over, all the heaven I want is to be with you and son again perfectly quiet." God grant that that particular heaven—the heaven of a relation carried over unbroken and unspoiled—awaits multitudes of our brave men now fighting in France and on the seas.

THE MINE FIELDS

(Privately Printed)

This paper which appeared in the Charity Organization Bulletin for January, 1918, treats of the changing concept of relief, and the difficulties forced upon the societies by the pressure to give it.

THERE has been a growing feeling of late in some of the charity organization societies that, as regards their responsibility for relief-giving, they had left the safe, the open sea behind and had drifted (or had been steered) into a danger zone of sunken mines, some threatening the society's solvency, and others, more destructive, even menacing its honorable standards of service and of efficiency. The merits of the special case system of raising relief funds or of giving from the general fund of the society instead are not here in question. The worst difficulties of relief are deeper seated than this; they are related chiefly to the vexed question of regulation of intake.

A CONFERENCE ON RELIEF

These and other matters were discussed by a number of supervisors of charity organization case work who, following an annual custom, met informally in New York this autumn. All of the 10 supervisors present came from districted societies, though not every such society was represented. A whole day was given (1) to informal consideration of the figures, supplied by those present, that showed the relief load of their various societies, (2) to seeking explanations of a marked increase in the load in most of the cities—this during a year in which fewer families had been under care, and (3) to suggesting possible methods of regulating intake on the relief side for the future.

Detailed examination of the figures showed that the increased cost of living, while accounting for the heavier relief expenditure in a few cities, did not account for all, or even a major part, of the added

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load in the others. Some of the societies had been honestly mistaken in believing that this was the only reason for increased expenditure; others were able to give the entirely creditable additional reason that they had been brought to realize the inadequacy of the relief given in the past to their own proper charges, and were trying, with the aid of a trained dietitian, to achieve a better standard. But there were reasons for increases, brought out in the frank exchange of experiences, which were different from either of these—reasons which, whether good or bad, needed to be analyzed.

One of the societies represented at the meeting had undertaken to supply milk, if needed, to any tuberculosis case referred by the public health department or by a medical agency. A second society reported the organization in its city within a few years of more than 30 medical-social departments under leadership strongly opposed to the giving of relief by these departments. (Query, did the former attitude of this C. O. S. in accepting cases for "relief only" accelerate unduly the birth rate of the departments?) One society was taking cases referred to it by the new public bureau for pensioning mothers with children. The bureau had an inadequate appropriation, but the publicity given to its work had created a wide demand, accompanied by increased unwillingness on the part of relatives to assist when they could well afford to do so. Another society, in a city where public appropriations for pensions were more ample, raised the question whether reductions in relief burdens due to the public pensions were not more than offset by increased applications due to the publicity and to the new attitude of relatives. Another society was paying gas bills in a community where local conditions had largely increased the consumption, and where the public department of out-door relief "does not pay gas bills." One C. O. S., upon opening a new district office, had been raided by a group of Scandinavian churches in the neighborhood, all of which "dumped" their needy families upon the society. Still another traced part of its increased burden to a law court which made none but reactionary decisions in desertion and non-support cases.

But, in the opinion of the supervisors, even these explanations failed to give a complete picture of the relief situation. The policy of drift by which a C. O. S. allowed itself to become gradually the

general relief pocket of the whole community, and especially of its other social agencies, was due to the pressure of many converging influences. What most interested the supervisors (practical women that they were) was not the distribution of blame but the discovery of a way out. A large majority of them were agreed that, unless a way out was found, the social case work of the societies would drop below the standard now being adopted by other case work agencies in the same community, and that eventually other agencies would have to be developed to do good, constructive family work. Where, then, was the pressure for relief being applied and by whom, and how could it be resisted? No one wanted to see a charity organization society lose its sense of full responsibility for the relief side of its own case service. But where was the *undue* pressure being exerted, pressure demoralizing, that is, to the society's ideals of effective service?

CAUSES OF UNDUE PRESSURE

Eleven causes of undue pressure were listed as follows, putting the least excusable first:

1. A contributor refers the case and demands that relief be given. (It was agreed that societies which deserved to survive had no difficulty in resisting this form of pressure.)

2. A sensational newspaper attack is threatened unless relief is given.

3. Public opinion—the real culprit behind the two causes just listed—magnifies material relief needs and minimizes all others. (Query, how far did the publicity of the society in its newspaper stories, financial appeals, and so on, aggravate this tendency?)

4. The money for relief happens, in a given case, to be readily available, and the development of a possible substitute for relief would give more trouble.

5. The importunity of a wrong-headed, perhaps a neurasthenic, client. ("This woman troubleth me.")

6. The desire to win the co-operation of a client in plans believed to be for his good by "doing things his way first." (Sometimes this showed good judgment; sometimes it worked very badly, and failure might have been foreseen.)

7. The desire to win the co-operation of a certain social agency, to "buy co-operation" in other words. (This seemed to the super-

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visors a way to kill co-operation, because it was likely to create an expectation that no agency responsible for the results of its acts could fulfil.)

8. The tendency of social agencies, in a community having several general family societies, to prefer, as they come to understand case work better, that particular one of them which does the best case work and makes the best reports. When this tendency extends to their "relief only" cases also, as it often does, the C. O. S. is overwhelmed.

9. The wholesome increase of interest, throughout the community, in health matters, and the tendency of medical agencies, more especially, to emphasize the social side of their work, leading them to ask the family agency to supplement their efforts in case after case. (The supervisors felt that much of this work, though by no means all, belonged properly to medical-social departments, and that the charity organization societies had been mistaken, in the past, in believing that such departments should not handle relief. If they could not handle relief with safety, how could they possibly handle the even more difficult processes of social case work?)

10. The desire to forestall treatment by an individual or an agency known to be in the habit of giving relief without service, or with the wrong kind of service. (In general, however, it was believed that the habit of thinking that the only way to get a thing well done was to do it yourself was a bad habit; a society which often permitted itself to take this attitude was in danger of killing the very spirit of co-operation which it was supposed to foster.)

11. An inadequate staff of workers—inadequate, that is, in size, in training, or in both. (With the new demand for case workers in other fields, a larger number of new and relatively inexperienced people had to be employed. These spent more money on relief because they were less resourceful in developing good substitutes for it. No worker, moreover, however well trained, could be resourceful who habitually was overworked. The supervisors noted, in this connection, a vicious circle: when boards of directors hesitated to employ an adequate staff, they were likely to give as one of their reasons that the society's money was needed for relief, or that there was a deficit owing to increased relief demands.)

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RESISTANCE TO PRESSURE

Remedies for these 11 causes of undue pressure are not going to be found with ease, nor can they, when found, all be applied at once. Everyone present at the supervisors' meetings was agreed that a social agency cannot refuse the work which properly belongs to it—cannot even threaten to do so—without moral bankruptcy. This would apply to any horizontal cut or scaling down in the matter of the society's regular allowances to families under care. But all were agreed that the reverse is true also. A social agency cannot, without moral bankruptcy, promote congestion and centralization in relief work by undertaking tasks which properly belong to others. It must not boast of its "services" and then make these an empty thing by crowding service to the wall.

In other words, a bureaucracy, however efficient, is not the charity organization ideal. Its test of success is not a large number of cases relieved by the society or now under its care, but an increasing number of cases better cared for throughout the community each year; a sense of responsibility for the welfare of all disadvantaged families *more widely shared* year by year. When threatened with lean months to come, one large family agency, as a war measure, actually discharged some of its best case workers in order that it might have more money to spend upon relief. Surely such an act as this is without social vision, but it was only the logical, the inevitable climax of a centralizing relief policy steadily and consistently pursued. The community dominated by such a policy would give less for family case work and for relief, too, as time went on. Relief more adequate in amount and better planned follows naturally, even though it follows more slowly at first, from the opposite policy of decentralization of relief.

PLANS OF STUDYING THE SITUATION

Accordingly, the supervisors came to the conclusion that the charity organization societies should study carefully, and in detail, the causes of increase in their relief load, noting especially the sources of intake, and seeking a readjusting of the burden wherever it was traceable to undue pressure.

Such a study would have to be a case study, which would consider the relief aspects of all cases, one by one, that had been opened

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or re-opened after a certain date. Sources of intake in relief cases should be analyzed from two angles; first, with reference to burdens which ought not to have been accepted at all, and second, with reference to better ways that might have been devised for carrying the relief burden or for sharing it, after it had been accepted. A third and very important point to cover in the study would be an inquiry into the relation between the society's methods of raising money, of advertising its work, and so on, and the size of its relief load. What, for example, has been the effect of its publicity upon the attitude of other agencies which refer cases for relief only? What has been the effect upon its contributors? Upon applicants for relief? Upon the general public?

RELIEF CASES FROM OTHER AGENCIES

If such a study, once made, should reveal that other agencies had been developing for a long time their own specialized forms of service in the expectation that the C. O. S. would furnish to their beneficiaries the necessary material relief, then it may be that the time has at last arrived to take up with these agencies, one by one, a plan of co-operation which will release the society, if not at once then gradually, from any such impossible obligation. For the plain fact is that the growth of C. O. S. relief work is not in arithmetical but geometrical proportion, as soon as other boards of directors, each with its own power of interesting people in individual needs, begin to shed this responsibility. The supervisors were agreed that the acceptance of cases from other case work agencies for "relief only" should cease. The acceptance of cases from them for relief and service should cease also, where the service is of a kind that they are specially fitted to render.

If it should be revealed by the study that new social undertakings had actually been launched in the expectation that the C. O. S. would furnish the relief necessary, a good plan, looking to the limitation of intake in the future and looking also to the better organization of social work, would be to place the relief burden at once squarely where it belongs; namely, upon the shoulders of the promoters of any enterprises proposed but not yet in operation.

Requests that the society carry the burden of investigation for other agencies should be dealt with in the same way. Save as a

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demonstration for a very brief period and clearly so understood, or save as a means of training a worker for another agency, this is no part of a charity organization society's duty. One society represented at the conference and doing its work in a city where the public schools make a charge for books, had been asked to investigate all applications for free school books. Another C. O. S. represented was making investigations to determine the award of scholarships in a music school. Another reported that, formerly, it had investigated all families applying for the care of their children in a number of different day nurseries. When, after years of this service, it withdrew from the agreement, the nurseries immediately reverted to their old practice of accepting charges without investigation. The educational value, whether of relief or of service, would seem to depend upon the degree of responsibility accepted by the party of the second part.

Realizing that the matter of co-operative relations with other agencies was not one to be treated lightly, the supervisors recommended that any decision to accept a case from one of these for care, or to refuse to accept it, be made by the most responsible member of the case working staff; that it be not left to clerks or to whoever happened to answer the telephone. This was especially important, they thought, during the period of working out a new policy with another agency, when, on both sides, the completest understanding of the facts and the difficulties was essential.

No expenditure justifies itself more completely in the development of a good relief policy than money spent upon a resourceful working staff, with tasks so arranged as to assure their best work. This "organizes" relief, decentralizes it, and develops the resourcefulness of the community as nothing else can.

The group in conference felt that purely mechanical divisions of work were to be avoided—divisions, for example, upon the basis of who had the case first. Where excellence in case work is the aim of all concerned, necessarily there must sometimes be transfers of leadership, as the character of the problem changes.

Many of the foregoing considerations apply to large cities, where there are a number of agencies employing social workers who have had case work training. All the cities represented at the conference belonged in this class. But some of the ideas developed at the meeting apply everywhere. The tendency to grasp at power, to

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feel that no one can administer relief or make investigations or develop plans as well as a C. O. S. can, is not confined to large cities. Private citizens need C. O. S. help, families in trouble and without charitable backing of any kind need it, agencies not organized to do case work at all need it. The society exists to make the endeavors of these more effective, to furnish the element of skill and organizing ability which they cannot be expected to supply. But difficulties multiply when, to these necessarily centralized demands, are added the demands of a quickened social consciousness which has found expression in other and specialized case work agencies. Unless the tendency to "pass on" work from these agencies quite indiscriminately is checked, the total result will be disorganization.

A FINAL CONSIDERATION

Careful study of what is happening and careful readjustment of the burden—these are the ways out. One difficulty will remain, however. Communities are being educated to higher standards of care—sometimes by the C. O. S. group and sometimes by other social workers—to better standards of housing, of schooling, of child care, of family solidarity, of care of the sick, of prevention of sickness. Communities have accepted these to the extent that they expect the private agencies to exemplify them in their daily work, but only in the rarest instances have they accepted full responsibility for the burdens imposed by their new standards, even when these standards are embodied in state laws and city ordinances. This leaves the C. O. S. (as the largest, usually, of the private agencies) in the trough of the wave. Gradually, let us hope, the public which now accepts responsibility in theory only will accept it in fact. Gradually, too, health insurance and other wise measures of prevention will be a help. For the present, the charity organization burden is heavier than ever and necessarily so. The situation calls for the highest courage and statesmanship. The battle for social welfare in which the societies have been in the front line is more than half won, and this is no time for backing down. It is a time for the conserving of resources, however, and for making them count on the side of social advance, democratically organized, with the social agencies all moving forward together. To return to the nautical simile with which we began, not even the open sea is safe in these days without co-operative planning.

THE LONG VIEW

(Hitherto Unpublished)

A portion of an address to the Junior League of New York City, delivered at a meeting called in 1919 to discuss a plan of training volunteer workers for the New York Charity Organization Society.

NO ONE who sees me—if anyone ever does—as I make my absent-minded way around our New York streets, would imagine that mine had been an exceptionally interesting experience in life. But it has. I was born during the first year of the Civil War and, by the time I was old enough to realize the kind of world into which I had been dropped, that war was over. You do not know, probably, what a sordid, suspicious, self-seeking time the so-called Reconstruction Period was. Do all wars, I wonder, have to be succeeded by such ugly after-effects? Let us hope not. At least, the leaven of another time-spirit than that which the world of my childhood had had any conception of is now at work among us. It was between the early '90's and the fateful year 1914 that there developed in America an entirely new kind of public spirit. Actually, it became difficult for those who could be said to think at all, not to think socially. During all that wonderful quarter of a century here I was with social work as my main interest in life, and able to appreciate to the full the great advance, because I well remembered the earlier time. Thus mine has been an experience analogous in some respects to the stirring adventure of an Englishman, born about the year 1550, let us say, and born with a taste for scribbling. He may not have been a great man at all; in fact, he may have been a little one; but surely he must have had a great experience, for he was born into that flowering-time of our mother tongue, when everything in his surroundings must have stimulated him to be at his best, to write his best, when it must indeed have been a joy to him to be alive.

Similarly, I too have had a great experience. The chief concern

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of my life has been the wearing away of cramping class stratifications and the substitution of saner, more human social relations among those whose experiences in life may have been quite diverse. But slowly it came about that this same thing was the most serious concern of the modern world over into which I have lived. If there is drama in contrast, or drama in seeing your dreams come true, then life for me has not been wholly lacking in dramatic interest.

It was in 1897, as you know, that the great-grandmother of the young prince who is now visiting New York celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of her accession to the English throne. When a shrewd observer, who had lived throughout the whole period of her reign, was asked what had been the greatest single change in English society between 1837 and 1897, he replied that when he was a young man no matter how busy people were they pretended to be at leisure, but now no matter how much leisure they had they pretended to be busy. This was one of the earlier manifestations, probably, of what is a growing desire; namely, the desire to belong, the ambition of every normally constituted modern to live in the whole of life and share the experiences of as many different kinds of folk in as many different situations as possible.

When I was a girl, my one idea of unselfishness was to stand myself (figuratively) in a corner with my face to the wall, to take myself firmly by the collar, and *suppress* something. But we are learning at last that not self-repression but self-realization is the hall-mark of the unselfish life; for it is only by living in a larger whole, and identifying one's self heartily with something quite outside one's own set and one's own personal interests, that self-realization becomes possible.

It has fallen to my lot sometimes to have to try to develop this new sense of identification with a larger and more varied world in one who has recently met with some great sorrow. I know of course that, in the popular belief, this is the time of times to be "good to the poor" and to develop a habit of unselfish living, but I cannot believe that the hour of bereavement is the hour for the creation of entirely new interests. So far as I have observed, the people who bear their personal griefs with unusual dignity and fortitude are those who had learned to live in a larger world, who had had

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unselfish interests, while their intimate personal relationships were still happy and unspoiled. Surely it is better to live in the world as a citizen of the world, as one who has duties as well as pleasures while one is still young and strong and whole-hearted.

When I see how some of my friends who are accounted fortunate are hemmed in and walled off by comfort and convention from the real world of men and women, from everything that is significant and vital in our modern life, my heart aches for them. A round of good times is all very well, but, taken by itself, it is no very effective preparation for the great adventure of living.

Nor can I hold with those who used to welcome the volunteer to our social service undertakings as one who was to be made much of, no matter how badly she did her work or how trivial her excuses for neglecting it. The newer world of social work welcomes, instead, that new earnestness in volunteers who come to our district offices not to endure training and discipline but to demand it. They expect, we find in these days, to be held to a high standard of personal responsibility, to contribute not merely good intentions but good work and good results to the serious business we have in hand.

I have said that differences, not likenesses, in those we habitually meet are the things that develop us, that we realize ourselves best in groups made up of varied personalities with varied aims. An amusing illustration of this is the advice given by Dr. Richard C. Cabot, when he appealed to an audience of professional social workers to avoid choosing some congenial friend to live with, when they were employed away from their home city or were without family of their own. He urged them instead to "do a judicious job of family placing out" upon themselves, making the point that the great discipline and strength of living in a family is—not that we are learning to live with congenial people but with the uncongenial, and so are learning to rub off some of our corners and adapt ourselves better to varying situations.

This wholesome theory of differences applies not only to you and me but to our social agencies and institutions as well. It applies, for example, to the Charity Organization Society, which is the subject of today's meeting.

The Charity Organization Society and the family social work

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movement of which it is a part are not as old as I am, but they are not young. They were born into one world and they find themselves in another. All of the societies in this country which, under various titles, are engaged in family social work might be described as specialists, and I am well aware that one of the difficulties with specialists—a difficulty against which we must be forever on our guard—is their tendency to think themselves the “whole thing.” Miss Follett tells us, however, that it is not a knowledge of his specialty which makes an expert of service to society, but his insight into the relation of his specialty to the whole.¹

What is our specialty? It may be described briefly and inadequately as the development of a very special kind of skill in fitting unhappily adjusted individuals or families to the people and the social institutions that surround them. Such skill must be supplemented, often, by effecting corresponding changes in our client's surroundings, in order to adapt them to his vital needs. Ours is the task of adjustment and of trying to understand in order to adjust. Such work is known now by the none too happy name of social case work, but please remember that “case” with us, as with the lawyers, refers not to the individual, but to the personal problem or situation that we are called upon to solve if we can. Persons are not cases, but their difficulties are. At first, our service was confined almost exclusively to the very destitute, but now it is beginning to be applied to persons whose troubles are not financial at all, or certainly not exclusively so.

What, then, is the relation of such work to the larger whole? Somewhat to our own astonishment, we are finding social case work applicable and necessary far beyond our own boundaries and far beyond the boundaries of what is usually known as social work. Only a few months ago a well-to-do woman offered to pay me a fee for trying to be a social worker in connection with her own family tangle. I was not able to give her the time that would have justified a fee, but it was evident that her situation presented no features which were unfamiliar in the daily work of a charity organization society. A university professor whose specialty is vocational guidance published a book not long ago on employment management—on fitting the worker to his job, that is. Of the earlier books

¹ Follett, M. P., *The New State*. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1918.

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to which he referred, the one that seemed to him to contain the greatest number of suggestions for employment managers was a textbook that had been written by a family social worker for her colleagues.

Every now and again the social workers who are not specializing in case work, as well as those who are, put their shoulders to the wheel and help to get a law passed which creates a new form of public service or a new department of the government. You will realize that we case workers would be badly off, in our effort to help individuals to a more effective way of living, without these legislative efforts of the social reformers, when I tell you that they have included in the past such advances in New York alone as our compulsory education law, our law prohibiting the premature employment of children, our law regulating tenement house conditions in this overcrowded city, a law granting workmen compensation for injury, a law providing especial care for the tuberculous, and many other practical measures that I have no time to mention. But none of these measures could have been so framed as justly and wisely to administer itself. In order that we may carry out at all the beneficent intentions of their framers, we must too often depend upon administrators who are without a shadow of the special case work skill to which I have referred. This is why real social progress is so much slower than an examination of our statute books would suggest. The social reformer who gets his reform law passed and, indifferent apparently to whether it works or not, yet goes on his way cheerfully, without doing a thing to increase the number of competently trained case workers and administrators, reminds me of the farmer who is reported to have said, when he gave his note for a debt, "There, thank heaven, there's another bill paid!" . . .

Now it so happens that the technique of this case work specialty of ours was first hammered out in the family social work agencies. By something more than an accident, the charity organization group were the first teachers of social work. From the beginning, they had faith in the work that volunteers could do, and from the beginning they believed in individualizing their task by breaking it up into relatively small group services within restricted areas. Such a plan of work naturally led to training; for it is unques-

THE LONG VIEW

tionably true that the continuous, the detailed and painstaking following up of one task soon confronts you with the bad results of your own ignorance. Accordingly, we began early to study and to teach. Schools and courses in various forms of social work are now multiplying everywhere, as you know, but, as yet, all too few of them have any equipment for *teaching by doing*, and this is four-fifths of the secret in mastering a practical art such as that of social case work. To quote Miss Follett again (for I have just been reading her book, you see), "I learn my duty to my friends not by reading essays on friendship but by living my life with my friends and learning by experience the obligations friendship demands."

Learning by experience is the very best way of learning in any field, but it demands for the beginner a certain degree of guidance and interpretation. That guidance the charity organization society is admirably equipped to give. It does not exploit its volunteers, as many social agencies still do. It gives them of its best, and feels that, in doing so, it serves the community and the community's future.

To return in closing to the long view once again, you may feel that I should have devoted this address to a description of the needs of the disadvantaged families, the broken lives that the Charity Organization Society exists to help and to heal. But I have spoken as I have felt. Service that is real is reciprocal, and, for this one time at least, it happens that I have been quite as much impressed by the advantages to you of our work as I have been by the needs of New York women and children—needs that others have described to you. One of my prime favorites, George Meredith, says somewhere—in various forms he was always saying it—that Heaven on earth would be to know *how* to live while one was still young. We waste precious years in learning the true values of life, and often we learn them too late. What I could wish for each one of you would be that, with the help of social work or in some other way, you should learn the lesson thoroughly while you are still young. It has been promised that the meek shall inherit the earth. "Meek" in this connection means "teachable." And that the teachable shall indeed inherit the earth was never so certain, never so evident even to the least far-seeing of us, as it is today.

THE TERM "SOCIAL CASE WORKER"

(Hitherto Unpublished)

This paper, submitted to members of the Committee on Professional Organization (see page 422), in advance of a meeting held in January, 1920, is no more than an informal memorandum. It was not intended for publication. Nevertheless it illustrates Miss Richmond's love for the exact word, her careful way of assembling information, and her method of passing her own interest along to the group.

It is of interest to note that in this memorandum Miss Richmond is working toward the classic definition of the term which she developed two years later in *What Is Social Case Work?*

AT OUR first informal meeting on the subject of professional organization some dissatisfaction was expressed with the term "social case work" as the title of our specialty. It seemed to the critics both vague and clumsy. One member of our Committee has written since the meeting, "I want again to say how important it is that we should have a new word for case work; I am sure that our only salvation here is the coining of a word." Another member says that any words in common use, such as "case" and "work," will not do, for define them as we may, the public will insist upon defining them to suit itself. The only way, according to this member, is to adopt a name so unfamiliar to the outside world that they'll simply have to come to us for its definition.

The task of individual social betterment has been described as "case work" in England as far back as the early '90's and perhaps longer. English social workers now print the two words as one without the hyphen even, and so careful a writer as Professor Bosanquet uses "case" interchangeably for the problem or situation and for the person whose problem or situation is to be considered.

As a matter of fact, this is what American workers often do too, though there has always been a greater prejudice over here against

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the use of the word—not only a popular prejudice, but a professional one. In some of our family social agencies we used to be taught to avoid "case" with care whenever the word "family" could be substituted. This had at least two bad results: (1) it left us without any name in common for processes that were often identical with or similar to our own, but in use in other social agencies not engaged in family work; (2) it played havoc with our statistics. Thus, one large C. O. S. published the statement that its Social Service Exchange contained information about so many hundred thousand *families*. The statement led certain local reformers to call attention to the shockingly high percentage of all resident families who were dependents. Of course many of the names recorded in the Exchange were those of single men or women, of non-residents, of former residents long deceased, and so on, but the misuse of the word *families* was obviously one source of confusion.

The confusion continues. Witness the recently printed second report of the Committee on Statistics of the American Association for Organizing Charity, which reaffirms the statement of the first report:

In deference to a widespread, though perhaps illogical criticism of social workers because of their use of the word "case," the term "family" is used uniformly in this report in place of the word "case." It is recommended that this nomenclature be followed, in print at least, the necessary explanation being made that even a single individual, such as a homeless man, who is alone and is under the society's care, is recorded as a "family."

An October, 1918, number of the Survey contains this statement by Dr. Henry Dwight Chapin in describing a recent placing-out venture:

The purpose is to treat these waifs not as cases, but as children—our children—to be lovingly served in natural homes.

At Kansas City Mrs. Florence Kelley attacked the case work group with her usual vigor for calling human beings "cases," which she denounced as even worse than the employer's habit of calling them "hands." Our chairman replied that we called people "clients" and their problems "cases," but neither we nor

the doctors are always careful to make this distinction. In fact, the Standard Dictionary gives as one definition of "case" under *medical and surgical*, "a subject of disease or injury."

The Century gives as the literal meaning of "case," "that which happens or befalls," and its use as synonymous with "problem," "situation," "plight," or "predicament." This gives us standing ground. Unfortunately, however, the word also means "a person who is peculiar or remarkable in any respect: as, a queer case, a hard case; sometimes used without qualifications: as, he is a case."

Despite these drawbacks, I have used the word freely, always striving, however, to keep it to its meaning of problem or situation and being more careful than the English are to put "social" in front of it. I have done this because I wanted to magnify the processes in common that unite us and to minimize the forms of organization that tend to divide. But it is fairly evident that, as names for a profession and a professional group, "social case work" and "social case workers" are not very satisfactory.

Should we begin a search for a better name? If so, would it help us to try to arrive at a brief definition of social case work that would include all that we do as social case workers and exclude the other forms of case work? I have tried to do some searching that might help me to an experimental definition. Indirectly, I have been very much helped in my own thinking by a recent book by Professor MacIver of the University of Toronto entitled *Community*. He develops at length and very clearly, it seems to me, an idea with which I have found myself struggling unsuccessfully before; namely, the idea of interplay between society and the individual. As he expresses it, social relations do not lie between men but within them; thus, personal development and social development are two aspects of one thing. In the field of personal development we have no monopoly, of course. The educator has his specialized approach and his partial result; so has the doctor, the psychologist, the clergyman, and so have we. We approach the mind of our client by the avenue of his social relationships, we think of him in this specialized way and (availing ourselves gladly of the aid of other specialists . . .) we seek to release him from hampering conditions and develop his possibilities on the side of his social relation-

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ships and by means of these. By his social relationships is meant not only his contacts with those upon whom he depends and who depend upon him but his contacts with social institutions of whatever sort, in so far as these contacts are not purely formal but influence his mind and life. A social case worker, then, would be a specialist in the better adjustment of social relationships on their more personal side, as they affect individuals one by one, that is—and a social worker whose field was social reform would be a specialist in the better adjustment of social relationships on their mass and governmental side.

All of which suggests this first attempt at a definition: Social case work includes those processes which develop personality through adjustments, effected individual by individual, between men and society. . . .

I found an English word last summer, not in common use, which might be combined with "social" to describe our case work. This is the word individuation. It has a technical meaning in earlier metaphysical systems which does not concern us, but the Century gives another meaning of "separate or individual existence or independence; that by which such individuality is developed or maintained." The second half of the definition would fit our work, perhaps, provided we added the word "social."

Social individuation as a substitute for case work is more specific than the latter, but it labors under the disadvantage that it is still two words instead of one. It contains the idea of development and it does not contain the unfortunate implication that there is necessarily a wrong to be righted or a disease to be eradicated. Even in a world where conditions are, on the whole, favorable, there will be countless opportunities for developing personality through special skill in utilizing social relationships to that end. The combinations are endless; there are possibilities to be revealed by trained insight that are as yet undreamed of.

A member of the Committee sends me words suggested by a friend of hers who is a Grecian. He writes:

I think that I have found words for you . . . I have had to use hybrid words, but there is precedent enough for them, especially in your field.

- Sociataxia—*Socius*, a companion; *a*, a Greek prefix denoting negation, the lack of; *taxis*, arrangement, good order; and the ending *ia*, which denotes a state, condition, and is often used to name maladies. The whole word meaning a condition of maladjustment with the social order of things.
- Sociatry—Same initial component as the above; *iatria*, from Greek or *ιατρία*, the art of healing, from *ιατρός*, a physician. The Sociatrics whole word then would mean the work of correcting social maladjustment, and is analogous to pediatrics, psychiatry, and so forth, in formation.
- Sociatrist—This word would be the one you wish for the social case worker; I think you can readily see its composition.

These are most suggestive. They have two advantages over my own find in that they are each one word, and that they provide a satisfactory second word for ourselves. There is such a word as individuator, but I should hate to be known as a social individuator. On the other hand, sociatry seems to me a better word for the whole of social work than for just social case work, and sociatrist is a good word for social worker. If it came to be used at all, I believe it would be adopted by the whole group and I should be glad to see it so adopted. . . .

WHAT ARE YOU THINKING?

The first article in the first number of *The Family*, issued in March, 1920. This journal succeeded the *Charity Organization Bulletin* and Miss Richmond extends a gracious welcome to it.

“YES,” said a social worker years ago, “I’ve known Miss Addams a long time, and often there have been days when she has been more than weary; but never have I known her too weary to entertain a new idea.” The remark struck me at the time as one of the pleasantest things ever said about a colleague or a human being. When this hospitable attitude toward ideas is instinctive, the thought of “the younger generation knocking at the door”—a thought which held such terror, as you will remember for the Masterbuilder—is so far from seeming a menace that it becomes one’s chief source of stimulation. The complication in the case of Halvard Solness was that he was not entirely honest. If he had been willing to meet the new ideas and grapple with them frankly, contributing his own experience fully and yet thinking each thing through anew, the younger generation could never have knocked at his door at all, for his door would have been wide open.

All of which is suggested by the appearance of this youngest of the younger generation of periodicals, which comes forward today and asks us boldly: What are you thinking?

We can imagine the new venture addressing us somewhat after this fashion: “Here you are with more than forty years of striving for social welfare to your credit. You charity organization people (to use the old name) have been the parents of over a baker’s dozen of social movements; and, what’s more, in the beginnings of social case work you have now shaped a new way of serving humanity, which bids fair to reorganize every branch of public administration and private endeavor that deals directly with human relations. Only one more decade of earnest practice and discovery at the rate of gain of the last decade, and you and the other social case workers

will have developed a way of studying and adjusting human relations that cannot fail to penetrate our courts, our schools, our industries, and even our municipal departments. You must realize that the sudden popularity of case work, which is leading many to teach it who know nothing whatever about it, is indeed a menace to the development that we seek and have faith in. What, then, are you thinking? Are you resting on your laurels, or is your mind more alert than ever? Above all, are you determined to get the full advantage of 'pooled' or group thinking at this important moment? If you are, that's where these monthly pages of mine fit in, as your mouthpiece, as your means of intercommunication."

But these paragraphs are not an editorial; nor can I pretend to speak for the periodical. Rather let me bear witness, as an individual member of the family social work group, to the value of group thinking. One of the oldest of charity organization discoveries was the district or case committee, which developed a body of experience by conferring about concrete problems. This implied no conference of experts, but a focusing of individual and varied points of view upon each problem in turn.

There is an original chapter upon this committee process in Miss Follett's book, *The New State*. Its author has not the remotest idea of what social case work means or of what it is going to do for the New State; but evidently she has had wide experience of committee service, and looks upon such work as one of the best available means for developing group ideas. Group thinking, she makes clear, brings us a more valuable product than solitary thinking, and is a far different product from the crowd suggestion upon which much of our social publicity is at present based. Such suggestion depends, for its success, not upon thinking, but upon the flock-mindedness of human beings.

We can test our group in this way: do we come together to register the results of individual thought, to compare the results of individual thought in order to make selection therefrom, or do we come together to create a common idea? Whenever we have a real group, something new *is* actually created. . . . There is nothing rigid or fixed about thoughts; they are entirely plastic, and ready to yield themselves completely to their master—the group spirit.¹

¹ Follett, M. P., *The New State*, p. 29.

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I have often been impressed with the strength of the unity in diversity which characterizes such a genuine group as comes together once a year, for example, in the Family Social Work Institute. Here are 20 or 25 people from nearly as many different cities. All are engaged in family social work, and many things can be taken for granted in the discussions of a group with one major interest. But the conditions of our work in a metropolis and in a town of 20,000, in the Northwest and in the South, in an industrial town and in the county seat of a rural county, are so diverse, that upon every topic discussed is turned the searchlight of difference. No one leaves the Institute (least of all its leaders) with the ideas that he brought into it, and the best of the new ideas are group rather than individual products.

Similarly, may we not draw round the table spread for us once a month by The Family, prepared not only to profit by the common store of ideas, but to contribute our difference? Each single well-wisher, each board member, executive, worker in the ranks (especially the youngest worker in the ranks) has a unique experience, an experience of value to contribute; unless, indeed, he insists on mounting upon it, as if it were a soap-box, and shutting his ears to all other experiences.

What are some of the topics upon which, as it seems to me, we have been slow to develop group ideas and slow to welcome diversity of experience as a basis for the earnest, open-minded comparisons of group thinking? I remember having suggested nearly twenty years ago that the influence of industry upon family life be made one of the tests of industrial conditions; that it would be apposite, for example, to evaluate industrial conditions by the effect upon family life of long and irregular hours, or of the demand for migratory labor forces. What we know about the relation of family life to these things we should be utilizing to the uttermost; but we must be absolutely sure, of course, of our facts. Then, the National Conference of Social Work has known for a long while, in general terms, what needs to be done for the feeble-minded. Have those terms been too general, or for what other reasons does that fearful drain upon family life which is due to the marriage and propagation of defectives continue practically unchecked in this civilized country of ours? Then, to take another standing griev-

ance of the social workers against society, or more properly against themselves, why is it that, short of battering children black and blue, parents are allowed to practice almost any kind of cruelty upon them, sometimes more subtle and destructive than physical maltreatment, without any effective interference? The White House Conference proceedings have been referred to often as the Children's Charter, but that Charter neglected to define the rights of children; and, right for right, justice for justice, is it not true that the parent still has a far better standing in court than the child?

Recently, we have waked up to the chaos of our present marriage laws and to the non-social character of their administration. That subject is now being studied by certain family social workers, and they will have a program of next steps to propose before very long. But is it not just as important to promote sane marriage and reasonably early ones, as to discourage those that are altogether insane? Has family case work ever seriously considered this second half of the problem? Then, where does the responsibility lie for the education of young married people in the duties of parenthood? And what does the phrase "democracy in the family" specifically mean? Has it anything to do, perhaps, with financial arrangements in the home as between husband and wife? Or as between parents and children who earn? If so, what arrangements best fit our country and our time?

Here are just a few of the questions that a magazine entitled *The Family* might encourage us to think about. But I like to believe that the title has another and more intimate significance: that *The Family* also means *us*, the people who bear a special relation to one another because we are responsible for carrying forward the work of the leading family case agencies in American cities. Our work today serves a population of thirty-two and a quarter millions, in round numbers. This covers nearly a third of the whole United States, and that the third which most needs such organization. Nothing that concerns our family of societies, therefore, can be alien to this periodical. Many questions not mentioned here, questions of organization and of co-operation, come within its scope. Democracy in this family of ours demands that each should do some hard group thinking, that each adult member should

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begin to put his experiences down on paper and submit the result to the severest critic he can find. Indeed, we have not been productive enough, in the scientific sense; and an excellent resolution for 1920 would be to *produce* something during the year, and then, if need be, to see it filed in the waste-basket of this periodical with entire cheerfulness. Only after repeated experiments in putting into written form our thoughts about our work can we begin to answer the question at the head of this article.

SOME NEXT STEPS IN SOCIAL TREATMENT

In this paper given before the National Conference of Social Work, in 1920, and reprinted in *The Family* for June of that year, Miss Richmond deprecates the undue emphasis on the investigative processes in social work which followed the publication of *Social Diagnosis*, and urges that a truer balance be secured by a corresponding emphasis on treatment. The paper also contains some of her early thinking on the possibilities of using the client's natural group connections to more advantage in case work. She was influenced in this direction first by reading R. M. MacIver's *Community* and M. P. Follett's *The New State* and second, by some case records showing experimentation with groups of relatives, which had been sent in by co-workers for study by her. It is a matter for regret that she never found time to pursue further this research into the place of the *group* in case work.

IT IS only during the last fifteen years that social case work in families has contrived to slip from under the domination of the economists. Though case work always demanded a method in sharp contrast to wholesaling, its earlier period was shaped too often by wholesalers. Broad generalizations about relief, about family life, about desertion, widowhood, immigrants, and the rest, served a useful purpose in that pioneer period, but in the succeeding stage of development case work achieved an even more important step forward.

This second stage might be styled the period of analysis, to distinguish it from the period of generalization. When Secretary Lane resigned from the Department of the Interior recently, he summed up, at the close of a masterly letter, the characteristic differences between the two stages of progress as follows:

We are quickly passing out of the rough-and-ready period of our national life, in which we have dealt wholesale with men and things, into a period of more intensive development in which we must seek to find the special qualities of the individual unit, whether that unit be an acre of desert, a barrel of oil, a mountain canyon, the flow of a river, or the capacity of the humblest of men.

This idea of seeking to find "the special qualities of the individual unit" was ours in theory from the beginning; but as late as

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1908, in a National Conference address at Richmond which was never published, Mr. Francis McLean pressed home the grave shortcomings of our so-called investigations, with their inexpert jumble of rumor, hearsay, and authenticated data. Some of us took his indictment to heart and began to study the technique of investigation and of diagnosis more carefully, with the result that the present situation is something like this: In many family societies today the investigation is stronger than the treatment. The same is true, I believe, in many branches of medicine. At least, Dr. Richard Cabot said to us last year at Atlantic City that, in many hospitals for mental disease, treatment was the exception rather than the rule. Speaking to me of current family case records in cities widely separated, a competent judge of such records said the other day, "After the investigation has been made and recorded, the treatment seems to drop to a lower level almost as suddenly as though it went over the edge of a cliff." This is an exaggeration, of course; but is it not high time that we began to fix our attention with concentrated determination upon what ought to be the third period of our development; namely, upon the period of sympathetic and adaptable treatment?

It would be folly to ignore analysis or to turn our backs upon social diagnosis, just as it would be folly to ignore the findings of economics; but no progress in knowledge is a triumphal forward march. Social case work is still so new a thing that its advance is more like that of a young child who has not yet learned to walk, but hitches himself forward first on one side and then on the other. The time has now come to emphasize another stage in progress, to stress treatment.

Jung says in his *Analytical Psychology*:

A person is only half understood when one knows how everything in him came about. Only a dead man can be explained in terms of the past, a living one must be otherwise explained. Life is not made up of yesterdays only, nor is it understood and explained by reducing today to yesterday. Life has also a tomorrow, and today is only understood if we are able to add the indications of tomorrow to our knowledge of what was yesterday.

We might add to this statement of Jung's that our examination of the yesterdays and the todays should be with special reference to our client's tomorrows—that all our labor is nothing worth un-

less, in a reasonable number of instances, we succeed in making his long stretch of tomorrows appreciably better.

What, then, are a few of the possible next steps in social treatment? Discussion at this meeting should bring out a number of them, but I can undertake to name only four or five, and these all too briefly.

1. I place *study of processes* first, because in the pressure of the day's work it is so likely to be neglected. The subject of social treatment ramifies in a thousand directions and no one person can hope to do very much with it; many must contribute their own first hand observations and later these must be compared. The processes common to all case treatment deserve our special attention, but study of these may have to come later still, after we have had many more discussions of the special types of treatment, of which Miss Colcord's Broken Homes is an excellent example.

2. Better *all-round training* will help. Our profession still suffers from hasty specialization. Before beginners approach the more highly specialized and more recently developed fields, they should be well grounded in the less specialized tasks, in the knowledge which they will find useful in case work of whatever sort. Then too we need a larger supply of those who prefer to remain all-round workers, we need more who know the elements of medical-social work, of mental hygiene, of child protection and child care, of recreation and of industrial work, and yet have not lost a firm grasp of the most comprehensive of them all; namely, family work.

When most of our case workers have had this broader training, they will utilize the real specialists more intelligently and more sparingly. One grave fault of social work in our large cities today is the tendency to call in co-operating agencies carelessly and to transfer cases from agency to agency without due deliberation. Sometimes a case record gives one the impression that the worker responsible for it was obsessed by the idea that her labors would be judged solely by the number of different agencies with which she could make her client acquainted. The reverse is true, of course; the highest success is to get good results with strict economy in the means employed.

3. A related problem is that of securing *greater stability in our case work staffs*, of reducing the labor turnover in our societies. I found

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recently that, in one of our family agencies of excellent standing, one family had been visited by no fewer than 16 different people from the society within a year. Some of these were students from a school of social work, some were volunteers in training, but, whatever the explanation of this habit of shifting clients from worker to worker within one agency, it is only a little less destructive of success in treatment than the shifting of clients from agency to agency.

4. We shall make small progress in the field of treatment unless we so organize our work as to *discourage routine procedures*. A business man finds a better way of marketing cotton or making bricks; in other words, he devises a better routine. In his increased leisure he becomes interested in social work, and delights in applying some of the same methods to it that have made his fortune; he consolidates and amalgamates, exalting routine in this new field, and then is annoyed to find that some of us, seeing discovery and free experimentation choked off, are dubious about any substitute blessings, though we are more than willing to recognize the excellence of the intentions behind them.

For the next Institute of Family Social Work several members of the group have been asked to bring to the Institute the narratives of 10 cases each that have received treatment deserving to be called "exceptional," in that the unusual and unorthodox thing has been done and with good results.

5. This brings me to the only point upon which I can attempt to dwell at all, to a tendency in modern case work which I seem to have noted, and noted with great pleasure. It is one which is full of promise, I believe, for the future of social treatment. I refer to the new tendency to view our clients from the angle of what might be termed *small group psychology*.

It would be interesting to turn aside long enough to trace the development of psychology from that calf-bound copy of Upham's Mental Philosophy which I studied as a school girl, through the successive analyses of the human faculties on the one hand and the laboratory development of tests on the other, up to the behaviorist and the psychiatric schools of thought of the present day. But I have neither the time nor the equipment for such an excursion. Suffice it to say that, running parallel with individual psychology,

there have been many discussions of crowd and herd psychology, and that much of what is now called social psychology leans too heavily upon these and upon the faculty psychology of an earlier day, neglecting almost entirely any study of the mental reactions of the small group. It is only natural that social practitioners should be turning more and more to the psychiatrists, and they are going to continue to need their help in the analysis of the mental mechanisms of the individual. In fact, small group psychology, if it ever comes into its own, will only supplement and not supersede any useful tools that we now have.

What it will provide will be expert observation of the normal reactions of two or more persons to one another under conditions that make such observation possible. Halfway between the minute analysis of the individual situation with which we are all familiar in case work, and the kind of sixth sense of neighborhood standards and backgrounds which is developed in a good social settlement, there is a field as yet almost unexplored.

Approaching this field from an angle quite different from mine, Miss Follett, in *The New State*, voices the need of a group psychology upon which to base neighborhood and community work; and I, on the other hand, arriving at much the same conclusion through participation in case conferences and through the study of case records, have had fleeting glimpses of the way in which case work might serve this new and important purpose, and develop, in so doing, a far stronger technique of case treatment.

All of this sounds abstract, and I need not add that it is wholly tentative. We bring our half-thoughts here to these meetings to see them knocked on the head or else superseded a little later by something better. Let me try, however, before I close, to make my meaning a little clearer by a few illustrations:

(a) Record of the mother of a family who has been drinking heavily for several years. A former employer, Mrs. Huston, has been interested in her by a district secretary, who brings this employer to call, after an interval of ten years in which mistress and maid had not met. The recorded report of the interview is as follows:

Called with Mrs. Huston to see Nelly. Secretary had told her that she was going to bring an old friend, but Nelly had no idea that it would be

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Mrs. Huston and was immensely surprised. Had cleaned up the rooms and was washing when call was made. Kept saying she could not go to Union Hospital today because her clothes would not be dry. Had a very pleasant chat with Mrs. Huston about old times. There is a great deal of self-respect and easy democracy about Nelly; she talked to her former mistress as to a real friend, and Mrs. Huston met her in the same spirit. Said many times how wild she had been when at Mrs. Huston's, how when her master and mistress were out, she used to put on Mr. Huston's clothes and impersonate him, and how often she would telephone for her beaux to come and have dinner with her, and that they would dance and have good times when the coast was clear. . . . Mrs. Huston advised Nelly strongly to follow the advice of the C. O. S. and said that she would telephone their office constantly to see how she was getting on, and later would come to see her again. Nelly said that her oldest child was named after Mrs. Huston's child, and called Mrs. Huston to witness that, with all her love of frolics, she had never neglected Eleanor, and that the baby had never been ill in the three years she was there. Mrs. Huston confirmed this.

Note: Woman's strong play spirit, as evinced in this interview, made secretary decide to postpone Union Hospital visit until some recreation could be provided.

Later: Visited in the evening with an invitation to go to the movies. It was accepted with the greatest pleasure—had not been to the movies for a year. . . . Saw Charlie Chaplin, a great favorite with Nelly. Left her a small bottle of spirits of ammonia and some peppermint "life-savers" to take when she feels she must have quick energy.

What steps in treatment are here traceable that might be utilized again and again?

First, the chance to release a client from certain inhibitions and to restore her, for a time at least, to her better self by bringing together, after long absence, those who have pleasant memories of one another.

Second, the preparation of a client in such a way as to save her from embarrassment, and yet keep all the valuable elements of surprise.

Third, the self-effacement of the secretary as soon as the connection is made. From that moment she becomes merely the observer and reporter.

Fourth, the observation is no sooner made than an inference is made too and recorded. And the correct inference is not treated as an end in itself—it is acted upon and that promptly.

(b) Record of a young couple who married early (a forced marriage), but who have never established a home. A minister wishes the family case worker to establish them and their three children. The worker succeeds in bringing about an interview between the pair, the report of which cannot be reproduced here. It convinced the minister that this was no soil upon which to build a home. Here too the worker effaced herself entirely, and was able to make a faithful record of what happened.

(c) An Irish-American couple, drinking to excess in a neighborhood where there was much drinking. The secretary succeeds in persuading both to accompany her to the priest, before whom they take the pledge. Their own comment upon the method employed, which resulted in a year's abstinence, is that, while a good many people had tried to reform them earlier, it had always been by the use of the pledge for only one or the other, and the unpledged one had always jeered at the abstainer until he or she fell. Now, however, neither one "had anything" on the other. When prohibition came in that neighborhood (it has not arrived very completely yet), the superiority of these two over folks who had to do without drink because they could not get it, established in the family a sort of aristocracy of abstinence. But pride goeth before a fall, and very recently the husband has been drinking again. The wife remains sober.

These have all been groups of the smallest possible number of which a group can consist. But the number in the group can be extended well beyond two, of course, and by much the same method—by trained observation, that is, of the reactions of human beings to one another in their normal group settings. Usually our records contain too much of the reactions of our clients to us and to the machinery of our agency or institution.

Primitive folk, even more than the sophisticated, share the virtues and the vices of their social group. Has not the great drawback in dealing with foreign families been that they are torn away from their natural group relationships? We find it difficult, however skilful our powers of personal analysis, to *realize* our foreign clients for lack of any vivid conception of their social past or their traditions of neighborliness. An advance in social treatment of every kind would be to add to our present individual

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analysis of a situation the power to realize its social background more completely.

(d) Record of a mother of five, the father incurably insane. Exceptional in that the story is lighted up on every page with glimpses and sudden revelations of the local political life, the small social gaieties, the human contacts and contentions, which all mean so much to this particular woman, who happens to be by temperament a "joiner" even more than a mother.

I referred in the beginning to the period of analysis—of investigation and diagnosis, that is—through which our case work has just been passing. As a matter of fact, there is no dividing line between investigation and treatment; they are all one piece of goods, and some of the illustrations I have just given apply quite as much to one process as to the other. What we need is a fusion of the two which will lead to more penetratingly helpful action than we are yet able to achieve in a majority of cases. This fusion should send us well forward on a road which must be traveled by many more than the present group of social case workers if social progress is indeed to be made flesh and dwell among us.

THE PIONEER SPIRIT

Paragraphs from an unsigned editorial in *The Family* for December, 1920, the tribute being to Mrs. Alice Higgins Lothrop, pioneer social worker of Boston. The title is supplied by the editors.

A FRIEND of *The Family*, just back from Europe, says that, of all the countries ravaged by war, little Belgium is today the happiest. When we remember her trials and her pluck it cheers the heart to know it. At the moment, most of the world is in the throes of reaction: the front page of this morning's paper records that Constantine has just won the election over Venizelos, that Armenia has been isolated by her enemy the Turk, and that the Reds are in Sebastopol. It tells too of graft and incompetence here at home, while one column describes the laying off of men by the railroads and factories, and another the assembling of the League at Geneva without a representative from America.

Meanwhile, there is hardly a profession that does not reflect in its degree this same unrest and demoralization. Teachers in schools and colleges, doctors and nurses back from the war, the clergy of many denominations caught up by a huge, unwieldy substitute for interrelated effort and dropped by it again with a dull thud—all have suffered from the "restless stagnation" of these busy but unfruitful two years.

Social work has not escaped, of course. Youngest of all the professions, least steadied by tradition, she finds her practitioners excited at once by the new opportunities for her service and by the invitations from other fields, especially from business. The demand for family social workers, for example, has increased by leaps and bounds and the supply has not increased nearly so rapidly. Many young people are eager at the moment to do social work in industry, but industry (with honorable exceptions) still welcomes them too often as energetic "boosters," not as social workers. If they enter the public service, the absence of any

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clearly defined standards of social work still leaves them even less protected.

But are not many of the dissatisfactions of the moment due to short and partial views of our situation? May we not remember Belgium with profit? It is the long view of her part in the great struggle that is the cheering view, that makes her choice shine by contrast with that of Luxemburg—Luxemburg that “went into business” when she gave up the fight before it was begun. Social work is pioneering, and only those with the pioneer spirit are entirely happy in it. We may easily drive away the more adventurous of the young people who might come to us if we talk too exclusively about salaries, important as these are. We may drive them away if we care too much about what the man in the street thinks of us, and care too little about the opportunities for growth, the chances to be, to do, and to discover, that social work has to offer. The real fact is, as a great writer has said of the artist, that the triumph of every honest worker is in what he produces. It cannot be a personal triumph, for in the hour of greatest success he loses himself in his work.

Never was this privilege of the true social worker to be a courageous, many-sided human being and to lose, at the same time, all thought of self in the absorbing demand of the task better illustrated than in the life of Mrs. Lothrop. . . . She came up from the ranks, losing none of the discipline that each step of the journey held in store, and at every stage she was a discoverer.

We take a grave responsibility when we seek to bring young lives—lives with some of her possibilities perhaps—into family social work or any other of the social work specialties. As directors of social agencies, as supervisors of the newer workers, we should be multiplying their opportunities for self-expression and self-realization. In so far as better salaries and better conditions of work give them a chance to serve the world better, we should by no means neglect these. But after all, the same appeal that brought to our ranks men and women filled with a spirit of devotion, of high adventure in the past, will meet with like response in the future, if we but make it in all sincerity.

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After a long absence, the "Idle Philanthropist" (see page 151) returns, in these four *causeries* from *The Family*, with a ripper humor and a broader vision. Her fancy plays at this period with literary criticism, with social work analogies in books whose authors were innocent of such intentions; above all with biography. It was characteristic of Miss Richmond that all her avocational interests were levied upon for the benefit of the fellow-practitioners of her vocation.

I. MAY, 1920

AN IDLE philanthropist who is busy enough can find, in an off hour, genuine refreshment between the covers of his Atlantic. Take, for example, this lively bit, two months back, from the experiences of musician Schauffler in France:

COLONEL X (interrupting a rehearsal of his regimental band): Here, what're you trying to do?

LEADER: We are rehearsing "The Stars and Stripes Forever," sir.

COLONEL X (leveling a minatory finger at the alto, tenor, and bass trombones): I want to see those instruments dress up. Want to see those trombone-slides all go in and out together in a military manner.

On another occasion this colonel stopped the same unfortunate band with a rough: "Here, here, what's all this foolishness?"

LEADER (patiently): What, sir?

COLONEL X (withering the solo trumpeter with a glare): Why isn't that man working?

LEADER: He has four measures' rest before his solo, sir.

COLONEL X: Now then, I want you to understand that I won't stand for any more of this slacking. Want you to get music that will keep every man busy all the time. Make 'em all work!

Which would have been amusing if it had not brought to mind (or to one reader's mind, at least) the ways of the general efficiency men who are sometimes turned loose upon social agencies. Usually they begin by trying to figure the standard cost per visit of a social case worker's ministrations, or by striving to discover how many visits per day she should be expected to make. In other words,

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they attack the problem of social efficiency in true Colonel X fashion.

If our case histories have many of the characteristics of biography, then the case worker may well develop a taste for the great biographies of the world as his favorite leisure-hour reading. The best of these have not been written by near relatives, just as a wise case worker or a wise physician avoids treating professionally those nearest and dearest to him. But an idle philanthropist can think (without trying to recall them) of two exceptions to this rule; one is Huxley's life, written by his son, another is the life of Burne-Jones, written by his wife. Both stand out as exceptionally good portraits and as exceptionally readable books.

Who will send to The Family or to Marginal Notes some suggestions for a list of worthwhile biographies that social workers should read? Has anyone read the life of Canon Barnett yet, or is everyone saving it, like an idle philanthropist, for next summer?

There is a passage in the Huxley life which comes to mind whenever a colleague attempts, Polonius fashion, to save his face by ambiguous writing or speaking. ("By the mass, and 'tis like a camel." "Methinks it is like a weasel." "Or like a whale?" says Hamlet. "*Very* like a whale.") And we may depend upon it that Polonius prided himself upon his diplomacy. Not so Huxley, who says:

Be clear, though you may be convicted of error. If you are clearly wrong, you will run up against a fact some time and get set right. If you shuffle with your subject, and study chiefly to use language which will give a loophole of escape either way, there is no hope for you.

No one would maintain that there is much resemblance between social work and play-acting, but honest professional work of whatever sort has resemblances worth noting. It was with sincerity and frankness that Louis Calvert wrote two years ago his *Problems of the Actor*; in witness whereof one social worker's copy of the book has many marginal notes.

Here are a few of the marked passages that bear more especially upon technique. Calvert believes in the joint stock company as the best possible school of acting, and would deplore, probably,

the too early "going it alone" that many social workers now aspire to after only the sketchiest sort of preparation:

I have been told by young actors that, in their opinion, it is foolish to bother one's head about the mechanics and the technique and the principle of what they do. They say they feel restrained and self-conscious and stilted if they do this. They want to forget that they are acting and depend upon their innate artistic sense for results. I suppose in no other profession would this absurd attitude be met. [Yes, in social work too often.] The beginning musician never dreams of plunging into the difficult compositions of the master composers until he has spent years in study of the mere mechanics of his art. He rises above, and forgets, his elementary lessons after a time, but he never thinks of trying to skip them. But on the stage the novice often chafes at the primary lessons, and often scorns them altogether.

The beginner is very receptive and very impressionable; if he does not start in a stock company but in a one-play company, where the star is playing one part over and over, he is in danger of aping the mannerisms of the star, and of having his ideas of successful acting too strongly flavored with the star's methods. In a stock company, too, one learns to depend on himself, for the producer who directs a new piece each week has no time to give his actors much individual attention. The actor is left to himself to a certain extent, and this in itself spurs him on: He gets a good stiff training in learning his lines quickly, and he acquires the faculty—a blessed one—of larruping himself into doing what he has to do with directness and dispatch, for that is the way things must be done in a stock company if they are done at all. . . . The road to Stardom is strewn with the bones of many clever people who, in the flush of easy success easily and early won, scorned the humble drudgery of sound technique.

We should find out just how little is needed to register any effect. And anything more than just enough is likely to be a great deal too much. It is easy to waste the eye on little things, whereas it is a powerful medium which should be saved for the big. It is an abiding principle with me that we should save all we can of all our powers for the big things. . . . Many young actors seem to think that unless they are able to do something with their hands, they will be suspected of being amateurs; but the most difficult thing in all the actor's art is the faculty of doing nothing at the right time. A good general rule to follow is: when in doubt, do nothing; never make a gesture until there is absolutely no doubt of its propriety in your own mind; wait until you are compelled to make it.

A contributor to the first number of *The Family* had something to say about group thinking. Calvert is most suggestive on the subject of group acting:

MARGINAL NOTES

We never have nothing to do on the stage. It is always our business to make what the other fellow is doing or saying as effective as we can. . . . I once saw a repertoire company of average capacity give a performance of Arnold Bennett's *What the Public Wants*. I myself had taken part in Charles Hawtrey's London production of the piece; but I realized very clearly that, as a complete work, this repertoire production threw ours completely in the shade. The individual parts, of course, were not played nearly so well as they had been in London, but the ensemble was infinitely better. The effect of the play, as a whole, was much more clear-cut and powerful than ours had been. This was due to the superb teamwork of the company. They all devoted themselves to the play; they forgot themselves, they all helped each other. But there is not the least reason, that I can see, why this teamwork should be confined to repertoire companies. The faculty of rendering all possible aid to his fellows should be cultivated by every actor as a matter of course.

An interesting lesson in co-operation this, and one that should make us a little more keenly observant the next time we go to the theater. As regards the matter of starring too early, is it stretching the analogy until it cracks to suggest that a good family welfare agency is an excellent example of the repertoire or stock company?

II. JULY, 1920

With regard to a secret marriage of five years ago, recently announced, the pair in question seem to have had a great deal of free advertising. The woman, a writer of short stories, supplied in good story form a long newspaper interview which announced not only her marriage but her views about matrimony and the family. None of her married friends was happy because, as she explained, her recipe had not been tried.

For five years, in absolute secrecy, we tried out our theories. And certainly it is more convincing to discuss theories from the vantage of experience than from the disadvantage of hypothesis. We have lived separately and shall continue to do so. We have our separate circles of friends as well as a common group and, at our pleasure, have enjoyed during these happy years (and I hope shall continue to enjoy) a fine and full companionship together.

I do not think our experiment could have been attempted outside of New York City, where the individual becomes a unit and not a person. One evening last week, for instance, I attended the theater with a friend and, quite by chance, sat next to my husband and a party of his friends. And we were introduced to one another.

An enterprising journalist immediately looked up the telephone numbers of this writer and her musician husband to find that they were identical. But, assuming that all the facts are as they were originally stated, there must be more than one way of organizing the life of a family, more than one way of making marriage a success; though these two foxes, having adopted the short style of caudal appendage, urge all other foxes to do the same. "After a five year acid test," to use the language of the interview, there is no other way but the separate establishment, unless marriage is to be 100 per cent a failure. Thus the family social worker finds himself provided with one more guide. The general efficiency man regulates his life on Mondays and Saturdays, the eugenist gives him a straight tip for Tuesdays and Fridays, and the short story writer provides him with a new program of family welfare for Wednesdays and Thursdays.

But seriously, is it quite fair to ignore the economic difficulty of two establishments per family? And has the "acid test" yet been applied to a marriage that is childless at the end of five years? Which suggests that it may be unsafe to give the whole world advice on the basis of a narrow and highly specialized experience.

"Unsafe," but what a wonderful scoop for the lady!" said a fellow-journalist. "No writer of her ilk has been so advertised for years." Which reminds an idle philanthropist, by contrast, of the recently published two volumes of Henry James's *Letters*. Here we have a writer of stories both short and long who could never bring himself to endure personal publicity with equanimity. In a letter to Howells he says:

I won't pretend that I like being written about—the sight of my own name on a printed page makes me as ill (and the sensibility increases strangely with time) as that of my creations makes me well. I have a morbid passion for personal privacy and a standing quarrel with the blundering publicities of the age.

Several years ago Professor Phelps announced, with the air of revealing a secret, that Henry James's ambition was so to compose that his prose would read best aloud. But James had made this revelation earlier. In the Preface to the last volume of the New York edition of his works he comments as follows:

MARGINAL NOTES

It is scarcely necessary to note that the highest test of any literary form . . . hangs back unpardonably from its office when it fails to lend itself to *viva-vôce* treatment. . . . The essential property of such a form is to give out its finest and most numerous secrets, and to give them out most gratefully under the closest pressure—which is of course the pressure of the attention articulately *sounded*. . . . Gustave Flaubert has somewhere in this connection an excellent word—to the effect that any imaged prose that fails to be richly rewarding for a competent utterance ranks itself as wrong through not being “in the conditions of life.”

How many of us write, as the newspaper man and the bill-poster do, to win a glance from the wandering eye, and how many, on the other hand, have “competent utterance” forever in mind? One of the best ways to qualify for the latter group is to read one’s written pages aloud behind closed doors, listening attentively the while to their prose cadences. Only a few nights ago the Letters passed the test successfully, when an idle philanthropist read some of them aloud to a friend. Their effect of eager, sympathetic talk with each correspondent in turn appealed even more to the ear than pages read in silence had appealed to the eye.

In both the Letters and the Prefaces—the latter written for a special edition of the novels and tales—there are not only interesting revelations of James’s method of composition, but glimpses of an earlier process, of the circumstances, that is, in which his themes first came to him.

Thus, the Turn of the Screw was suggested by talk around the hall-fire of a country-house where Archbishop Benson was host. The talk had turned upon the decay of good ghost stories, when the Archbishop (remembering, fortunately for his listener, only the scantest fragment) told of having heard, as a young man, from an elderly woman, of two small children to whom the spirits of certain deceased servants had anciently appeared. This was all, and out of it grew the most harrowing ghost story in all literature—a child-saving story too, be it added, with a moral to which the world still gives too little heed.

Mr. James was reluctant, whenever moral intent was urged, to acknowledge that he had done more than tell a curious story. Characteristically, he spoke more freely of technique and method than of inner significance; though Dr. Waldstein, by a direct

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query, seems to have wrung from him a half-confession of his purpose:

And as regards a presentation of things so fantastic as in that wanton little Tale, I can only rather blush to see real substance read into them. . . . But, of course, where there *is* life, there's truth, and the truth was at the back of my head. . . . My bogey-tale deals with things so hideous that I felt that to save it at all it needed some infusion of beauty or prettiness, and the beauty of the pathetic was the only attainable—was indeed inevitable. But ah, the exposure indeed, the helpless plasticity of childhood that isn't dear or sacred to *somebody*! That *was* my little tragedy—over which you show a wisdom for which I thank you again.

Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers, for most of us, in this matter of the protection of unprotected children. The small boy and girl of the story were two sensitive, imaginative children, and to at least one reader the whole gruesome tale, when first read more than twenty years ago, meant that, for such as these, a week or even a day in immoral surroundings was too long. The new governess of the story goes down to the country to assume care of the haunted pair, after an interview with their guardian—a man “handsome and bold and pleasant, off-hand and gay and kind.”

The burden of his instructions in that interview struck one, even upon that first reading long ago, as the very epitome of the general public's attitude toward social workers and their task. The guardian's desire was to remain untroubled. In fact, he required much the sort of guarantee that the community (or shall we say immunity) chests are now giving to the financial supporters of social work in some American cities. The governess was to

Neither appeal nor complain nor write about anything; only meet all questions herself, receive all moneys from his solicitor, take the whole thing over and let him alone.

And, thus enjoined, she went down into the country to deal with “prowling servile spirits” and do battle for the souls of two children.

III. NOVEMBER, 1920

Midway of the nineteenth century, in a small house in *la rue Montparnasse*, lived and labored a man of letters. Every Monday as regularly as clockwork there was issued from his study a review or *Causerie* for one of the Paris newspapers. Each one of these

talks on books and people would fill only about 16 pages of a small volume, but Sainte-Beuve brought to their preparation, as Matthew Arnold reminds us, "the conscientious industry of a Benedictine." Though even at its best criticism is a perishable thing, yet this industry has had its reward in that lovers of French literature still read and quote the *Causeries du Lundi*. Of this author's essays—about 1,000 in all—three-fourths treat of memoirs, biographies, and collections of letters. Here then is a specialist in human behavior and easily, moreover, the prince of critics.

But why should attention be called to Sainte-Beuve in this place? First, for the unimportant reason that an idle philanthropist took two volumes of his Monday talks away this summer, liked them, and sent for more of the volumes, then happened upon a book just from the press of the University of Chicago—a thesis on Sainte-Beuve's Critical Theory and Practice after 1849. Its author, Lander MacClintock, supplies the real reason for these Notes in his discovery of a clearly defined diagnostic method underlying all of Sainte-Beuve's later output, from 1849 to 1869. It now appears that, in a field remote from social work, this literary critic had developed fifty years ago a technique of analysis which resembles at many points the social diagnosis of today.

To attempt to condense more than 30 of MacClintock's well constructed pages into one paragraph is to risk confusion or worse, but here are his findings in outline. Sainte-Beuve prepared himself, it seems, for each of his *Causeries* by an elaborate study of his author-subject's background and foreground. The study covered the following points, and avoided at the same time all readymade categories, all a priori conclusions:

(1) *Race*. This the critic often confused with nationality or even with such provincial strains as the Breton or Gascon, but the physiological and mental characteristics of both races and nations were to him full of significance. (2) *Epoch*. Only certain ages, certain social backgrounds, could have produced certain books or men. (3) *Family*. One must consider the subject's parents, especially his mother; also his sisters, brothers, and his own children. The essays on Cowper and on Maurice and Eugénie De Guérin are examples of this method. (4) *Early Life and Education*. Note, for example, his approach to the subject of Mme. Geoffrin. (5) *First Group of Friends*. These early associations *du même printemps* leave their mark. (6) *First Success*. This is when an author's talent is at its

simplest. (7) *Moment of Initial Dissolution*. Or that point at which an excellence, perhaps, becomes a fault. (8) *The Physical Basis*. Sainte-Beuve studied medicine and "to this I owe," he declares, "whatever good methodical procedure my writings, even my literary writings, possess." (9) *Private Life*. "So long as you have not asked a certain number of questions about an author and received the answers you cannot be sure that you have grasped him wholly. What did he think in matters of religion? How was he affected by the spectacle of nature? How did he conduct himself toward women? What was his every-day manner of life? What was his vice or his foible? Every man has one." (10) *Testimony of Contemporaries*. What did those worthy of belief have to say about him? (11) *Diagnosis*. How can his essential qualities be summarized in a few necessary words?

It would be easy, of course, to apply the term "pseudo-science" to all of this, but we should remember, as MacClintock is at pains to note, that in Sainte-Beuve's day "the science of psychology was in its cradle and the science of sociology, only slowly developing since then, not yet born. He did feel the appeal of science and he did some notable thinking under three of its great principles—observation, identification, and classification."

There are several minor items of method that may be of interest to social workers, such as the habit of letting an author speak for himself in well selected quotations. The selection always had behind it Sainte-Beuve's total grasp, based upon his detailed analysis. Gamaliel Bradford, whose biographical studies in the Atlantic prove him a disciple of Sainte-Beuve, notes the skill with which his master found in the casual aside, the offhand remark, the mere gesture even, a window opening into his subject's inmost heart. This method has its dangers, of course, for only after the groundwork of chronological fact has been solidly laid is it safe to assume significance in the insignificant.

Perhaps, however, one may be pardoned for turning aside long enough to quote this illustration of the method, taken not from Sainte-Beuve but from Bradford:

A man's wife was caught unexpectedly, in travelling, with little or no money, and obliged to explain her difficulties to the hotel keeper and telegraph to her husband for assistance. The husband sent it at once, but his comment was, "To think that *my* wife should be stranded in a hotel without money." Just reflect upon all that little sentence tells of the person who wrote it.

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In nothing did the French critic show greater art than in his knowledge of what to omit. "I draw a circle around my subject and say to my thoughts and my pen: *Tu n'iras pas plus loin.*" Would that he could teach the present generation of case recorders how to suppress irrelevant material in the same fashion!

Our author has called himself "a botanist of minds," or, as Bradford translates it, "a naturalist of souls." But he was greater than his imitators in that he never lost sight of the fact that criticism was, after all, an art. Here, too, is a lesson for social work.

When the critic has assembled all this knowledge he must put it in the background so that he can attack his work with vital interest and unjaded taste.

And in the *Nouveaux Lundis* he tells us that the genius, the irreducible personality of an author, cannot be perceived by the intellect, nor explained by an analytical process; it must be felt by the critical faculty, itself an irreducible intuition.

Sainte-Beuve's was not an equally admirable character on every side, but he had that unquenchable interest in "life itself and the object of it," which saved him from the somewhat barren philosophizing of his time. One wonders what he would have done in our day with the attempts to psychoanalyze Dante and Browning and even the unknown author of the Book of Ecclesiastes. We know that he was sceptical of Guizot's philosophy of history.

The facts of high antiquity are those which lend themselves best to this kind of systematic history. They are dead, they reach us scattered and piecemeal; they let themselves be ordered about and disciplined at will, when a capable hand is extended to erect and reconstruct them. But modern history offers more resistance. . . . The generalization which seems profound when applied to distant ages, would seem frivolous and bold on this side of them. Let us come to an understanding: I admire that far-reaching and ingenious force of intellect which remakes. . . . But what I emphasize as a danger is a habit of arguing from a past thus remade and reconstructed, from an artificially simplified past, to an unstable, variable, changing present! For my own part, when I have read some of these lofty lessons on the History of Civilization which are so clear and positive, I quickly open again a volume of Retz's Memoirs, to re-enter the real world of intrigues and human masquerade.

This was something other than sheer frivolity in our author. The human scene appealed to him, the æsthetic side of criticism

appealed, but back of these were the passion for things as they really are and the untiring industry which give him his continuing vogue in our own day.

IV. FEBRUARY, 1921

Perhaps an idle philanthropist may now venture to take advantage of better acquaintance with the readers of *The Family* and, even at the risk of affording them some quiet amusement, may confess to a belief that there is a certain logical relation between the new volume of *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* and three of the studies of English verse recently published. The first of these in point of time is Professor Lowes's *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*, the second is Erskine's *The Kinds of Poetry*, and the third is *A Study of Poetry* by Bliss Perry. The lover of poetry who has never felt its relation to the content of modern social work must have but a superficial knowledge of the latter; upon the technical side, however, no one has yet suggested any vital connection, and it must be confessed that between craftsmanship in the one and in the other there is no more than an analogy, and that an analogy which is none of the closest. On page 470 of the *New Orleans Conference* volume it will be found that Porter Lee calls attention to the need of more teaching material which will describe the experiences and mental processes of the social worker, both in making a choice of the means to be employed and in the actual employment of these means in treatment. "Such material can rarely be found in the records, as they stand."

. . . Analysis of this kind is valuable not merely for teaching but is exceedingly valuable for case workers themselves as revealing to them what the actual process is by which they get results. It is of the highest possible value to those who are supervising case work. If students in professional schools can be trained to make this kind of analysis we shall be adding every year, through our graduates, to the increasing number of social workers who appreciate the importance of building up a supply of teaching material and have been given a start at least toward acquiring proficiency in preparing it.

It is true that case records cannot contain such analyses, but entries made at the time may well become the solid basis upon which the analyst may proceed. . . . The entry made at the

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time is a far safer starting-point for retracing steps in treatment than is any memory material, for often memory reads back into a situation mental attitudes or motives not actually present, but which have been suggested, rather, by later theories and events. No one realizes this danger better than does Mr. Lee, and he will be interested to know that his plea for actual experience, as against textbook tradition, is echoed by William McFee, who complains in the *New York Evening Post* on the last day of the year, "For one of the most discouraging features of essays and lectures upon poetry is the unfamiliarity displayed concerning the actual genesis of a poem."

The "actual genesis" of anything born within the human mind is indeed a puzzle. Hilaire Belloc tries to tell how a certain lyric of his got written, but the account leaves at least one reader quite cold. He seems to try to produce literature rather than to strive to reproduce the exact way in which his verses came. McFee is more successful. He turns from his review of John Erskine's book, which he tells us he has read three times, to give a plain account of the origins of a poem of his published in the *Atlantic* for July, 1919. The first line came as he was walking in the cemetery where his father was buried.

. . . It was a gray day, turning to rain, and across a deserted and moss-grown pathway a dead tree had fallen. The line, apposite to the time, the place and the mood, which was one of depression, came complete: "The old trees are falling, one by one" and was ticketed, so to say, in the author's mind as though filed for reference.

And for perhaps a couple of months that was the only sign of any poem. The writer had by that time gone overland to Malta, occasionally humming the line, testing its cadence and investigating its possible combinations and resources. Suddenly, one morning, as the dawn rose over the sea and touched the honey-colored ramparts of Valetta with a magic glow, the key-line of the poem was conceived. Conception is hardly adequate to convey the almost physical illumination, as though a light had manifested itself behind a curtain, which accompanied the discovery.

"I waste my years sailing along the sea."

The point to bear in mind here is that once this key-line was achieved the poem itself took on a cloudy yet comprehensible form.

It is not possible to reproduce here the whole process, but the significance of the key-line, around which other mental images

of the poet's began to cluster like needles around a lodestone, may be analogous, in social work, to Mrs. Sheffield's "key concept."

Another and even more striking analysis of "the way it came" will be found in Bliss Perry's *A Study of Poetry*, where he summarizes Vachel Lindsay's experiences in writing *The Congo*.

. . . . He was already in a "national-theme mood," he says, when he listened to a sermon about missionaries on the Congo River. The word "Congo" began to haunt him. "It echoed with the war-drums and cannibal yells of Africa." Then, for a list of colors for his palette, he had boyish memories of Stanley's Darkest Africa, and of the dances of the Dahomey Amazons at the World's Fair in Chicago. He had seen the anti-negro riots in Springfield, Illinois. He had gone through a score of negro-saloons—"barrel-houses"—on Eleventh Avenue, New York, and had "accumulated a jungle impression that remains with me yet." Above all, there was Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. "I wanted to reiterate the word Congo—and the several refrains in a way that would echo stories like that. I wanted to suggest the terror, the reeking swamp-fever, the forest splendor, the black-lacquered loveliness, and above all the eternal fatality of Africa, that Conrad has written down with so sure a hand. I do not mean to say, now that I have done, that I recorded all these things in rhyme. But every time I rewrote 'The Congo' I reached toward them. I suppose I rewrote it fifty times in these two months, sometimes three times in one day."

Will all prospective poets be taught in the future to give as clear an account of themselves? If they are and if they do, it will remake the prosodies; perhaps it will even remake poetry. And if poetry can be thus analyzed, why not social work?

Convention and Revolt in Poetry, more popular in form than either of the other two texts, has many lessons for those who share in the conventions or the revolts of some other field of human interest. Take this passage for example:

Out of the seeming chaos, however, of poetic conventions emerge two weighty and paradoxical facts, which have influenced the development of poetry from its beginnings, and are potent still today: the plasticity of conventions, while the life still runs in their veins; and their tendency (if I may change the figure) to harden into empty shells, like abandoned chrysalids when the informing life has flown. And through these two opposing characteristics of convention it comes about that art moves from stage to stage by two divergent paths: on the one hand, by molding the still ductile forms; on the other, by shattering the empty shells—the way of constructive acceptance, and the way of revolt. Each has its place,

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because each grows out of the ways of conventions themselves . . . There are, then, three determining attitudes toward conventions: we may accept them and passively conform; or we may keep and mold them, or we may gloriously smash them, and go on.

Is it not easy to read "social work" wherever "poetry" appears in the foregoing passage? And do not some of the rebels who are now writing poetry bring to mind the more exigent of the extreme left in social work? Bliss Perry declines to quarrel with the poets or to take sides, preferring that middle ground which is scorned by all extremists:

. . . I have little confidence in the taste of professed admirers of poetry who can find no pleasure in contemporary verse, and still less confidence in the taste of our contemporaries whose delight in the "new era" has made them deaf to the great poetic voices of the past. I am sorry for the traditionalist who cannot enjoy Robert Frost and Edwin Arlington Robinson and Edgar Lee Masters and Carl Sandburg. He is, in my opinion, in a parlous state. But the state of the young rebel who cannot enjoy "Lycidas" and "The Progress of Poesy" and the "Ode to Dejection" is worse than parlous. It is hopeless.

In greater detail and with great wealth of illustration, Professor Lowes takes the same general position:

The irony of revolt, to be sure, lies in the inability of the new to remain the new for more than a fleeting moment. The less commonplace it is, the more eagerly it is seized upon, and the more swiftly and surely worn trite. The *cliché* is merely the sometime novel, that has been loved not wisely but too well. Yet none the less, the highest boon which the new can crave of the gods will always be the chance of becoming old. For the old will perennially become new at the hand of genius. That is the paradox of art, and likewise the reconciliation of conservatism and revolt. . . . For I am anxious not to be misunderstood as captious or censorious in pointing out certain tendencies inherent in the radical procedure, which constitute not so much a menace to poetry as an efficacious mode of suicide for their practitioners. The devotion of insurgency to the principle of neck or nothing (a devotion which is one of its engaging qualities) carries certain fairly uniform consequences in its wake.

Revolt, in the nature of the case, suffers under a specific limitation. Its own character is in large measure determined by that against which it is directed. The new must not only not be that, but it must be different. And, as a rule, the aim of revolt is to be as different as possible. Action and reaction, in poetry as elsewhere, are apt to be equal in intensity and opposite in direction. The thing against which we protest exercises its compulsion upon us even in our act of protest, and no declaration of inde-

pendence can ever be itself quite free. Moreover, human nature is so constituted that the mental state accompanying protest intensifies itself by a sort of auto-intoxication, and grows by what it feeds on. "The French," said Goethe, speaking in 1830, "at the beginning of their present literary revolution, were after nothing further than a freer form. They could not stop with that, however, but threw overboard, along with the form, the previous content too." And that verdict is borne out by the history of practically every literary revolt, before or since. The tendency, inherent in human nature in its protesting moods, is (if I may spoil the Egyptians of a proverb) to throw out the baby with the bath. And even when it does not adopt that simple but extreme procedure, revolt is still restricted, now more, now less, by the conditions that gave it birth. It is not a free and independent, but a contingent phenomenon.

. . . For the greatest art—and by that I mean what the insurgents themselves with virtual unanimity have always admitted as such—the greatest art, from Homer down, has had its roots deep in the common stuff. It may and will have overtones; it may and will awaken thoughts beyond the reaches of the average soul. But no attempt to make poetry once more a vital, civilizing force need ever hope to attain its goal, if it sets to work solely by way of the initiates and the elect. For what the art of the coterie ignores is the weighty fact that the very public which it scouts wants in reality more than it knows it wants. The more or less crude touching of the springs of laughter and of tears, of love and pity, and indignation, and adventure—this which it thinks is all it asks, is merely the instrument ready at the artist's hand for creating and satisfying finer needs. The Elizabethan public wanted blood and thunder; Shakespeare took the raw materials of melodrama, and gave it "Hamlet." And "Hamlet" still fills the house. That is the case in a nutshell. For the public will accept what the artist has to give, if the artist is big enough and wise enough to build on ground common to the masses and the coterie. The finest and most exquisite art needs no compromise whatever with the public taste.

And the Preface closes with this temperate and disarming sentence:

"We are young, we are experimentalists, but we ask to be judged by our own standards, not by those which have governed other men at other times." Most heartily yes! "A whetstone is no kerving instrument," says Pandor, "and yet it maketh sharpe kerving toles." And it is mere captiousness masquerading in the guise of criticism, that cavils at a whetstone because it's not a sword-blade, or demands that a sword-blade shall not flash and cut, but whet. It is the inalienable right of any movement to insist that its accomplishment be judged in the light of what it has set out to do, and not as if it were attempting what the critics might, and probably would, attempt.

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No attempt need be made to point the moral of these pregnant passages. But there is one moral, suggested by a reading of all the books quoted, which may not come amiss. All social workers are dealing, either in the mass or at retail, with human nature and with the conditions which human nature has created. Could they not deal more successfully if they read more poetry and were able to enter more completely into the spirit behind it? Coleridge says that poetry is a more than usual state of emotion combined with a more than usual order. This is a wonderful definition which points the way along which social work must also travel. When do social workers do their best work? Tolstoi is quoted by Perry as saying, "One's writing is good only where the intelligence and the imagination are in equilibrium. As soon as one of them overbalances the other, it's all up." In other words, the sense of order must be kept keen without loss of emotional power. Perhaps both would be strengthened in social workers if those of them whose sense of poetic expression is fairly well developed would sometimes preserve in verse form the vivid impressions which stand out from the workaday total. For, once expressed, one's insight into the hidden poetry lying beneath even the most sordid things could not fail to be quickened, and every such quickening would mean added power to understand and to serve.

EMERGENCY RELIEF IN TIMES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

(Hitherto Unpublished)

A summary of the experience and policies of agencies responsible for the administration of relief in the United States during the last thirty years.

This memorandum was prepared in October, 1921, for the White House Conference on Unemployment. Miss Richmond during her long experience wrote several important papers and reports on unemployment, particularly the annual report of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, 1908, in which the diagram of "Exits" first appeared; and the "Special Number on the Coming Winter" of the Charity Organization Bulletin, November, 1914. Neither of these do we include. The comprehensive memorandum that follows contains, however, all that is of importance in these earlier publications, and much besides. (See page 421.)

PRESENT DAY POLICIES

VIOLENT fluctuations between times of great scarcity of workers and times of great scarcity of work are due to causes over which the social agencies of the country have little control. They realize this, and the very agencies that have done most to mitigate the disastrous effects of hard times are the ones that have most persistently urged preventive measures upon government and upon industry. "When people are sick," said the report of a family welfare agency in 1908, "we can cure them; when they are bad, we can try to reform them; but when they are out of work there is only one effective remedy for their troubles and that is real work at real wages." There are two considerations, however, that should be urged upon those who are charged with the responsibility of analyzing the present situation:

First, in so far as industry has not already perfected plans and government has not yet completed arrangements for increasing the amount of real work, neither the one nor the other can carry the situation this winter, especially during those most critical

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months of any winter of distress—January, February, and March. It should be made clear, therefore, that the established social and relief agencies must be backed up this year as never before with money, with sympathy, and with scrupulous avoidance on the part of the public of those particular measures which are sure to create more misery than they relieve.

Second, this last point has to be emphasized because, though social work, however well organized, cannot do enough to save the unemployed and those dependent upon them from a long trail of misery which every period of industrial depression leaves behind it, it is notorious that unwise and unorganized relief, whether in cash, commodities, or in the form of "made" work, can considerably delay industrial recovery and double the burden of ugly after-effects which the workers must carry for years to come.

The country should be told, in such a way that it will understand, what some of these end results of unemployment are. Homes will be lost in the buying; money will be borrowed on disastrous terms; household effects gathered slowly will be scattered; occupants of separate homes will move into furnished rooms; dwellers in decent neighborhoods will be driven into meaner streets; a lower moral tone will follow upon loss of privacy; lodgers will be taken in who are unfit companions for small children; large families will be insufficiently fed on the two days in the week earnings of one member; children will be taken from school prematurely. These results can be prevented, in part at least, in only one way, and that way is for every individual citizen to get under a part of the burden by doing his best to help throughout this winter—not an abstract best, but the best possible under the circumstances. Some of the details of this best possible can be explained to the public by the Unemployment Conference, and none knows better than its leader how to place responsibility squarely upon the shoulders of every American man and woman.

1. Experience has taught the social agencies that unemployment relief, to be handled even relatively well, must be *decentralized*. No agency, public or private, can create the impression that the situation is going to be centrally dealt with and relieved without doing great harm. Congestion of applications at any one place and congestion of remedial effort from any one center should be

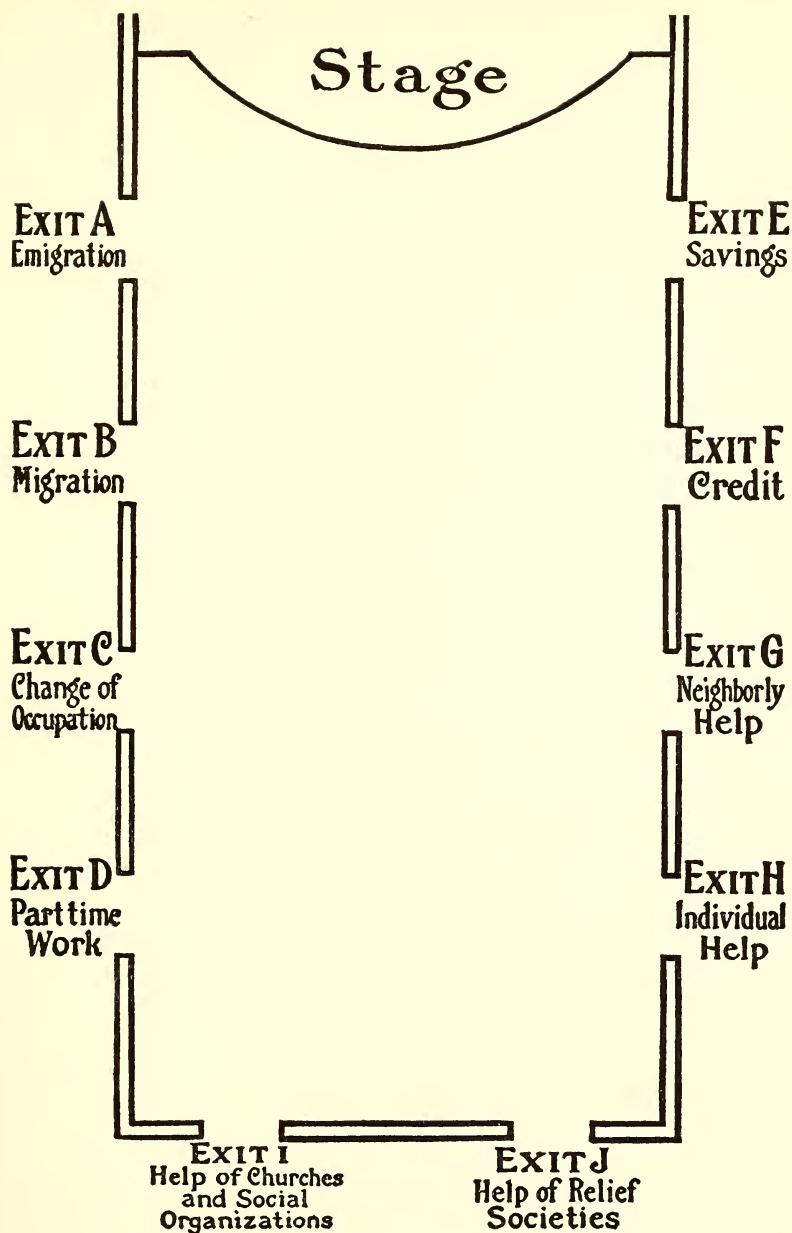
avoided. In this decentralization there should be a definite part for each group of citizens and each individual citizen to play.

2. *Centralized* planning is an essential part of any systematic breaking up of the problem into its parts. A truly representative group—representative of the local public administration, of the private social agencies, and of the workers—should get together, not to advertise itself or to devise any one scheme which will be a substitute for individual effort, but to realize the true situation, which is something like that in a crowded hall when someone cries “fire!” The problem of the central committee is to get the crowd out alive, which must be done by keeping all the exits wide open and avoiding a jam at any one.

3. What are the *exits in a time of unemployment*? Charitable relief and “made” work are the very least of them, but these exits can be so over-advertised as to close many of the others unless we face the true situation. The best exits, even at a time like this, are those that the unemployed, left to themselves, instinctively seek. Usually they are emigration, migration, change of occupation, part-time work, savings, credit, help of relatives, neighbors, and friends. One examining this list may feel that it is a great cruelty to expect the unemployed man or woman to seek any such adjustments as the foregoing. The only reply is that it would be a far greater cruelty to encourage him or her to believe that any better ones are possible, given the situation as we find it.

In 1907-1908 *emigration* was a better resource than it can be now. During the first five months of 1908 migration to and fro across the Atlantic showed, as compared with the same months in 1907, an increase in departures and a decrease in arrivals amounting in all to 628,766 passengers. Central committees then were beginning to realize that any central fund for relief widely advertised, or any public or private provision of “made” work as contrasted with “real” work, would have interfered seriously with this particular adjustment.

Migration within our country's own boundaries may be a very good adjustment or a very bad one. Here the existence of public labor exchanges could save many men from wandering long distances to places where work does *not* await them. Unwise publicity increases the magnetic pull of the large city at such times as



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these. Part of the great congestion of non-residents unemployed in Chicago in 1907-1908 was due to Associated Press dispatches that the Association of Commerce would raise a large fund for the relief of the unemployed. Nevertheless, migration in the *right* direction is a resource.

Change of occupation from skilled work to less skilled is not a desirable adjustment, or rather is only relatively so. But the American workingman is the most adaptable workman in the world, probably, and his adaptability has survival values in hard times.

Part-time work is one way of keeping a labor force together until industry revives. It is a better way than to achieve the same result by large relief works or by other centralized relief schemes.

The banks of the country can testify to the large share of the load carried in every time of depression by *savings*. The social agencies can testify that some of the thrifty are always ready to substitute relief for this exit in order to keep their bank account intact. To avoid a disastrous crush at the exits, relief must not be made a substitute for savings.

Credit is given by landlords, grocers, and other tradesmen to those whom they know to be good pay when they have work. It should be so given to the limit of possibility, as a part of the accommodation which makes adjustment possible. Credit is given by friends, relatives, neighbors, and, in neighborhoods predominantly foreign, by compatriots. Often the creditors are themselves not well-to-do, but here again accommodation makes for solidarity. *Neighborhood help* does not make the neighborhood poorer, it makes it richer. The families without collateral that were none the less able to get credit amounting in some cases to from three to five hundred dollars during 1914-1915 were able to do so on their known character, which is the best possible collateral. Mutual helpfulness is a neighborhood asset.

The wider neighborhood of *associations* such as churches to which the unemployed belong, their trade organizations, their clubs and other affiliations, the people for whom they do occasional work, the individuals personally known to them who are relatively well-to-do, and so on, are all better resources than are either public or private charity.

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At the same time, however, it should be clear that the exit of *public departments and private agencies of family welfare* will have to be the sole resource of unbefriended families and individuals for whom the other resources have failed. The distribution of responsibility here advocated does not mean that these agencies should not do their utmost also. They will have to, and that private social agency or public department of welfare which does not increase its resources and its volume of work at a time like the present is disgraced. It must do this in no competitive spirit, however, but in such ways as will supplement rather than become a substitute for the resources just enumerated. How to effect this expansion without closing other exits is the main problem of the local central committees on planning already advocated.

4. The first step toward decentralization is *central and strictly confidential registration of applications* from the unemployed. No decentralization of effort is possible if the different people willing and able to help have no way of each knowing promptly that this particular task is now in the hands of an agency or of so-and-so, who will *see it through*. The sole checks that need to be put upon individual effort along any one line are (1) to be sure that it is necessary and that no one else is now doing it; (2) to be sure that, once undertaken, it will not be dropped until finished.

5. The next step of the committees should be to *distinguish sharply between plans for resident and those for non-resident unemployed*. Until reasonably adequate shelter with a work-test has been provided, preferably by the municipality, for non-residents claiming to belong to the ranks of the unemployed, and until a time-limit has been announced for this shelter and care together with some classification and individualized disposition of cases within the group, all work for the bona fide resident unemployed, many of them heads of families, will be demoralized.

6. The next step is to prepare a definite, *carefully thought-out message for each group of citizens*—for householders, employers, fellow-employees, fellow church members, teachers, physicians, men and women in other professions, tradesmen, and so on, explaining to each the specific ways in which they can help. These messages should be different for each group, though there are some things that should be said to all. Among the things that should

certainly be said are that each one should do more for the people he knows and who are now in trouble; and that each one should do everything to discourage such disorganizing schemes as bundle days, bread lines, or free food or free lodgings for all comers without a work-test or any after-care. The worst part of all these supposed provisions are that they are not enough, that they cause congestion of applications without assuming any responsibility for seeing people through.

7. Provision of work which is not real work is an expensive and highly unsatisfactory form for relief to take. This will be illustrated later from the experience of other times of depression. The committees should *discourage* "*made*" work as a relief measure, save as it is organized for small groups of people who are already known to its promoters, and even then some form of training should be its chief justification.

8. One of the local committee's most important tasks will be to stimulate the expansion of present social work effort on the two lines of increased *promptness* of action and increased *adaptability* of action. At whatever sacrifice, every family agency should increase its staff to a size that will assure a first visit within twenty-four hours to the home of any family reported to it as in distress, and the public should know of this guarantee and of its faithful performance. Relief and service should not be the old, wooden same-thing-for-everybody. It should be adapted to widely varying needs. The relief (to paraphrase a statement of 1908) should make a loan to one without any work-test whatever, should try another's capabilities by some temporary test, should give another the hardest work that can possibly be unearthed for him, should stave off the eviction notice for a fourth, place the fifth in a hospital, send the sixth and his whole family to the country, provide cash for the exceptionally provident buyer who is the seventh, relieve the improvident eighth sparingly with supplies plus conditions, and, instead of doing work twice over, turn the ninth over to the social agency or the church which the registration at the central exchange reveals to be already caring for him.

9. A form of adaptable handling of the situation which may be especially commended to all local committees is that which aims to keep children in school even longer in a time of industrial de-

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pression than in ordinary times. There is less effective demand for their labor than usual; such demand as there is will probably be in dead-end occupations. In 1914-1915 some agencies were far-sighted enough to give their relief in a number of instances in the form of an allowance to keep children in school who would thus be fitted for better jobs later on. This decreased the volume of unemployed juvenile labor, and, to that extent, helped both the educational and the industrial situation.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THREE EARLIER PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, 1893-1894

On the side of the relief of the unemployed, this long and severe period of industrial depression has been voluminously reported. The American Social Science Association has a report, a Massachusetts Commission published a volume in 1895, and the Nashville meeting of the National Conference of Charities summarized, in May, 1894, the work of the winter. Nearly all of the testimony, however, comes from official sources. The period was one of large central relief committees operating by means of a central fund, usually with "made" work supplied to applicants. But the things that these committees said in the various reports about their own work, usually self-congratulatory things, were seldom contradicted by the relief agencies federated with them, though a reading between the lines more than confirms both the evidence of a few critics who dared to speak out then and the doubts of those social workers who were young recruits at the time but had won their way to places of responsibility in 1907-1908. They were determined that the glaring mistakes of 1893 should not be repeated. No one who had faced in that earlier period the struggling masses fighting for work-tickets, no one who had realized the cruelty of sending narrow-chested tailors to the stone pile or of treating the unemployed mass in any one way could ever forget the experience.

In New York City three social workers in charge of relief policies in 1893 and whose names are still well remembered by their colleagues, described the situation as follows:

MRS. JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL. The first and greatest mistake of all was made by the newspapers. Whether, in any degree, a desire to help

those in distress was blended with the advertising indulged in at their expense, it is impossible to say; but, however that may be, there can be no doubt that immense harm was done by the sensational articles and by the various "Funds." The anxiety and distress of mind of those who were out of work were increased by the lurid articles written about them; while the prevalent tone of the newspapers that the only natural and proper thing, if one were in distress, was to get "relief" from some source, could not fail to cause a general weakening of the moral fibre of our people.

There were few among the wage-earners of New York last winter who were not poor enough to make a gift welcome; and when, day after day, for weeks and months, the offers of food and clothing were reiterated, and it was made to appear that public opinion was in favor of "getting something for nothing," it is not to be wondered at that the temptation was not always resisted, or that decent people took their children to the *Herald* office to be fitted out with clothing from head to foot. The socialistic teaching that such gifts were not a favor received, but only a small part of what was due from the rich to the poor, was fostered by the tone of the newspapers. Moreover, the publicity forced on those who received these newspaper gifts, the standing in line, the struggling in the street and at the doors, the publishing of names and descriptions—all this was a further degradation, a moral stripping naked of the suffering and the poor, which was cruel in the extreme; and yet there was scarcely a voice raised in protest in the whole city while it went on. The fear of "antagonizing" the "Great Dailies" prevented those who ought to have warned the people from speaking.

This advertising also necessarily brought more than the usual winter number of idle men into the city to live miserably in the free lodgings-houses which were opened to receive them, and which in their turn acted as a new attraction, so that a vicious circle was set up. Free lodgings and free meals brought more and more people, for whom again more free lodgings and free meals must be supplied.¹

MR. THOMAS M. MULRY of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The street-cleaning, whitewashing, etc., were . . . of great assistance to us, but to my mind had one very objectionable feature, which apparently could not be avoided. It was a public acknowledgment of the condition of the recipients of such relief. In going through the streets, people pointed them out; and though they were supposed to feel somewhat independent, from the fact that they were doing something for their money, still those who had any self-respect left were continually mortified at hearing the remarks made by passers-by, and it was only the thought of their starving families at home that gave them the moral courage to remain the allotted time.

I think that with the amount of money thus expended any well equipped

¹ Journal of the American Social Science Association, vol. 32, November, 1894, p. 20.

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charitable society could have accomplished more good by helping the families privately, and the feelings of the poor would have been spared.

The food stations were an eyesore to me. And the spectacles of long lines of poor waiting to be doled out their pittance, publishing to everybody their condition, must certainly have a most demoralizing effect upon the recipients of such relief.¹

MR. N. S. ROSENAU of the United Hebrew Charities. The general call upon the public for assistance, and the accumulation of large funds for relief, undoubtedly attracted to New York a great many individuals who hoped to obtain an easy living during the winter. Such funds have always had a like effect; and New York today is suffering from a residuum of this class, who properly belong to other communities. The funds, moreover, had the effect of making foreigners, unused to American customs, demand relief as a matter of right, because the public prints had told them that funds had been raised for this purpose.²

In Buffalo also they began by giving relief in work to all who applied. Out of 3,450 of the earlier applicants given work, 2,006 did not live at the address given or did not require any relief.³

Boston summarizes her experience then, in contrast with the methods used twenty-one years later in 1914-1915, as follows:

Accompanied by the widest publicity a community relief fund amounting to \$100,772.19 was raised. Some men were put to work cleaning streets and constructing sewers and roads; but as a large number of the applicants were women or men not fit for hard manual labor, central work rooms were established and those employed in the work rooms were engaged in the manufacture of rag carpets, patchwork quilts, and in knitting. Thoroughly advertised as was the large relief fund and the central work rooms, great numbers of applicants flocked to the headquarters of the Citizens' Relief Committee. These included not only the legitimately unemployed, but also chronic dependents, who had previously been cared for by relief societies, as well as a number of men and women who were working on part time in some of the factories and business establishments of the city. There were 7,460 men and 3,510 women registered by the Committee, a total of 10,970. Of these, 5,761 men and 2,728 women were put to work. The average amount received by the men for this labor was \$11.10, and by the women was \$8.82. Assuredly these sums were not adequate to tide an unemployed family over a severe winter.⁴

¹ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

² Ibid., p. 28.

³ Ibid., p. 34.

⁴ See Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Boston, 1915, p. 14.

NEW YORK, 1917-1928

This relief in the form of work for which there is no industrial demand—"made" work, that is, and paid for in relief or in relief disguised as wages—should be distinguished from work-tests. The latter have a limited usefulness, especially in dealing with those able-bodied applicants of whom it is difficult to get any clear picture. The true work-test is intended to give some knowledge of the work-habits of an applicant. It should cease promptly as soon as these work-habits have been revealed.

1907-1908

While in some cities the plans followed in the next panic winter were no improvement over those described above, and while some of these discredited procedures have survived even into the present year, still, on the whole, there was a definite advance made in 1907-1908. In many places improvised relief machinery was discouraged and existing agencies had united upon a quietly expanding program. This was true even in some of the large manufacturing cities especially hard hit by industrial conditions, such as Philadelphia. Buffalo, in contrast to its policy in 1893, also avoided breadlines, discouraged processions, and impromptu relief bureaus, while straining every nerve, through an enlarged staff in its family welfare agency which utilized volunteers also, to maintain a record of adaptable service and prompt relief.

Boston reported one procession of the unemployed marched by its leaders into Trinity Church. Thirty were persuaded to go in a body to the office of the family agency. Only 17 stayed long enough to give names and addresses, and only one of these had a family. Many of the 17 were young boys living with older brothers and with fathers who were working. A few had left work in smaller towns to join the battalion. Some gave wrong addresses, all refused meal tickets and lodgings in exchange for work, and the one man appearing to need aid (the man with a family) received it.

1914-1915

The unemployment situation created by the war was different in character from and less severe than the two preceding times of stress. Dullness was due to quite different causes in different industries; while some industries were unusually busy. This created a very

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uneven, up-and-down situation during one winter, but recovery came rapidly, whereas in the earlier periods it came very slowly.

In the autumn of 1914, 17 of the executive heads of family welfare societies in the same number of large cities held a conference at which the point of view was agreed to and the policies were suggested which have been set forth in Part I of this Memorandum, though they are given here with such slight modifications as bring them up to date. There was a clear determination at this conference to differentiate the efficient from the unemployable, the casual laborer from the man usually employed continuously, the transient or floating applicant from the resident, and to try to deal with each upon the plan least likely to prolong individual distress or the duration of the emergency period.

It was recognized at this conference that, in a number of cities, public administration had grown stronger in the last decade, and that certain parts of an emergency program belonged logically to public departments, such as developing public work which needed to be done, giving it to resident heads of families, and paying for it at market rates; such also as providing adequate care under right conditions of work-test and flexible time-limit for the homeless. The division of work between public and private agencies could not be the same the country over, it was agreed, but there should be good faith and co-operative understanding between the two everywhere.

An unfortunate division of work was illustrated by the Philadelphia situation of that winter. Money had been voted for certain public works, but the municipality, for political reasons, would not permit the contracts for this work to be placed, and voted instead two sums of \$50,000 each during the winter "for relief." These appropriations were given wide publicity, which quickly stimulated applications to all the private agencies.

"All our offices," reported the leading family agency of Philadelphia, "were soon crowded . . . Applicants wanted, 'some of the city money' as their right. Two able-bodied Italians, who waited for the opening of the South-east District Office, said when they were directed to the Wayfarers' Lodge for work, 'We do not want work; we want city money; it is ours.' . . . So much time had to be devoted to those who ought not to have applied that we could not give the attention to

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many others which their circumstances required. . . . Our offices for weeks were like a military hospital, crowded with soldiers from a great battlefield; an overworked staff, inadequate facilities and no outlet. We did the best we could, but our best was not what it might have been."

The Industrial Commission of Ohio has made a comparison of relief methods used in 1907-1908 with those of 1914-1915 in the city of Columbus.

A mass meeting of the unemployed was held at the City Hall on January 14, 1908, at which talks on the situation were presented and demands made that work be provided. The following day the Mayor set aside January 18th as "Emergency Day." . . . The tag sale netted \$9,335.22, in addition to which coal, provisions and clothing valued at \$650.00, were donated, making a total of \$9,985.22 collected. . . .

As an aid to the tag sale, all newspapers ran large displays, printed pictures, and featured stories. Such headings as the following appeared daily throughout the winter:

"Eight Hundred Women Solicit Help For Poor."

"Work Not Charity."

"Three Hundred Idle Men Ask For Work."

"Emergency Relief Fund Still Growing."

"Majority of Seekers For Work Foreigners."

"Idle Men Throng City Hall."

"Idle Refuse Ditching Job." . . .

The unusual publicity and city-wide activity stimulated interest upon the part of the unemployed themselves. Everyone was expectant of big things. On the afternoon of "tag day" the demand for relief became very insistent. Corn meal and bread as an emergency ration were hastily purchased and over two hundred sacks of meal and many loaves of bread were given out that afternoon. The character of the food occasioned much dissatisfaction and at times prospects in the vicinity of the Central Presbyterian Church, which had been made the distributing point, looked threatening. In fact some of the meal was dumped into the street after it had been received and numerous other sacks were cashed over the bars of nearby saloons.

With the exhaustion of the fund (in a little over twenty days) the real perplexity commenced. Publicity and agitation had keyed up the community. The City Hall was besieged daily by great numbers of men. At one time in the agitation bodily violence seemed imminent. Work on the water main extension was planned and put through early in March. This relieved the pressure materially. . . .

The unemployment situation in Columbus during the past winter was handled more satisfactorily than that of 1907-1908, largely for two rea-

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sons. First, the State Industrial Commission in the brief period since its creation had studied the State Public Employment Offices and given them a cohesion and purpose which did not previously prevail. In the second place, the community tried to avoid the confusion resulting from the methods of seven years ago. No Citizen Relief Committees were created. Instead the existing social agencies were supported so as to handle the work. No tag days were resorted to. No extensive publicity was encouraged. . . . An unofficial Committee on Unemployment grew out of this.

Columbus resorted to city work given to married men with dependents two days in each week, with registration handled by its Free Employment Office.

In New York City, the report of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment calls attention to the experiment of a private relief agency, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in supplying funds to the Botanical Gardens and Zoological Museum for the payment of men sent by the Association to be employed in improving city property at a wage of \$2.00 a day three days in the week. The report commends this plan. At the same time it feels that "no protestation on the part of relief agencies that they give the unemployed 'work and not charity' can deceive anyone for long, least of all the unemployed themselves who know well enough when they are engaged in a business undertaking and when they are not." Any general recommendation, therefore, that relief be given in the form of work during the coming winter may lead to a number of doubtful undertakings, very different in character from the carefully administered experiment of the New York A. I. C. P.

One characteristic of the treatment of the situation in 1914-1915 was the greater share taken in it by such neighborhood agencies as the social settlements, the educational clubs and classes organized in poorer neighborhoods, and so on. The New York report of the Mayor's Committee puts especial stress upon the value of these agencies, and, in so far as they deal with those of the unemployed already known to them and utilize central registration in order to avoid duplication of effort, this part of a decentralizing policy can be strongly commended.

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1920-1921

Recent developments have been summarized by the American Association for Labor Legislation in its Review for September, 1921. It will be seen that the general appeal issued by the Erie (Pa.) Associated Charities and reprinted by the Review on page 216, follows the general lines suggested by the conference of executives held in 1914 and here elaborated on pages 510 to 517.

Both then and now there has been considerable emphasis laid upon developing odd jobs for the unemployed through house-to-house canvasses, thus providing real work of a temporary character for a number of unemployed men and women.¹

The American Labor Legislation Review reports that it has received especially vigorous protests from 24 American cities this year against bread-lines, soup-kitchens, and indiscriminate doles. There is no shadow of doubt that these bring the unemployable and the work-shy to the fore and drive the self-respecting unemployed to the rear. The very time that, for the honest workman, is a time of privation and mental anguish is made, by these devices, a time of rejoicing and plenty for those wastrels who pose as members of the great army of the unemployed.

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SOME RELATIONS OF FAMILY CASE WORK TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

This is one of several papers in which Miss Richmond registers a warning against too wholesale an adoption of lessons she had earlier taught. The sudden popularity of case work, with case workers in each specialized field claiming to do an all-round job, might, if allowed to proceed unchecked, leave only "odds and ends" for the family case worker. The address was given at the annual meeting of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work in Providence, June, 1922, and printed in *The Family* for the following month.

I AM going to try to say two things this evening—a larger number than it is safe to attempt at any one time. The first relates to the special field of *family* case work as distinguished from the other forms of social case work. The second relates to the part family case work should be able to play in shaping social opinion and social action during the next decade.

Wherever case workers are met together in the year 1922 they may congratulate themselves that at last it seems to be clear that case work in some form and under some auspices is now fully accepted as an essential part of any social program worthy of serious attention. We do have to note, however, as a natural enough by-product of the rapid advances recently made, a tendency among one or another of the more newly developed forms of case work to regard each, in turn, as a wholly satisfactory substitute for family case work. After these newer forms of case work have done their best for the members of a disadvantaged family, what, save a few odds and ends, is there left for the family welfare society to do anyway? This odds and ends theory, as it might be termed, of our place in the case work hierarchy finds its most striking analogy in the plight of the general medical practitioner, who would appear to be quite overshadowed, at the moment, by the modern array of medical specialists—a half dozen or more varieties of them for each of our bodily organs and for each of the subdivisions thereof.

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Sometimes, when friends of mine who are sick wander from one expert specialist to another, yet ever more come out by that same door wherein they went, I feel like congratulating any friend who still commands the services of a good family doctor. More than ever does his all-round approach seem necessary, both before and after the specialist has done his very best. We could never get on without the specialists either in medicine or in social work, but at times it is difficult to get on *with* them.

Abandoning analogy, let me give a few concrete examples of what I mean, and try to suggest a substitute for the odds and ends theory of family social work. A case record which has come to my attention during the last month may serve as one illustration. It gives the story of a family society's treatment of a father, mother, and five children of ages ranging from two to fifteen when the family was first known, three of them boys, two girls. The history must be robbed of all its detail and color in this brief account, and some of its most interesting features are too identifying to be even mentioned, but, after all, my one point of attack is this theory that, save for the odds and ends, family case work will be superseded.

Our societies should make more use than they do of the parallel column device, placing on the one side what we were *asked* to do when a case was referred to us, and on the other what we actually did. In this particular case, a teacher skilled in the treatment of speech defects called upon the family welfare society to find out whether the parents of a small boy, her pupil, could and should pay his carfare to school every day. It was found that the family could not afford the carfare and the teacher supplied it. So much for the left hand column. Later, when family conditions had been much more fully gone into by the society, these conditions were fully explained to the teacher, which led to the transfer of the boy to a boarding school for special care and instruction, with very good results. This need not be noted in the right hand column, however; there is no room for it with so much to follow. Item one on the right relates instead to the health of all the children. The family society tried to procure for each in turn the kinds of medical examination that each seemed to need, and then, overcoming the delays and inertias with which we are all familiar, managed to see

that each took the treatment needed. The youngest child was rachitic, two others needed tonsil and adenoid operations, one was discovered to be suffering from hyper-thyroidism, another—a public school boy—presumably had had the usual medical inspections in school, but these had failed to reveal the fact that his truancy was due to total lack of sight in one eye and to the need of glasses for the other. The parents also were found to be in need of some minor medical treatments and were persuaded to take them. Later, the question of the vocation of the oldest girl came up and, after expert mental testing, she was entered in a dressmaking course.

Altogether, in this portion of the right hand column, we find evidence that the family society did a good middleman job. You know, of course, how much time and painstaking care such services demand. But if my story were to stop here, you probably would all agree that it merely illustrated the serviceable odds and ends of work that the family welfare agency can do and is glad to do for the families under its care, but that any other well equipped case work agency able and willing to take the time could have done them just as well.

By far the larger half of my story, however, is yet to be told. The family welfare society, as it happens, is a specialist too. It, too, has a function to perform—a difficult function and one of great social value. This function, briefly stated, is to think of the life of each family as a whole and to treat it as a whole. What did the family case worker responsible for this particular treatment find, in addition to opportunities for health services and vocational services? She found a husband and wife estranged, a woman discouraged and overburdened, a man worried and unable to make both ends meet, a home cheerless and down at the heel. In naming these things I name only symptoms, but what were the people like in themselves and what were their social assets and their social liabilities? I can mention only a few of them.

The heads of the household were foreign born, but their nationality need not be given here. The father was in the prime of life, better educated than his wife, and a genius of a sort—one who found it difficult to work with or for others, of marked originality in his own line of manufacture, but no business man and sure to get

into financial difficulties whenever he set up for himself. He was struggling with a workshop of his own at the time of the case worker's first visit, and was wholly engrossed in its (to him) fascinating processes. This engrossment was one cause of the sharp differences between himself and his wife. To be engrossed and prosperous would have seemed to her one thing, but to work so hard without being able to support a home decently seemed to her quite crazy—and indeed one cannot altogether blame her.

You have already thought of a mental examination for the father, or perhaps for both father and mother. An examination for the father was arranged, but the result was wholly negative. Interviews with former employers brought some insight, interviews with the man himself and an interest in his quite unusual skill brought still more. He was glad of a chance to explain his hopes for the future—a chance which was often denied him. His relatives, some of them prosperous enough, had lost all patience with him. Conferences then were had with several manufacturers in the same line of business. Finally, the turning point in treatment was reached, as it seems to me, when one large employer who knew the special field thoroughly was induced to go into the man's business affairs in considerable detail, and to grant him an interview. Client and adviser talked man to man about the intricacies of the process, the state of the trade, the present hard times, while each had a chance to appraise the other's strong points. The client had had too much advice from people who did not know as much as he did, and too little from his peers. If the case worker had joined the wife and the relatives in upbraidings and in general advice that might have been sound enough, but not very well grounded, she could have made no headway. Instead, she allowed the business adviser to point out the weaknesses of her client's position and devoted herself to trying to make his relatives and his wife understand his difficulties. In the more sympathetic atmosphere thus created, a very stubborn man slowly yielded his will, closed his workshop, took a position almost at the bottom of the ladder once again, but climbed up rapidly and soon had a foreman's job at good pay. To put this down in the right hand column as work found for one man, the head of a family, would be to overemphasize the economic and to minimize the social aspects of the achievement.

But the wife and mother needed quite as much encouragement as the man, if not more. There had to be instruction in budget keeping and in household management, the children had to be interested in these household affairs, while at the same time and with the exercise of great patience, the mother had to be made to understand the ailments and the special care needed by each one of her none too normal flock. The medical treatments and school records had, of course, to be kept track of, but the outstanding fact is that the case worker refused to be swamped by these details. She had moved away from the odds and ends method of dealing with family situations, had felt her way steadily toward the life of the family as a whole.

What difficulties in that life still stood out? The chief difficulty seemed to be that there were few things they enjoyed doing all together, and while the special services rendered by schools, training classes, and medical clinics had been indispensable, and the task of family development would indeed have been uphill work without them, yet the place in which these five children were going to spend most of their time was after all the home, and if things were wrong there they could hardly be right for them anywhere else. Accordingly, the case worker recalled that, upon her visits to some of the man's relatives, they had seemed unusually musical, and she began trying to interest the father in the musical education of his children. The oldest boy is taking violin lessons, the voice of the older girl is to be cultivated, and the family have bought a victrola and a good selection of records. They now have musical evenings at home in which they are getting much better acquainted with one another.

Note too how essentially the change was a change of adjustment in social relationships. The relatives who had been more successful were taught to play their part, the successful manufacturer to play his, and the head of a business that had failed and of a family that had seemed on the verge of disruption became once more a man among men and an interested husband and father. Every adjustment made in these processes was first and foremost a *social* adjustment, and the means by which it was achieved were means developed in family case work and distinctively within its field.

It should be unnecessary to add, however, that no single agency

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in any one community should claim or attempt to hold a monopoly of these means. The opportunity is open to any society, institution, or individual anywhere to practice family case work—upon two conditions. The first of these conditions should be to take the time and develop the aptitude necessary for mastery of the essential skill, and the second, to take the time to practice it. Such work, emphasizing as it does social values too often ignored in modern life, could not go forward steadily, however, unless it became the special business and chief responsibility of some one group. And that business, that responsibility, happens to be ours. When we resist pressure from many sides to adopt the odds and ends theory of what our work shall be and develop instead the rich possibilities of our own special task, we are indeed building for social progress; we are knitting together the threads of an enduring social fabric.

A phrase often used of musical compositions is that they have or that they lack tonality and thematic consistency. This case record, as I examined it carefully, seemed to me to have tonality. Instead of wandering off into strange keys and never returning to its key signature, instead of announcing a theme only to lose it again aimlessly, it kept to the theme of the family life as a whole, and of that life as a part of the social life of its community.

I am aware, of course, that the diversity of tasks undertaken by a family welfare society must vary with the size and the social resources of its city or town. Where there are few specialized agencies and small resources any large volume of intensive family work such as I have tried to describe must be developed gradually. In the large city, however, the danger is the opposite one—that the family welfare society will be committed to an odds and ends program by becoming the general relief supplying pocket for the multiplied specialized agencies of the community. Needless to say, wherever it has come about that the family welfare society has drifted into supplying the relief while other case work agencies have supplied the treatment, or wherever it has undertaken to make “investigations only” for other agencies which then assume responsibility for treatment—wherever there has been this division, the real work of the family society has suffered and it has been in danger of drifting into what Sir Charles Loch used to call “the

restless stagnation of an overwhelmingly busy office." No one has time in such an office to consider individual and family problems from the point of view of the whole, and the treatment, expert enough perhaps at certain points, lacks synthesis.

A French pathologist tells us that mental disease is due really "to the falling apart of the material of acquisition into different or disintegrated centers and syntheses; to the failure in ability to get hold by attention of all the material of experience and memory, and so to order life from the basis of the whole." This ordering of social treatment from the basis of the whole lies at the root of all effective family social work; it is one of its greatest possible contributions to social progress.

To illustrate once more: A member of the Education Committee of the London County Council complained some years ago of the imposing array of supervisors going out from the London schools and of the absence, notwithstanding, of any real supervision. She summed up one example, too detailed to quote in full, as follows: "We had here four sets of persons all actively engaged—one in finding out why the child (a neglected girl of eight) was unpunctual, another why she was dirty, another why she was underfed. I bring this case," she continued, "to show what actually does happen when we are dealing with the really neglected child (nothing happened) and how the experts jostle each other in the bad home." This tendency to multiply special services without commensurate results is indeed one of the things against which we in America must also be on our guard. We must learn to scrutinize the claims of each new specialty, not for our own protection at all—for indeed we prosper by releasing functions, not by clinging to them—but for the sake of the disadvantaged people who are the clients of social agencies. Their development is sadly hampered when disintegrated and disintegrating centers of social endeavor fail to "order life from the basis of the whole."

So much for family case work on its individual side. But there is another aspect of our work; namely, the whole large question of the relation of the family as a social institution to social welfare and to the future of civilization. A well-known critic wrote the other day of a group of new novels, "They betray unblushingly

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that 'hard-boiled' egoism which is . . . the time's response to philanthropy, liberalism, altruism, and such shibboleths of the nineteenth century. It is more than curious to list the novels of the last two years . . . and to see how prevailing egoism, self-development at all costs, ruthlessness, and the selfish generally are lauded by illustration and philosophically implied."

Another characteristic note of this post-war period—one which brings the present drift nearer home to us than any novels can—is the recent and continuing campaign of the National Woman's Party for state and federal legislation ostensibly to right women's wrongs, but so hopelessly confusing equality between the sexes, a good thing, with uniformity between the sexes, a very bad thing, that great hardship and injustice to women would result if the party had its way.

I need not multiply instances. You know, I think, better than I can tell you what is happening. There has never been a time, in my own observation of social developments at least, when there has been such a crying need of leadership in the interests of a sane, broad-minded development of family life—a development beginning with early education for marriage, continuing through much better administration of the state's share in marriage, extending to recognition of the claims of family life in the organization of industry, to better adjustments of the mutual claims of parent and child, and so on through a long list of needs.

Years ago a society was started which had for its object a few of these reforms. Begun as the New England Divorce Reform League, in 1897 it changed its name and objective logically enough to the National League for the Protection of the Family. Its moving spirit was and had been from the beginning Dr. Samuel W. Dike, and the League continued to do a quiet but effective educational work until Dr. Dike's death a few years ago, soon after which it ceased to exist. The League suggested and assisted in two important statistical studies prepared in its earlier days by Carroll D. Wright. It continued to bring certain important data to the attention of religious bodies and educational institutions. A former assistant of mine who examined a number of League documents for me when I was preparing a paper for the National Conference of Social Work a few years ago, wrote, "These reports form a

singularly interesting record of conservative progressiveness such as is possible only to a man of genuine open-mindedness." Dr. Dike was indeed such a man, and his later reports urge again and again the need for a new sort of study into the fundamental facts of family life, so that we may learn the real causes of failure behind all the legally formulated causes, and strive, if possible, to prevent such failures.

Thus far Dr. Dike went, and it was a long way, but he failed to take the additional step which we are now quite ready to take, though he would have been the first to approve of that step. I refer to the social study of family life as a most important "by-product of successful case work," to use Mrs. Sheffield's happy phrase once again. The case work that I described earlier had a permanent social value to the seven people under treatment. It also had a social value to the relatives, employers, and social workers who were privileged to participate in it. But here we come to another kind of social value that it might have had, as a successful demonstration of the ways in which the inevitable stresses and strains of family life may be eased, and the unnecessary strains may be foreseen and prevented. Only to agencies and workers with their feet solidly on the ground and working in intimate contact with reality should such a group of social research studies as these be entrusted. I can imagine one set of propagandists declaring that the five children I have just told you of should never have been born, and another set taking the position that they should have been distributed among the appropriate institutions after the very first visit. Of such ready-made programs and explanations we have had altogether too many already, but the need of *some* program is so obvious that I find myself in momentary dread that a movement may be started any day for the protection of family life by a group of people with some fanatical bias or other, when there never was a cause more in need of fair-minded weighing of all the facts, more in need of freedom from isms and fads. "At whatever cost," writes Dean Pound of the reform of the courts, "at whatever cost in loss of dramatic interest or satisfied simplicity of plan, we must insist on plurality of causes and plurality and relativity of remedies." And so with family life, we must recognize plurality of causes and of remedies.

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As this statement of my two points draws to its close, you must realize where I am coming out. The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work has a larger number of the qualifications necessary for this task than anybody known to me. It is possible, I know, to be altogether too boastful about the scope of one's own field. The Association and its 200 constituent family welfare societies have gone to the other extreme—they have been too modest. "No class or group," says Ellwood, "can be the bearer of all the social values or even of a majority of them." Some parts of this task must be delegated to other bodies, but the preliminary formulation of the problems involved, and the education of each city and town, community by community, in what the minimum essentials of family life really are—these parts of a program of social advance are the Association's task. Think back over our movement's forty-five years of development in this country, realize how often it has been its privilege to bear faithful witness from first-hand experience long before its new proposals for reform had become popular and palatable, realize too how deeply the younger generation of family social workers are coveting the opportunity to do that intensive family work which makes discovery possible; then ask yourselves whether a greater opportunity than the present one has ever opened out before our group. Holders of the odds and ends theory of family social work may prepare to discourage us in advance by emphasizing the difficulties. Answer them in the words of Locke, "He that will not stir till he infallibly knows that the business he goes about will succeed, will have but little else to do but to sit still and perish."

BANNERS VERSUS BLANKETS

Issued in *Better Times* for January, 1923. Miss Richmond was never of the strongly feministic camp. Once, when invited by a friend to sit on the platform at a suffrage meeting, she declined, saying "How can I sit on the platform and on the fence at the same time?" Particularly was she irked by the efforts of the Woman's Party to establish equality with men in all particulars by legislation; and she willingly assisted with tongue and pen, in the efforts made by the League of Women Voters, the Consumer's League, and others, to protect against the onslaughts of the "equalitarians," the laws which safeguard women in industry.

WHEN a small group of expert campaigners suddenly turn their attention to drafting legislation on the subject of the disabilities of women, and try to do this for all the 48 states, it is time for social workers to take notice. No one can have anything but sympathy with an effort to remove one by one from the statute books those laws, whether dead letters or not, which unjustly discriminate against women in the matter of civil rights and duties, property rights, and guardianship of children. In so far as the National Woman's Party, like the League of Women Voters, is devoting itself to these ends, one can only second their efforts and strive to assure their success.

But unfortunately their program does not stop here. To the woman who has won for herself complete economic independence, or has had independence thrust upon her, it seems a small matter, perhaps, that the regulation of hours for women workers should be swept aside, that the prohibition of night work should go, and that the other health-protective measures intended to safeguard actual and potential motherhood should follow. Social workers, however, have seen the need of these measures, have written them into our state laws, and have had an opportunity to observe their beneficent results. Any such backward step would seem to them a social disaster.

Last year, after abortive efforts in many states, the National

BANNERS VERSUS BLANKETS

Woman's Party succeeded in securing the passage in Wisconsin of what is termed the Blanket Equality Bill. The legislative reference bureau of Wisconsin has discouraged blanket legislation for twenty years, but this particular measure slipped through in 1921. It provided not only that, in certain specified ways, women shall have "the same rights and privileges under the law as men," but also that these privileges shall be the same "in all other respects." This last phrase makes the law a blanket measure.

What constitutes true equality before the law? To treat unequal things unequally, or to treat them equally? Surely the former. But a certain type of feminist "sees red" whenever it is suggested that there are some inherent differences between the sexes, and that no question of superior or inferior enters into a frank recognition of those differences. When we ask the state to pass a law that will affect millions of women, many of them in circumstances quite different from our own, should we not try to legislate with reference to the circumstances of the largest possible number?

A few years ago a woman of marked ability applied to our courts for a divorce. When the judge asked her whether or not she wished alimony, her reply, given with emphasis, was that she did not approve of alimony. It is easy for a wife who can earn twice as much as her husband and is without children, moreover, to announce with an air of conviction that she does not "approve" of this or that; but what about the wife who must support several small children after having spent the best years of her life in bearing and rearing them? To her the question would have been a practical one, calling for something more than intellectual assent or dissent. One of the advantages of social work as a profession is that it teaches its practitioners to think beyond the narrow experiences of any one group to the lives of all sorts and conditions of men and of women.

A serious objection to blanket legislation of any kind is that it throws upon the courts the task of law making. What is meant by the phrase "in all other respects"? No one can know, at present, least of all the drafters of that new law. But judge-made law will have to tell us, and for years to come the Supreme Court of Wisconsin will be making decisions concerning the liability under the law of a wife whose separate property has been put in

jeopardy by those four words, whose right to separate support, to alimony, and to working conditions adapted to her physique have all been changed. The members of the Woman's Party will have intended to do some of these things and will be astonished enough to find that they have done others; this only illustrates the peculiarities of blanket measures. It is too early to attempt a full enumeration of these legal consequences, and, fortunately, so far as New York and many other states are concerned, it is not too late to forestall them.

The danger of reactionary interpretations, however, is well illustrated in a recent decision in the District of Columbia, where the court of the district, in declaring a minimum wage for women unconstitutional, uses language which might have been copied verbatim from the manifestos of the National Woman's Party.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A SOCIAL WORKER

In this article on Florence Nightingale, from *The Family*, March and April, 1923, Miss Richmond displays her great and growing interest in biography and its application to social work. Other examples of this interest will be found in this volume in the paper on Sir Charles Stewart Loch, page 557, and in *A Background for the Art of Helping*, page 574, the latter containing biographical appreciations of Octavia Hill and Josephine Shaw Lowell.

Miss Richmond's friends have recognized that she herself possessed many of the characteristics which she found in Florence Nightingale, notably "a keen sense of the ridiculous and a somewhat mordant wit," balanced by tenderness and concern for those in pain or trouble. Both had learned the rigid elimination of the unimportant which only a chronic invalid can command; the output of both was enormous, and both had the scholar's mind and the same compelling need for facts.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE is not usually described as a social worker, but as the founder of trained nursing. I hope, however, to be able to prove that she exemplified in her own person the practice of all the different forms of social work—of case work, group work, social reform, and social research, and that she did this before the terms "social work" and "social worker" had even been coined.

One who is himself an accomplished biographer tells us that "no biography is to be accepted as final." We know it to be true that past history is always being rewritten in the light of that present which is its latest fruit, and it would appear to be the same with the lives of the great dead. In their own age, they are seen at such short range that many things of small significance are made too much of. Later, they fare better; though it must be confessed that, in times such as our own, any illustrious man or woman of another century may be selected as the subject of a new biography for no better reason than to illustrate the latest craze in pseudo-science. An extreme example, and one that should be a warning to me, is the *Biographical Clinics* published some years ago by an

optometrist, wherein it was made to appear that the famous people of the nineteenth century who happened to have been handicapped by ill-health were all sufferers from nothing but eye-strain.

Your true biographer, of course, holds all such preconceived theories lightly, setting himself instead to study the evidence with care and then "describe alike the life and the character, the work and the methods" of his subject. He must be able to give himself up without reserve to a sympathetic appreciation, but can ill afford to suppress the evidences of imperfection in his subject if he would make him live once again. Unfortunately, however, some recent biographers go farther, and contrive to belittle and attack the men and women generally recognized as great.

Lytton Strachey, for example, tells us that "it is as difficult to write a good life as to live one"; and then, while setting himself the task of laying bare the facts about Eminent Victorians "dispassionately, impartially, and without ulterior intentions," proceeds without proof to condemn Dr. Arnold and Florence Nightingale, the former for crippling the life of Strachey's distant family connection, Arthur Hugh Clough, and the latter for causing his death. Sidney Herbert, according to Strachey, was another one of Miss Nightingale's victims.

Fortunately, one of the best of the series of biographies that have enriched English literature during the last quarter of a century is Sir Edward Cook's *Life of Florence Nightingale*. It is a model of frankness and thoroughness, which does not conceal the fact that, while Miss Nightingale worked unceasingly in the cause of sanitary reform, she expected those associated with her to do the same. But neither in Cook's pages nor in the lives of Clough and of Herbert can evidence be found to justify Strachey's savage onslaught. Apparently, Sidney Herbert was a well man in 1859, after having devoted many years to the plans of medical and army reorganization in which Miss Nightingale was also interested. There is ample evidence that Herbert's interest in these subjects was a personal one and in no sense superimposed. In 1860, as head of the War Office, he made 200 speeches in the House of Commons, and was deeply pained, moreover, by changes in his relations with his political chief, Mr. Gladstone. To accuse Miss Nightingale of his death in the following year in order to make her conform

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to Strachey's idea of a Victorian philanthropist is as absurd as to accuse Mr. Gladstone of that death, or to blame Herbert with having caused Miss Nightingale's prolonged illness, because he sent her to the Crimea, where she overworked. As regards the death of Clough, there is even less evidence. His Victorian family might imaginably have felt aggrieved over any public claims that had absorbed his attention, and might have fastened upon those claims rather than upon more personal ones as the cause of his breakdown. But to find a man of Strachey's gifts reacting after this fashion is indeed a disappointment.

Sir Edward Cook's *Life* [of Florence Nightingale] appeared in 1913, three years after Miss Nightingale's death at the advanced age of ninety. Its pages should be studied by every social worker—by social case workers, who from the very nature of their task are makers of contemporary biographies and find the art of biography a fruitful subject of study; by other social workers too, for, as already said, Miss Nightingale was every kind of social worker. It is from this particular angle, as exemplifying the interplay of the different social work specialties in the life of a great genius, that I would pass in review yet once again some of Miss Nightingale's characteristic acts and sayings, while leaning at every step, of course, upon the text of Cook's two volumes.

I. EARLY LIFE

Hath she her faults? I would you had them too.
They are the fruity must of soundest wine;
Or say, they are regenerating fire
Such as hath turned the dense black element
Into a crystal pathway for the sun.

GEORGE ELIOT

It is quite possible that a psychoanalyst will ransack Sir Edward Cook's pages some day, and attempt to account for the events of a remarkable life in the lingo of his own trade. Meanwhile, students of the family can find, between the year of Miss Nightingale's birth in 1820 and that of her departure for the Crimea in 1854, some striking illustrations of conflict within a family in which there was no lack of affection, but varying ideals of life in the older and the younger generation. Here was one for whom the tempta-

tions and difficulties of daily living, as well as its advantages, were greater than those falling to the lot of social workers in our own day. The temptations were those of tradition, wealth, ease, and social position; the advantages were those that came early from travel, study, and intercourse with interesting and capable people, some of the choicest of whom were of her own kindred. The difficulties, on the other hand, were due in part to family prejudice, in part to the social conditions of her time.

Out of a deeply personal religious experience, with beginnings dating back to her seventeenth year, Florence became eager for a life of exacting and beneficent service. The form that this service took in her mind was the care of the sick. "Do you know," she remarked to a friend of later years, as they faced the large and ornate mansion in which the Nightingales lived, "what I always think when I look at that row of windows? I think how I should turn it into a hospital, and just how I should place the beds."

Naturally enough, the family had other plans for their home and for this daughter. Her mother and older sister were scandalized at the thought of this delicately reared and brilliant girl becoming a nurse. Nurses in the England of 1820 to 1854 were not only ignorant and uncleanly; too often they were drunken and disreputable. Socially, they ranked with kitchen maids.

Mrs. Nightingale had surrounded herself by her exertions with "the best society in England." Within her range, she was a woman of genius. Her elder daughter (there were only the two children) was highly gifted both as an artist and as a writer, and Florence, the younger, seemed to speak a language foreign to both of them. With every desire to understand that language, they could not. The father of the family, though he was devoted to Florence and proud of her intellectual interests and studious habits, followed, on the whole, the lead of his wife and older daughter. As a county magistrate, he had more administrative wisdom than was always developed in that school and was able to write later (1853) to Florence, when she had just become superintendent of a nursing home and he had reason to fear that she might be carrying her masterfulness too far, "You will have to govern by a representative system after all. In England we go this way to work, and a good way it is, for a good autocrat is only to be found at intervals.

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Despots do nothing in teaching others. Republicans keep teaching each other all day long."

The no-thoroughfare situation as between Florence and her family had continued almost without a break until 1852. Her home, with all its charm, was a gilded cage. "A profession," she writes, "a trade, a necessary occupation, something to fill and employ all my faculties . . . I have always longed for, consciously or not." There had been some weeks of service and training at Kaiserswerth in 1851, but the family were still opposed to the logical next step of a full-time position in some hospital or nursing home.

Into this difficult family situation, however, there entered a sister of Mr. Nightingale, who was Florence's favorite aunt—a philosopher, diplomat, and, be it added, a born social case worker. Aunt Mai realized that to overcome Mrs. Nightingale's opposition was to win the whole family. "Your mother," she reported, "would, I believe, be most willing that you undertake a mission like Mrs. Fry or Mrs. Chisolm, but she thinks it necessary for your peace and well-being that there should be a Mr. Fry or Captain Chisolm to protect you, and in conscience she thinks it right to defend you from doing anything which *she thinks* would be an impediment to the existence of Mr. F. or Captain C." Here was a possible loophole of which the aunt took prompt advantage. If, at the age of thirty-two, Florence was not yet married, at what age would it be respectable for her to head some philanthropic movement or institution? And if she was to be fully prepared at this unnamed age, was it not high time that she took further training immediately? This logic won for Florence an opportunity for the further study of nursing in France. Meanwhile, the aunt had had to deal with impatience on the other side and convince Florence that she had only to be fully prepared to be sure that work somewhere was being made ready for her. Close upon the heels of this prophecy followed the superintendency of the home on Harley Street and then—the Crimean War.

During her earlier or "gilded cage" period, there had been no lack of suitors. Florence had been attracted to one of these, who happened, moreover, to have been a suitable candidate from a worldly point of view. But their marriage would have meant an

establishment and a position to maintain in all respects as exacting as the establishment and position of the Nightingale family. With little chance, as it seemed at the moment, of realizing her own plan of life, she did not hesitate. "Voluntarily to put it out of my power ever to be able to seize the chance of forming for myself a true and rich life would seem to me like suicide." Miss Nightingale always believed that marriage was the happiest state for any two who "shall throw themselves fearlessly into the universe, and do its work, secure of companionship and sympathy"; meanwhile, however, lacking the chance of that sort of union, "it is much better to educate the children who are already in the world and can't be got out of it, than to bring more into it."

Warm friends of the Nightingales who had traveled with Florence on the continent were Sidney Herbert and his wife. Both had sympathized with her aspirations, and when, years later, war came in the East, Herbert was in the War Office and able, for the first time in England's annals, to send women to the seat of war to nurse the nation's sick and wounded soldiers. The plan was Herbert's own. Thanks to Aunt Mai, Florence Nightingale had already had the experience necessary to carry it out. It was to her, therefore, that he turned to lead this new experiment and go, with 37 nurses under her, to the hospital at Scutari.

II. MINISTRANT

That gentle hermit, in my helpless woe
By my sick couch was busy to and fro,
Like a strong spirit ministrant of good.

SHELLEY

The story of the shambles into which this delicately reared woman led her group of none too well trained or well equipped helpers, of their attempts to give humane care to the disabled under well-nigh impossible conditions, of the medical and military jealousies that they had to contend against, and of the grateful response of the wounded to their ministrations—all this has been told innumerable times and need not detain us here for more than a moment.

The hospital was built over sewers and cesspools. Its floors were rotten, its wards overcrowded, often without either beds or bed-

ding, and swarming with vermin. The simplest appliances for the sick, including clean linen, were not to be had, and there was no ventilation. Into this scene of death and desolation, ships from the seat of war continued to discharge fresh cargoes of wounded and dying, while the purveyors of an antiquated army organization were refusing to open needed stores of food and clothing, "until a board of survey could be appointed."

It was Miss Nightingale's rule to attend to all the worst cases herself. When the overworked surgeons, upon one occasion, set aside five soldiers as hopeless and therefore, in the pressure of work, not to be operated upon, she attended them throughout the night and had them in condition for surgical treatment by the next day. Naturally, the men idolized her. No administrative duties, pressing as these were, could interfere with her daily rounds in the wards or her correspondence with friends and relatives of the soldiers. There were cholera and typhus epidemics, there were religious bickerings among the nurses, there were failures innumerable due to the bureaucratic system under which the army medical service was organized. But through it all she kept close to the sick and wounded, leaving Scutari, however, for an inspection of the field hospitals and a visit to the front. Here she was stricken with the fever and came very near death. The Lady-in-Chief, as the soldiers called her, refused to return to England for her convalescence, and remained at her post until the end of the war in 1856.

The popular legend of Miss Nightingale as "the lady with the lamp," who moved along the lanes of cots in the sick wards, late at night, giving a word of cheer here and some needed nursing service there, survives to this day. Though she labored for more than forty years longer and never was herself a nurse again, to the world she has always remained the woman who ministered with her own hands to the needs of the plague-stricken, the mangled, and the dying. There is a sense in which this popular view is also the discerning one, for no one can read Cook's two volumes without realizing that, upon this brief experience, crowded with such vivid, first-hand contacts with misery, were based all the achievements of "the foremost sanitarian of her time," of the founder of a new profession for women, of the recognized authority on hospital construction and management, and of the reorganizer of many of the

NEW YORK, 1917-1928

modern military procedures in peace and war. Everything in those forty years of struggle and accomplishment can be traced back to these two crowded years in which reality had made so deep a mark.

III. ADMINISTRATOR

And the choicest women are those who yield not a feather of their womanliness for some amount of manlike strength.

GEORGE MEREDITH

It was not alone by nursing in the wards, however, that the death rate at the Scutari hospital was reduced in a few months from 42 per hundred to 22 per thousand. Faithful workers at home, at the front, and at the hospital contributed to this result. But without Miss Nightingale's leadership, without her remarkable administrative ability, all are agreed that the change could not have been effected. This woman, so tender of the individual sufferer—perhaps because she *was* so tender—could be a “bonnie fighter” upon occasion. She fought for and won much needed supplies, as well as a sick diet kitchen, a new hospital building, and a laundry. “In fact and by force of circumstances,” writes Cook, “she became a Purveyor to the Hospitals, a Clothier to the British Army, and in many emergencies a *Dea ex machina*.” Often she drew upon her own stores, purchased with funds supplied by friends in England. Her first requisition after arrival was for 300 scrubbing brushes, and later she had occasion, as Strachey phrases it, to develop great skill in “circumventing the pernicious influences of official etiquette.” This skill was exercised far beyond the bounds of the hospitals. It extended to correspondence with the Queen and the War Office, and led to a royal warrant reorganizing “for the better care of the sick and wounded” the medical staff corps.

Miss Nightingale had the defects of her qualities. Back in the Harley Street days, during her brief control of a nursing home, she had shown no great patience with boards and committees. In the Crimea, her horror of amateurs, combined with her sense of the great importance of making a success of this new experiment in using women instead of army orderlies as nurses in time of war, caused her to rebel against an order of her old friend, Sidney Herbert. So pleased had he been with the success of his first

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experiment, that he gathered together and sent out a new group of nurses to be placed under the Lady-in-Chief, and did this without first consulting her. The emergency seemed to justify the action, but Miss Nightingale, better aware than anyone else of the larger good for which she was working, and aware too of both the need and the possible limits of supervision, was so discouraged upon the unannounced arrival of the new nurses that she threatened to resign. Here we have another illustration of the age-old difference between those who want to do it all somehow, and those who want to do a steadily but slowly increasing amount of it well.

It is evident that Miss Nightingale had the case worker's conscience and sense of workmanship, and later it became clear, when she was pushing hard for army reforms, that she had the group worker's grasp of social and industrial needs. Largely owing to her initiative, definite steps were taken to make the barrack life of the soldiers in time of peace more endurable through workshops, reading rooms, outdoor games, amusements, lectures, and other means.

Still later, when the former Lady-in-Chief had turned her attention to the reform of general hospital management and to the training of nurses, some of her administrative ideals were revealed incidentally in the large correspondence of that period and in her occasional pamphlets and Notes on Nursing. An administrator, she felt, must be a student of human nature. That she was one is revealed in her shrewd notes on her friends and on individual probationers who had to be interviewed in connection with the nurses' training school. Take, as example, "She does not want to hear facts; she wants to be enthusiastic." Or this: "A woman who thinks in herself: 'Now I am a full Nurse, a skilled Nurse, I have learnt all that there is to be learnt'—take my word for it, she does not know what a Nurse is and she never will know." Or this: "People who think outside their heads, who tell everything that led them toward this conclusion and away from that, ought never to be with the sick."

Miss Nightingale was convinced that a woman cannot be a superintendent of nurses unless she has learned to superintend herself. Often, in the interests of "her soldiers," as she called them, it had been necessary for her to persuade or even cajole the authori-

ties in the Crimea. She had great self-control in these personal contacts, but that the control was not always easy comes out in her intimate correspondence. She had not only a keen sense of the ridiculous but a somewhat mordant wit. Thus, of a certain high medical functionary at Scutari, she wrote when he was made a K. C. B., "These initials mean, I suppose, Knight of the Crimean Burial-grounds." A nursing sister-superior sent out to Turkey by some religious body as a supposed coadjutor, but one who gave her much trouble, was usually referred to in her correspondence as "the Reverend Brickbat." That Miss Nightingale had a sharp tongue and boundless energy her enemies had reason to know, but there is also evidence in plenty that her personal relations were marked by great kindness and consideration, not unmixed with firmness, where any cause to which she had devoted herself was concerned.

IV. SOCIAL REFORMER AND ORGANIZER

I have been at this work for forty years. And I have always found that the man who has the genius to know how to find details, and the still greater genius of knowing how to apply them will win, and party does not signify at all.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Throughout her long life of public service, Miss Nightingale avoided public renown with greater pains than most people take to win it. In part this was due to the spirit of her time, which, in all affairs of state at least, condemned women to behind-the-scenes labors. She did not sit on any of the committees or public commissions that she had put in motion. In part, however, hers was a native dislike of publicity. The government had offered her a British man-of-war for the voyage home to England from the East, and the whole nation had been eager to receive her with acclaim, but she gave them all the slip and came back home incognito by way of Paris.

Soon she was summoned to Balmoral to visit the Queen, and was able to put before their majesties her plans for medical reform and the better care of the soldiers. "We have made Miss Nightingale's acquaintance," wrote Victoria, "and are delighted and very much struck by her gentleness and simplicity, and wonderful, clear, and

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comprehensive head. I wish we had her at the War Office." There, in effect, through her unflagging ardor and great influence, she really was all her days, though much of the detailed work had to be done by others serving under her leadership.

The source of that influence and that leadership should never be lost sight of. To understand Florence Nightingale's power, it is necessary to refer back continually to the way in which she had been "identified" with the results of bad administration, had seen those results with her own eyes and had touched its victims with her own hands. "Others might know the facts, but she *felt* them. . . . She not only felt the neglect," says Cook, "which had sacrificed her children's [the soldiers'] lives, but she tabulated the causes. The facts which had come under her eye, the figures in which she summarized and analyzed them, filled her with a passion of resentment."

Sidney Herbert was not at the War Office at this time, but it was possible to win from a lukewarm administration there the appointment of a Royal Commission with Herbert as chairman. This Commission was granted power to study the medical organization of the army and make recommendations for its reform. For the use of the commissioners but not for publication, Miss Nightingale prepared and printed in the space of six months a book of 830 octavo pages entitled *Notes Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army*. Kinglake, the historian, describes this volume as "a treasury of authentic statement and wise disquisition. . . . No other person could have written it." The *Notes* became the basis of the Commission's report. Two years later (1859), Sidney Herbert was back in the War Office and able to put many of its recommendations into effect.

Meanwhile, Miss Nightingale's health had been in a most precarious state. For long periods she suffered from complete physical exhaustion, accompanied by fainting spells. The diagnosis of her ailments, as given at a much later time, was "dilatation of the heart and neurasthenia." She was assured by her doctors that, without complete rest, she would die. But rest seemed to her impossible. Instead, she established for herself a way of life by which, though always an invalid, she was enabled to live fifty years longer

and do the work of ten people. Indeed, it may be doubted whether any well person could have accomplished so much. At times she was in great pain, and occasionally her powers were necessarily so overtaxed that work had to be abandoned. But on the whole and given her indomitable will, work was possible, and probably was made more so by that freedom from interruption, that rigid elimination of the unimportant which only a chronic invalid can command.

Her main objective for some years was the health of the army. Data, "military, statistical, sanitary, architectural," were gathered and *used* in the service of the soldiers with wonderful ingenuity and persistence. But out of this main interest, extending later to the health of the army in India, grew an absorbing interest in sanitation in general. Conditions in India were so bad, in fact, that health work for the army stationed there, to be effective, had to be extended to the civil population. Thus one whole-hearted interest led to another, and yet another and broader one. The reorganization of the War Office—a department of government which, as Strachey expresses it, had "consummate command of all the arts of officially sticking in the mud"—was one of Miss Nightingale's ambitions. But here the death of Sidney Herbert and the genius of party government defeated her. There remained, however, the hospital, medical, and nursing services of the army, all of which, thanks largely to her, had been revolutionized.

Before Miss Nightingale left Scutari, a meeting of her friends was held in London at which it was decided to raise a Nightingale Fund by popular subscription and place it at her disposal for "the training, sustenance, and protection of nurses and hospital attendants." The income of this fund was used to open, in 1860, a training school and home for nurses at St. Thomas's Hospital in London. Thus Miss Nightingale became the founder, not of nursing, but of modern nursing, and much of her later life was devoted to raising nursing "to the rank of a trained calling." Her *Notes on Nursing*, published in 1859, and her later papers on district nursing and rural health, are still of first-rate importance. Social workers who are especially interested in their own training schools and in the professional organization of their work may well study those pages of Cook's *Life* in which are set forth Miss

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Nightingale's struggles with all who would cheapen professional standards on the one hand, and on the other with all who would exalt them at the expense of personal fitness and devotion. "Nursing," she says in one place, "is a progressive art, in which to stand still is to go back." And to a student of the training school, receiving supervision from her Chief's sick-room, she wrote: "I read your case-papers with more interest than if they were novels. Some are meager, especially in the history of the cases. Some are good. Please remember that, besides your own instruction, you can give me some too, by making these most interesting cases as interesting as possible, by making them accurate and entering into the full history."

Yet again the horizon broadened, for soon other training schools for nurses were organized at home and abroad and graduates of St. Thomas's school were sent to take charge of them. Once more it became necessary to stand firmly for two principles: (1) small and thorough beginnings, and (2) slow but steady growth. In India, where Miss Nightingale had wanted trained nursing introduced at first in only one hospital, local advisers elaborated the scheme by extending the plan to seven hospitals from the beginning, with the result that the cost was regarded as prohibitive and the plan vetoed.

Another interest growing out of earlier ones was the reform of infirmaries and workhouses in England, a cause to which she lent her great influence. And another was the organization, as late as 1892, in Buckinghamshire, of one of the earliest of the health crusades. Here Miss Nightingale overcame her prejudice against amateurs to the extent of developing a corps of volunteers, who gave practical instructions in the homes of the people in ventilation, drainage, cleanliness, the use of disinfectants, and so on.

In any practical reform, Miss Nightingale insisted, the first thing to do was to collect the facts. This she herself faithfully did. Her practical mind then pushed on to the two aspects "most often neglected; namely, administration and finance."

The fact that Miss Nightingale sometimes found herself out of sympathy with women and impatient of their standards of professional service was probably due to their lack, in her day, of any experience as administrators. Many of her ideas were on such a

scale and so identified with governmental reforms that men responded to them more readily, with greater enthusiasm and clearer understanding, than at that time women could possibly have done. No one saw more clearly than she did, however, the importance of changing all this, or insisted more eloquently upon the only way in which the change could come. The open sesame for women was to know how to do a variety of things well. Even when she was breaking new ground in the Crimea, it was of her whole sex that she was thinking. "I am sick with indignation," she wrote later, in a mood of great despondency, "at what wives and mothers will do of the most egregious selfishness. And people call it all maternal or conjugal affection, and think it pretty to say so." And in a still more savage burst, when competent superintendents of nurses were all too scarce, she wrote, "I don't think anything in the course of my long life ever struck me so much as the deadlock we have been placed in by the death of one [former] pupil—combined with . . . the infinite female ink which England pours forth on 'Woman's Work.' It used to be said that people gave their *blood* to their country. Now they give their *ink*."

V. STUDENT OF SOCIETY

I steadier step when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.

A. H. CLOUGH

An American social worker of earlier days used to say that no one was fitted to deal with the social difficulties of individuals who had not acquired in the course of his work a social philosophy. Miss Nightingale's absorbing interest in the individual did not blind her to the importance of research, of group action, and of governmental reforms. There had been no dissecting room at Scutari, few postmortems, and no significant detailed statistics. "We have lost," she wrote, "the finest opportunity for advancing the cause of Medicine and erecting it into a Science which will probably ever be afforded." Thus we find her, early in her career, looking ahead and caring intensely not only for the future of nursing but for the future of research. A competent American authority claims that, had the conclusions Miss Nightingale

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reached about hospital organization been heeded in our Civil War or in the Spanish-American War, "hundreds of thousands of lives might have been saved." Throughout her long life she had a passion for statistics, and was one of the first to make effective use of diagrams in reports on sanitation. So whole-hearted was her admiration for the work of Quetelet, the Belgian astronomer and statistician, that at one time she had seriously considered endowing a chair of Applied Statistics in his honor.

But one may have an interest in research and its tools without acquiring anything that deserves to be called a philosophy. The latter, at its best, is a union of science and religion; in the life of the individual, practical experience and personal ideal are reconciled in a working philosophy. Thus it is not possible to study Miss Nightingale's life thoughtfully without realizing that her religion, her professional experience, and her enthusiasm for social progress were all one. To her, Quetelet's *Essai de Physique Sociale* was a religious book. In her most crowded years, she had contrived to write a three volume work which developed her conception of the relation between personal religion and universal law. Man's search for universal law seemed to her the central plot of the world drama. These volumes, entitled *Suggestions for Thought*, were privately printed but never published.

Through all her speculations, the dominant note was an enthusiastic devotion to the cause of the under-dog. Garibaldi was one of her heroes, Chinese Gordon was another. Like the rest of the world, she sometimes failed to see the practical application of her own theories. Thus, she lacked faith in the discoveries of Pasteur, and, as regards begging letters, of which she received a great many, her behavior was that of an old-fashioned Lady Bountiful, who sends a few pounds to the writers whose epistles strike her fancy and gives no heed to the rest.

On the other hand, few reformers have ever applied their highest convictions to daily living with more thoroughness. Miss Nightingale had untiring industry, an indomitable will, an exact and tenacious memory. The relatives and friends who had opposed her plans at first, later became her most ardent helpers. Fortunate in having her Aunt Mai as her champion at the turning point of her career, she was equally fortunate in a friend of her maturer years—

no less a person than Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol, and as good a case worker as Miss Nightingale's aunt had been.

The unpublished religious work, *Suggestions for Thought*, had been submitted to him for criticism by Arthur Clough before Jowett met the author. From 1862 until his death in 1893, they were close friends, corresponding voluminously on a variety of topics, and seeing one another whenever the Master came down to London. Miss Nightingale often gave him suggestions for sermons, and he was glad to avail himself of her criticisms in the revised edition of his *Plato*. At one time she helped him to compile an edition of the Bible for children.

It must have been apparent, from earlier citations, that the subject of the present paper had a too impetuous temper. "It was from Mr. Jowett alone," Cook tells us, "that she heard the language of affectionate and understanding remonstrance. She heard it gladly, because she knew that it was sympathetic, and because she felt that her friend's character was attuned to her own highest ideals." He urged upon her greater "passivity in action." This did not mean inaction, of course, but the temper that never flinched and never fretted or fumed.

If the whole correspondence of these two could have been preserved and edited, it would have made a human document of absorbing interest, and one full of suggestion for the social case worker. But Jowett ordered that all letters addressed to him should be burned by his executors. Thus, while we have extracts from some of his letters to Miss Nightingale, they are only those that happen to have been selected by the respective biographers of these two friends. It may not be out of place to reproduce a few passages from these that suggest the Master of Balliol's case method.

Apparently he missed no chance of holding himself up as an example to be avoided:

Now I am putting your doctrines into practice [of resting], you must occasionally enforce them by your own example, or I shall relapse. I am changing my views of life and begin to think that rest and recreation are really required if I am to last for twenty years longer.

It is necessary for the safety of life that we should understand the characters of those among whom we are placed. But if we are only critical, or

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only capable of feeling pain at differences, then blind affection, "which covers a multitude of sins," is far better. It is useless to be intelligent if we see only the defects of others, and fail to recognize in others the good elements upon which we might work.

Now the hour of midnight is striking, so, in accordance with our compact . . . I will leave off. And some day I will make another compact with you, not to speak evil of any one, which I am always doing and which I always feel to be a great weakness, and can trace in myself to a personal motive. I think it is well to know people as they really are, but that it would be nobler and better to hold one's tongue about them.

At one time, when Jowett had urged his friend to leave her work and London for a while, she had refused to go unless "the rest was accompanied by a duty of affection." Whereupon he wrote privately to her mother that affection and duty should call Florence to the country, and for three months mother and daughter were together at the old home.

Miss Nightingale cared for her writing only as a means of inciting people to action, but to Jowett writing was an art. Who can know the manuscripts of social workers without wishing that every one of them could take to heart the following gentle admonition of his?

I want you to fill up and illustrate your thoughts more. The power of developing an idea is what I have been endeavoring to gain for twenty years past and more, and I have not succeeded, and therefore, like many other preachers, I suggest my own defects for your consideration. Your writing seems to me too abstract, and to turn too much upon the use of certain words, which have a meaning to yourself but not equally to others.

Miss Nightingale outlived this wise counselor and all others of her own generation. As she grew older she grew gentler, while at the last her sight failed and her understanding was somewhat enfeebled. Of the old associations those that roused her most and that she longest retained the power of understanding, related to the Crimea. She had many friends of the younger generation in her old age. To one of these she wrote, and the words sum up her practical philosophy and her eager forward look:

The Kingdom of Heaven is within, but we must also make it so without. There is no public opinion yet, it has to be created, as to not committing blunders for want of knowledge; good intentions are supposed enough; yet blunders—organized blunders—do more mischief than crimes.

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I undertook this sketch in the hope that I might induce a few social workers, not already familiar with the Life of Florence Nightingale, to become so. Unquestionably, the nursing profession has first claim to her as its founder and great exemplar. But, as a forerunner, is it not interesting to discover how many of the modern ideals of social work, how many of its characteristic ways of looking at life, were hers also? Social work has become more completely conscious now of the approaches to its goal; but with greater consciousness should come greater familiarity with the lives and characters of the forerunners. Again and again will it become necessary to interpret the complicated and baffling present in the clear light of their completed labors. In fact, a profession which did not know its own history, which was indifferent to the memory of the men and women responsible for its making, would still be a shambling and formless thing.

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“ ‘Charity Organisation in its wider range,’ wrote the secretary of the London Charity Organisation Society many years ago, in commenting upon the death of an American social worker, ‘is now finding and recognizing its heroes. It is making a noble tradition.’ These words came forcibly to my mind when a private letter received only a few days ago brought us the first news of the death of Sir Charles Loch himself. . . . Mr. Loch, as we were accustomed to call him before he was knighted in 1915, was the leader of charity organization in England from 1875 to 1914, when ill health compelled his retirement. His character and career were an inspiration to his colleagues in social work on two continents. American case workers of the 1890’s turned to him for leadership; those of the 1920’s shall have an account of his services in a later number of *The Family*.”

Miss Richmond wrote the foregoing short notice in *The Family* for April, 1923. The paper which follows appeared, according to promise, in the same journal for March and April, 1924.

AS THE last half hour of an evening of good talk drew near, the master of the house took from the bookshelves a volume of verse and, explaining that this was their custom at that hour, began to read aloud. The poems were those of a former instructor at Eton who had done the unusual thing of writing good verse about his pupils. At one point in the reading, the daughter of the house exclaimed, “Why, father, that’s the stanza you quoted in your speech when they gave you the portrait!”¹

The closing lines of the poem were these:

’Twere sweet to pause on this descent,
To wait for thee and pitch my tent.
But march I must with shoulders bent,
 Yet farther from my prime.
I shall not tread thy battle-field,
Nor see the blazon on thy shield;
Take thou the sword I could not wield,
 And leave me and forget.
Be fairer, braver, more admired;
So win what feeble hearts desired;
Then leave thine arms, when thou art tired,
 To some one nobler yet.

¹ Friends of Mr. Loch had commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his secretaryship of the London Charity Organisation Society by presenting him with his portrait painted by Sargent.

To the guest who listened that night more than twenty years ago, no shoulders seemed less bent, no eyes less dimmed, than those of the reader. A few days later a copy of this volume of poems, *Ionica*, by William Cory, came to her lodgings with the compliments of Mr. and Mrs. Loch.

I. THE MAN

Charles Stewart Loch was born September 4, 1849, in India, where his father was a judge. His school was Trinity College, Glensalmond, in beautiful Perthshire, which was the first public school established in Scotland upon the English model. From Glensalmond he went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he specialized in modern history. Soon after taking his degree there, Loch became clerk of the Royal College of Surgeons in London and a student of the law. Invited at this time to join the Islington district committee of the Charity Organisation Society, his interest in the work of that committee led him, in true Balliol fashion, to take up his residence in the district. A year later (1875) he became—at the early age of twenty-six—the Society's general secretary. The only thing that had made the committee on secretaryship hesitate to appoint him was his comparative youth, but they reflected that this "was a defect he was likely to outgrow."

What were the reasons that led a young man, whose studies preliminary to being called to the Bar had just been completed, to turn his back on a well established profession and identify himself instead with a movement which had been in existence just long enough to arouse every sort of antagonism and prejudice? He answers the question in a passage written many years later:

If I were asked why I joined the Society I should answer that through its work and growth I hoped that some day there would be formed a large association of persons drawn from all churches and all classes who, disagreeing in much, would find in charity a common purpose and a new unity. That, it seemed to me, was "worth anything." Such an organisation, I thought, could do more than Parliament, or preaching, or books, or pamphleteering. These, indeed, without the other, seemed likely to effect but small results. But such an organisation might bring to bear on the removal and prevention of evils a combined force that would far exceed in weight and influence any yet existing. It could make legislation effective, could see that it was enforced. Apart from all legislative interference

and with the use of means and influences more far-reaching it could renew and discipline the life of the people by a nobler, more devoted, more scientific religious charity. It could turn to account all that newer knowledge would bring to the help of charity. It could eventually provide out of all classes and sects a great army of friendly and by degrees well-trained workers. It could help us to realize in society the religion of charity without the sectarianism of religion. It would open to many a new path for the exercise of personal influence—influence with the churches, the Guardians, the Friendly Societies, the residents of a district, and “the common people.” Differing in much, many might unite in this. (*Charity Organisation Review*, February, 1904.)

Social conditions are so different in the two countries that it is difficult enough for Americans to understand the complexities of the social work situation in England in our own day, and more difficult for us to visualize the conditions that confronted an English C. O. S. secretary fifty years ago. Edward Denison had written somewhat earlier:

You will find that all the men who really give themselves most trouble about the poor are the most alive to the terrible evils of the so-called charity which pours money into the haunts of misery and vice every winter. If we could but get one honest newspaper to write down promiscuous charity, and write up sweeping changes not so much in our Poor Law theory as in our Poor Law practice, something might be done.

And in another place he put it even more strongly when he said of his work as almoner for a long established relief society:

Every shilling I give away does fourpence worth of good by helping to keep their miserable bodies alive, and eightpence worth of harm by helping to destroy their miserable souls.

Denison believed in developing all possible substitutes for material relief. So did Charles Loch. But substitutes for relief “could gain no foothold so long as relief itself . . . continued to be poured out, without plan or purpose or intercommunication, by agencies both religious and secular, both public and private.”

I must reserve for a second paper any discussion of the guiding principles that shaped Loch’s thirty-eight years of active service with the London Society, and confine myself here more especially to those aspects that reveal the man himself. There is not a family social worker in America today—not a social case worker of any

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sort, in fact—who does not owe him a heavy debt, and for this reason if for no other we should know what manner of man he was. It may be questioned, indeed, whether before his time anyone had brought to the serious consideration of the social problems of the poor his rare combination of a keen, inquiring mind with a strongly idealistic temper.

II. VISIT TO AMERICA

It was this combination of qualities that impressed all of us who met him for the first time during his only visit to America in 1896. "I never met a man," wrote one of his assistants, "with such a fondness for the raw material of his studies. He liked it best in the rough-hewn block, and was never quite so happy in contemplation of the finished argument." Add to this the fact that he was a medalist of the Royal Statistical Society. Then add great friendliness of manner and personal charm, combined with a refreshing frankness. Add again to these qualities the discovery that he was a lover of gardens, of the woods, of rare sculpture and good poetry, and still you will get only a faint idea of the man who at one and the same time inspired in us dissatisfaction with our work and courage to redouble our efforts to make it better.

The secretary of the Boston Associated Charities, Zilpha Smith, who had known Mr. Loch on the other side was, at the time of his American visit, away on sick leave in the mountains. Characteristically, he took a long journey to see her, and Miss Smith has been good enough to lend me her notes of the visit, from which I quote a few passages that develop the more personal side of my theme:

As he talked on the night of his arrival, standing with his back to our open fire, the low room seemed suddenly filled with life—he was so vivid.

When we took a drive none of the three Americans in the carriage knew the gay yellow blossoms growing back from the road, but Mr. Loch, still in the carriage, identified them as *Senecio*, and they were, as it proved, the golden ragwort of that species. When we brought into the cottage some pitcher plants in bloom, he knelt by the little table where they stood, his hand bending to the flowers with a caress that seemed barely to touch them. In the woods it was the same—he did not need Wordsworth's admonition. . . .

Sunday evening, Mr. Loch read aloud from Phillips Brooks, and was critical of our Epictetus, which contained selections only. The next

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Christmas he sent the owner, my cousin, the full and correctly ordered translation. . . .

He told me a good deal about the charity organization societies he had visited in this country in a number of cities, and I was glad to hear about them from so keen and sympathetic a critic.

One of the cities visited by the London secretary had been Baltimore, and it was during that visit that I saw for the first time a case record—one brought from England—which marched from definite premises toward a definite conclusion. The conclusion was one with which I could not now agree, but he made me see, as I had not seen before, that we had been faithfully recording many aimless visits; that the constructive, purposeful mind was not behind our entries.

In 1896 Baltimore still had a double system of charitable subsidies. Both state and city made lump sum appropriations to the private charities of the city that were in effect no better than largess. The visitor expressed his emphatic disgust at this, and asked me why the society of which I was secretary did not do something about it. To which I replied, truthfully enough, that the system was so deeply rooted in the history of the charities and of the state, that to change it seemed impossible. "But, my dear lady," he retorted, "if it's the right thing to do, why don't you marshal your forces and storm the redan?" Of course, I repeated this criticism to some of the members of my board. When a commission was appointed two or three years later to draft a new city charter, these board members, not unmindful of his trenchant comment but guided by their own good sense as well, were able to modify the long-established custom and put the city's contracts with private charities on the basis of per capita payments for public services rendered. Walking in a Surrey garden in the summer of 1903 with Mr. and Mrs. Loch I gave the latter no small degree of amusement by repeating her husband's admonition of seven years earlier, and gave both of them real pleasure by adding the sequel.

III. DEVELOPMENTS IN LONDON, 1903

The three weeks that I spent during my London visit in attending district and central office committee meetings brought home to me, as an American social worker, the very different conditions

with which England was then still contending. Everyone was born into a church parish as well as into a Poor Law parish, and there were Non-conformist activities to reckon with besides. All this machinery was decentralized but ubiquitous, and the social plan underlying its operations was undiscoverable by the observer. Distributors of public outdoor relief elected in each Poor Law district of the Metropolis often won their election on the promise of a more lavish relief policy. The newer English workhouses conformed to modern standards of decency and comfort but, as the doors swung both ways, admitting and discharging the same inmates repeatedly, their physical plants seemed far in advance of the system under which the relief was administered. This did not mean that no advances had been made since Denison went to live in Stepney nearly forty years before, for, thanks largely to the two social movements of which he was the forerunner—the settlement and the charity organization movements—great advances had been made; but apparently a new unit of administration was needed with larger power of control over admissions and discharges, and with well-trained representatives in all its subdivisions capable of analyzing individual situations and of treating them. The United States could boast of no better system of either public or private relief, but at least its bad systems were not so all-pervasive, and the country was dragging behind it no such growing burden of hereditary pauperism—a burden that, in large part at least, had been manufactured by the nation's own administrative blundering and its own social maladjustments.

The district committees of the London Charity Organisation Society were bringing at that time to their huge task a fine spirit of devotion. Their secretary had found the district system in its infancy when he first took charge, but there were by 1903, 35 districts in active operation, many of them working under strong committees. Mr. Loch had dwelt upon the importance of the committee when he had addressed the National Conference of Charities at Grand Rapids in 1896. "You degrade us officials," he had said, "if you ask us simply to act for you. . . . You don't support the charity organisation society that you are supposed to support, unless you give thought to it and get your friends to work for it. It is not the office, it is not the inquiry, it is

not the adequate relief by itself. Those things are nothing, unless you back them by solid public opinion, unless behind is an army."

District development in London, however, had been achieved by sacrificing the central office which, at the time of my visit, was understaffed and inadequately housed. Nevertheless, important plans were radiating from that center. It was my privilege to attend some of the committee meetings in which a two-year training course in social work was then being planned. A year later Mr. Loch wrote to an American friend,

I have been pretty hard at work, since we saw you, at my lectures—trying among other things to beat out sociology on my own lines independently and trying from the crushed and fused materials to extract the principles. . . .

The first thing, however, is to get, to create as it were, a competent band of workers with clear ideas of right and wrong in charity. If that is done—and in my opinion it depends on an understanding of the laws of social science and a devotion that is religious in its wholeness—they will do the work, the actual work, when we are gone: for it cannot come quickly, at least not here.

The district offices became training centers for students in the School of Sociology and Social Science launched at that time by the C. O. S. Ten years later this school became a part of the London School of Economics.

Another social movement launched by Charles Loch grew out of his intimate study of the workings of hospital out-patient departments in London. There he noted the unsifted mass of applicants who were receiving inevitably no social and very inadequate medical attention. This led him to anticipate by some years the quite independent development of hospital social service in the United States. Taking advantage of the fact that some of the old hospital charters had provided for "almoners" and that certain funds had been set aside for their use, he revived the old title, but devised a new function—"in a manner the child of my own thought," as he explained to their organized group some years later. In certain hospitals trained social workers were appointed "to acquire a knowledge of the patient's home conditions for the use of the hospital staff; to co-operate with other charitable agencies in the provision of any requisite ordered, and, generally, to

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assist the patient in any way that may enable him to carry out the prescribed treatment more thoroughly."

The English Institute of Hospital Almoners, in its 1923 report, records its debt to Sir Charles Loch and describes his relation as founder to their movement as follows:

In looking back to the early pioneer days it seems extraordinary to remember how keenly he entered into the working out of this particular branch of social service. No matter how busy he might be with Royal Commissions, International Sociology or Charity Organisation Society Committees, he always had time to have a talk with a Hospital Almoner who wanted help or advice and for the time being had that wonderful gift of giving himself up to her difficulties as if she and he were partners in the work, and that work was his chief concern. Looking back, too, how clearly these interviews and the man himself stand out, his nice sense of humor, his fearless outlook, his abhorrence of all that was false and sham. . . . Whatever success the movement for social service and investigation has attained in Hospitals is largely due to his inspiration and help in its initial stages. One would like to dwell a little on the personal friendship he gave, for there must be some still who can recall those delightful afternoons down at his little country house, when he would meet us at the station in an old flannel suit and a well-worn straw hat, and starting out like a schoolboy on a holiday for a tramp in the woods, would talk of books, pictures, poetry and holidays, and then take us back to his beloved garden and so on to tea, when in a quite unconventional way he would pick up some book he was reading, a novel, a child's book or poetry and begin reading out some parts that had particularly appealed to him. He would probably find time to ask "how things were going," but there was a complete detachment from work and controversy that was delightfully refreshing and restoring.

IV. LAST YEARS OF ACTIVE SERVICE

The beginning of Loch's last eight years of active service was marked by two academic honors. The University of St. Andrews conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. in March, 1905, and later in the same year he was made a D. C. L. by Oxford. The Oxford Magazine, in congratulating the University upon its recognition of a service so unique and for which, year by year, the public debt had been rolling up, declared that the Charity Organisation Society was "widely disliked and universally trusted"—a better reputation to have than if the "dis" were removed from before "liked" and placed in front of "trusted."

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After several unsuccessful attempts, the Charity Organisation Society had secured in 1904 the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Care of the Feeble-minded, and the Society's secretary, who became an active member of this body, drafted the greater part of the Commission's report. This was published in 1908, though legislative action did not follow until 1913. Meanwhile, a still heavier demand upon Loch's time and strength was made by service upon another commission—this time on the Poor Law. The second commission included in its membership representatives of the most opposite schools of thought. The work of the two bodies overlapped, and, on the second, every inch of the road to genuine advance was challenged. There can be little doubt that the complete physical breakdown which followed in 1913 was due to the heavy overstrain of this period, and it is with a pang that one sees now more clearly than was possible then the generous way in which he turned aside from heavy duties to please his American friends by writing long reviews of their books. We do not spend with any thrift and good judgment the time of those rare people who are willing to spend and be spent.

It was after Loch had been stricken that he was knighted. Probably he cared as little for such honors as a man could. It was as plain Mr. Loch that we knew and admired him—even Dr. Loch or Professor Loch did not seem quite natural, though he had been Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics in King's College for many years.

Even in this brief and inadequate account it must be apparent that an outstanding trait of our friend was his idealistic and dauntless courage. He could be practical and painstaking in dealing with next steps, but the wider vision was always there and with it a high sense of what the servant of society must be prepared to do and bear for that better social order upon which all our hopes are set. In his chosen field of endeavor, conflicts were many, but he was always a cheerful fighter and a fair one; his was essentially the spirit of the pioneer.

One of his colleagues in the London Charity Organisation Society tells of going one day with a deputation before Mr. Birrell, then Chief Minister for Education. "We put our case before him, and then in his reply he said: 'You are pioneers, and as pioneers

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you must suffer the fate of pioneers, which is to see your good work taken up by the man in the street and spoilt.' ”

Of course, this was not the very last word on pioneering, though it is true enough of one phase of it. When Charles Loch passed away, January 23, 1923, there were signs in many lands that, under varying auspices, the social case work that he had been one of the first to develop and to defend was winning its way, unspoiled, to a permanent place in the daily planning and practice of two continents.

No life of Sir Charles Loch has yet been published. For the biographical data in my last paper¹ the chief source had to be occasional references in the *Charity Organisation Reporter* (discontinued in 1885) and the many papers and addresses by him that had appeared from time to time in its successor, the *Charity Organisation Review*. For data as to the work of the London Charity Organisation Society under Loch's secretaryship, I am indebted, in the present paper, to Mrs. Bosanquet's *Social Work in London*.

The year before his death, Mr. Loch published a volume of poems written at intervals during his lifetime "for friends who would care to know me better."² And during the year following his death, Sir Arthur Clay edited and published some of his papers and addresses in book form.³

V. ECONOMIC VIEWS

The favorite slogan of a certain type of social reformer—a type most in evidence during the decade preceding the European War—used to be, "Look at Germany!" The more some of us looked, however, the less we felt like imitating her. As early as 1905, in a paper in the *Charity Organisation Review*, Loch put his finger on the weakest spot in Germany's "equalist theory" in the following passage:

Another method is the German scheme, which is equalizing the people into systematic dependence. It was instituted by Prince Bismarck as a

¹ As indicated in the introductory note on p. 557, this paper appeared in *The Family* in two sections.—EDITORS.

² *Things Within*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922.

³ *A Great Ideal and Its Champion*. Papers and Addresses by the Late Sir Charles Stewart Loch. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1923.

counter-move to the Socialists, and it represents as good a method as any for preserving the existing order of society and avoiding the obligation of beating a path to a new and better status. Like outdoor relief in the old days, it clamps society, the great mass of working people, in a great relief scheme which, while it relieves, controls and subjugates. Freedom of maintenance is lost. . . . And with the loss of the freedom of maintenance is lost the larger liberty of social life, the right to combine, and the right to modify social conditions for the larger social good.

Writing in 1908 to a friend in Boston (who has generously lent me a number of letters), Loch comments upon the political and economic discussion then current in England, and adds, "The drift of unskilled work into mere improvidence and state dependence is a terrible thing, and that's how it is drifting now." In the same letter he describes meeting in London one of the Pittsburgh surveyors. "Hearing all the story (of Pittsburgh) I come back more and more to co-partnership as the only general solution, disliked though it be in England, at least by the Trade Unionists." He had written earlier (1903), "As a matter of justice, should not workers share in profits according to some estimate of the extent to which they have helped to create them? Were this possible a new element of security would be given to life which, accruing as a reward of work done, would bring with it alike self-restraint and economic hopefulness."

Against any system of taxation which aims to equalize things by "specialized gratuities" the London secretary argued that, apart from any question of fairness in the transaction, "the method defeats its own object." We are still, twenty years later, without any adequate realization of the essential inequality and injustice of equal distributions—witness current discussions for and against the soldiers' bonus bill now before Congress.

Few social workers of the present time remember the wave of enthusiasm that followed the publication in 1890 of General Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Some members of the Council of the London Society were swept quite off their feet by the scheme, with its elaborate and interlocking shelters and colonies. But "little more than a month had passed," Mrs. Bosanquet records, "before news began to come in of how the country roads were swarming with vagrants all going to London with the same idea of getting something for nothing from General

Booth.' " Before this development, however, Loch had protested:

Why should Mr. Booth forsake the better plan because it is a long way off? The people, he says, are hungry; they will be hungry if he doubled his depots, and quadrupled his meals. He is adding to the number of the hungry. The hunger of the mass of the people can only be met by their own exertions; his system tends inevitably to dissuade them from exertion.

Probably the greatest divergence of view between family social workers in America and those in England is shown in the different emphasis put by the two groups upon "character" and "circumstance." These two factors enter into every human problem. When, as primary causes, we attempt to choose between them once for all, we become as confusingly dogmatic as the scientists in their recent discussions of the relative importance of heredity and environment. Some of the English charity organizationists, however, have been ready to declare that character is always the controlling factor; that we must put our faith in the strength of the people to endure difficulty and to conquer it. Their American colleagues, on the other hand, while recognizing that the views popularly held put too little faith in this inherent power of the people, do believe that there is a level below which character has no opportunity to assert itself. They believe that conditions can be so overwhelmingly unfavorable as to render any judgment of the native capacity of people crushed by their weight as unfair as would be a judgment on the thrift of a plant that had always been kept in the dark. Everything, moreover, depends upon where this minimum level is established. It is easy to place it for large groups much too high and thereby only cripple them; but it is also possible to place it too low. It is true that civilization cannot advance if, through our folly, we merely perpetuate "the existence of human beings without human qualities." Conservation and development of these human qualities wherever threatened is the high adventure of social case work. It seeks to release the latent powers and energies of disadvantaged individuals not by trusting to formulae, but by discovering, case by case, those springs of action which will achieve release in directions socially helpful not only to the individual but to his fellows. In all probability the difference of emphasis among family social workers in the two countries is itself due to diverse

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local conditions and is in no sense traceable to inherent character differences as between the two groups.

VI. IMPROVING CONDITIONS

Every charity organization society is familiar with the tendency of the case load to absorb all of the society's working strength. "The more capable the secretary . . . the greater the mass of work attracted to the office," and the more difficult it becomes for him to devote any attention to the organizing side of his district. The London Society under Loch's secretaryship faced congestion in its most acute form, but it made an enviable record, nevertheless, on the educational side of its work and on the side of improving general conditions. Long before we had any literature on the subject of family welfare work in America, the London C. O. S. was both editing and publishing. For thirteen years it issued a weekly, the *Charity Organisation Reporter*, and later the monthly *Charity Organisation Review*. The Society's Occasional Papers were our first sources of information as regards method and policies. In addition to its publications and to the training carried on in its districts and its school, there was also much valuable special committee work. The Provincial Committee was conducting an extension service long before we had launched the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. During the year 1910 Loch spoke in 32 places and in all parts of Great Britain on this same service.

As far back as 1875, the Society had been responsible for an Artisans' Dwelling Act, and it had begun to press for better care of the feeble-minded a generation before the act of 1913. Plans for the provision of hospital almoners already referred to were only a part of its program of reform for London's medical charities. It had organized a system of old age pensions years before the term became a familiar one, and its subcommittee on emigration was one of the first to do careful emigration work.

Among the strictly charitable topics upon which it had made special reports and had attempted to effect changes was its most unpopular struggle to reform the old-fashioned "voting charity" system, fortunately a thing unknown over here. It also made an inquiry into the condition of night-refuges and shelters, and strove

on more than one occasion to prevent the evils resulting from Mansion House Funds for the relief of the unemployed.

These undertakings from the center, however, did not satisfy the London C. O. S. secretary, with his wide vision and equally vivid sense of reality and detail. One of his latest papers urged upon the district committees, which by 1912 numbered 42, the importance of adding to their case work the further task of improving bad local conditions. "Everything about a district, its streets, its housing, its school, the recreational facilities, and so on, has to do with case work. This, then, should not be a separate movement, but part of that carried on by the Charity Organisation Society."

But the European War was less than two years away and the Society was destined to enter that period of unparalleled strain without its leader, who was stricken down in 1913.

The recently published volume of extracts from Charles Loch's papers and addresses closes with an address given before the Winchester Conference of Charity Organisation Societies in 1913 on "The Spirit of Enterprise." In it he lists no less than 10 major enterprises launched by the government during the preceding eight years, all of which, for their proper administration, demanded detailed case work in some form. "We make numerous and almost encyclopaedic laws, and then we fail to enforce them. Can it be wondered that social conditions alter but a little among the very poor, while we press ever for more and more legislation?" It is indeed true that any just and effective administration of social legislation waits today upon a more widely shared demand for skill in the administrators and upon a clearer understanding of wherein such skill consists. The administrator of the largest mothers' pension fund in the United States today still boasts publicly that its annual millions are dispensed at an administrative cost of 3 per cent of the total.

The London Charity Organisation Society was often forced to oppose unwise and ill-considered schemes. When, however, some of these were actually launched, there was a fine courage and nobility about the way in which it came forward and placed the resources of its district organizations at the service of the promoters of such schemes, in order to protect, in so far as possible, the best interests of the beneficiaries. This was its policy in connection with

Mansion House Funds and other general distributions. In time of war—the South African war, for example—the Society placed its offices and the services of its workers gratuitously at the disposal of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association. The offer was accepted, with the result that the C. O. S. was most unjustly charged with cruelty and dishonesty by the papers and by more than one section of an excitable public dissatisfied with anything short of a general distribution and no questions asked. The head of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Association, unaccustomed to the ways of yellow journalism, took alarm and instructed his own workers, to their great consternation, to have nothing more to do with the C. O. S. The net result of the Society's attempt to serve seems to have been some new friends among the workers of the war organization, much unpopularity among the working people (who read the cheaper newspapers), and an overworked staff.

It may be questioned whether any private agency is under moral obligation to make all the investigations for another agency, public or private, which stands before the public as responsible for administering a new undertaking. The objection to such a division of work is not a mere question of expediency but the more important one of the unwisdom of divorcing responsibility from that kind of experience which comes from participation in the whole process. Red Cross Home Service is a case in point. When our country entered the European War there was no such thing as a Home Service Section in any Red Cross Chapter. The American Red Cross had, however, the responsibility of the huge task of caring for the families of the soldiers and it had to be helped to win also the experience growing out of that responsibility. The charity organization societies of the country promptly released paid workers and volunteers at heavy cost to their own work. They were the first to start short training courses. They wrote manuals. They served on Red Cross committees. But in only a very few places did they share the same case worker for the two tasks of general family welfare work and of Home Service. Again, someone was foolish enough to advance the theory that the private social agencies of the country should offer to make investigations for the War Risk Insurance Bureau, but the agencies fully realized that the governmental department responsible for this task was the

only one fitted to develop territorial organizations that could make it effective. No combination of private agencies, however efficient or powerful, could have saved the Veterans' Bureau from its present state of demoralization. The history of that Bureau should be studied in detail by those who are inclined to take the view of our English friends and advocate the administration of public funds by private bodies. Surely the field of the private social agencies is wide enough, for it includes exploration, discovery, demonstration, education. Within that field, both the annexation and the relinquishment of function are forever going forward. Any combinations or amalgamations that would retard or wholly paralyze these beneficent processes by attempting to make the private social agencies responsible for the discharge of majority and public instead of minority and private functions are in grave danger of becoming the enemies of social progress.

VII. THE CORNER STONE

If, figuratively speaking, we were building today the edifice of social work, what are some of the principles of action from Charles Loch's store of wisdom that we could wish to see built into its corner stone?

First of all, freedom:

. . . Let us not win a popularity or assume an importance by any secondary means. The reforms that have to be done in the furtherance of . . . good social work are reforms to which many are indifferent or hostile. Without independence charity cannot fulfil its proper function.

Next, devotion. There must be no exaltation of organization as such, for here we have a task "to which no man should put his hand unless he is prepared to give to it some measure of devotion."

Next, the highest intelligence is none too high:

The big splash is made by those who say: "Give us money and we will relieve, and we will transform humanity. We will not trouble you. Give us money and your sick poor shall be healed, or your vagrants shall cease out of the land, or your submerged will emerge, and we shall make white souls out of black lives!" But we cannot say that. The untruth is on the face of such appeals. The money won't make the difference unless, so to speak, for every shilling received and spent in money there is a pound received and spent in mind. Only on these terms is such an appeal anything but a forecast of bankruptcy as between promise and performance;

SIR CHARLES STEWART LOCH

and in that kind of bankruptcy no increase in specie on the receipt side can make good the deficit on the account.

To these principles of action Loch would have added from his own special field of social work, as applicable far beyond its boundaries, the importance of developing the family "in fullness and fairness of life."

Even while the child remains in the family his interests are often considered separately, though, as a result, the problem is not simplified but misunderstood and misstated, and with most injurious results the child is treated, not as a child, but as a denaturalized, family-less thing, not a child but a creature.

Finally, what, in its essence, *is* social work? Mr. Loch preferred the older term charity, and defined it as "the central mood of the good life, the mood of deliberation and consideration in which knowledge and emotion are blended. It seeks to learn and to appreciate the real relation of things—of the father to his family, of the child to the father, of the man's weakness to the man's strength, of the actual cause of trouble or distress to the probable cure. It regards the future as well as the present, considers it . . . as in many ways the more important. . . . It is indeed a far-reaching social force."

Such are some of the building materials bequeathed to us by one of the wisest of our earlier leaders.

A BACKGROUND FOR THE ART OF HELPING

Miss Richmond here presents biographical estimates (see note, page 539) of two remarkable pioneers in social work—Octavia Hill and Josephine Shaw Lowell.

This and the following paper were part of a course for volunteers, given under the auspices of the New York Charity Organization Society in 1924. Out of the course grew the present Association of Volunteers in Social Service. (These two lectures are contained in *The Art of Helping* published by the above named Association.)

THERE is a sense, of course, in which the Art of Helping is as old as is compassion itself, but the committee who planned these lectures have given me a smaller canvas than that. They wish me, as I understand it, to attempt to suggest to you some of the points of view of those pioneers who launched, between the 60's and the 80's, the beginnings of what is now technically described as modern social case work. If you would truly know any movement or any art it is well to know its founders. Then, too, pioneers are worth knowing for themselves. When we know them well they make wonderful ideal companions. It has often been said that we cannot choose our relatives but that we can choose our friends. We can also choose our ideal companions—those we have never seen, perhaps, or shall never see again on earth, but to whom we instinctively turn for guidance, for encouragement, for vision.

When this topic was first assigned to me, so many names, so many faces, came crowding in upon my memory, of those who had labored valiantly and creatively and then had passed on, that I was at a loss to choose. But gradually two names have stood out as pre-eminent, and it is of those two that I shall try to speak today, though I should like to have told of many others.

The first name is that of Octavia Hill, whose influence upon social case work in America has been more profound than in England even, where all her work was done. As far back as 1875 the New York State Charities Aid Association, at the suggestion of

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Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler, gathered Miss Hill's fugitive papers into a book entitled *Homes of the London Poor*, and that little volume remains to this day a treasure house of practical wisdom upon our subject.

Octavia Hill's childhood and early life were passed under conditions of considerable hardship. Her forebears had been people of mark. Her maternal grandfather was Dr. Southwood Smith the distinguished sanitarian. Her father was a banker who had actively interested himself in public education, but suffering business reverses and ill health while his daughters were still children, he was no longer able to support them. The oldest became a pupil teacher at the age of thirteen, while Mrs. Hill (a woman of rare intelligence and courage) took employment in conducting a work-room and guild for women, with Octavia, aged fifteen, as her assistant. When Miss Hill had gone to the Engadine to recover from an illness years later, a friend found that she had a small hotel room without any view. He remonstrated with the landlord, explaining that she had been very good to the poor and deserved the best room in the house. But the landlord replied, "Good to the poor! Then she must be very rich!" Miss Hill added, when she repeated the story, "And this was at a time when I was still in the habit of walking long distances to save a bus fare."

In her 'teens Octavia had shown marked gifts in drawing, painting, and designing. She had applied to John Ruskin for criticism of her work, and not only had he encouraged her to continue but he offered to give her instruction and opportunity to earn. There were already signs, however, that another major interest—an interest in people and in their fortunes—might become the dominant one. When only eighteen, she had written to a friend, "I wish I could draw or write; for I believe that I feel people's characters to my very fingers. I long to draw them as I see them, both when my spirit mourns over them and when it bows before them. I say I feel their characters; and so I do, just as one *feels* the beauty of harshness of a color or line."

It was not until seven or eight years later after Octavia and her sisters had opened a school, that the need of housing reform in London was pressed upon her attention by a small incident which led to very large results. The Hills had arranged to have a gather-

ing in their kitchen of the poorer women of the neighborhood once a week, and help them then in cutting out and making clothes. "One night," Octavia's sister Emily reports, "one of the women fainted; and we found out that she had been up all the previous night washing, while she rocked her baby's cradle with her foot. Next day Octavia went to the woman's home, and found her living in a damp, unhealthy kitchen." Miss Hill applied at many places in search of healthier quarters for this tenant, but at none would they take a family with children. This unhappy incident was fresh in her mind when she paid one of her regular visits to Ruskin to receive his instruction. His father had died not long before, and he began complaining to her of the responsibilities of the fortune that had just been left him. Miss Hill at once suggested the provision of better houses for the poor as a good way of spending one's money, and showed such a practical grasp of the problems involved that Ruskin agreed to finance her plans; adding, however, that, though he did not care for the money, he expected her to realize 5 per cent on the investment, because only so could others be induced to follow his example.

Accordingly, in 1864, three houses were purchased in one of the worst courts in Marylebone, and six others were added a little later, with ten more in 1869. Out of this small experiment grew a plan for better housing management which extended to many parts of London, to other cities of the United Kingdom, and to the United States. Before Miss Hill's death in 1912 she had become the recognized authority not only on better housing and open spaces¹ but on the development of volunteer service in social work.

It would have been comparatively easy to have torn down existing houses, to have put up model tenements and filled them with model tenants, but this was not Miss Hill's way. The inhabitants and their surroundings, she felt, must be improved together, and

¹ It is pleasant to add that not only open spaces but all forms of wholesome recreation were promoted by Miss Hill's efforts, and that to her friend and disciple, Miss Emma Cons, may now be traced a recent development in Lambeth, where Lilian Baylis, the niece and fellow-worker of Miss Cons, has organized, at what the neighborhood call the "Old Vic" Theater, in a London slum, excellent renderings at small cost of Shakespeare plays and standard operas. For this public service the University of Oxford has conferred an honorary degree upon Miss Baylis. An account of the "Old Vic," by A. Edward Newton, is given in the *Atlantic* for October, 1923.

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this must be done gradually. In other words, this was a case work job; for one perfectly good definition of social case work is the development of the character and welfare of the individual through adjustments effected between him (or her) and his social surroundings. Sometimes the surroundings need to be radically changed, sometimes the person needs to be, but more often a change, to be permanent, must be effected in both.

Coleridge says that poetry is a more than usual state of emotion combined with a more than usual order. Miss Hill lived her poetry, for she contrived to keep in all her work an exact and patient sense of order and system without loss of emotional power. She was a wonderful business woman, a good disciplinarian, and through it all was possessed of a highly flexible and understanding way of dealing with people. People were different, and she studied their differences with the most observant eye, the most understanding heart that social worker was ever blessed with.

The story of Octavia Hill's attempt to be a good landlord in those early years to tenants who were sullen and hostile at first should be studied in her own graphic account of dark staircases, of banisters burned for firewood, of violent quarrels between the tenants, of doors locked against the rent collector, of sodden despair and neglect. And yet, in a year's time the effects of her steady and resourceful rule became apparent. People were helped by every sort of ingenuity to keep out of debt, to meet their own fundamental obligations, and then, by training here, a chance of better work there, by visits to the country, an invitation, a gift of flowers, the loan of a book, new interests and ambitions came to them, and their true worth became known. They were not *thrust* up and out of their former selves only to drop back again when the helping hand was removed, but the whole process was a *partnership* process, which you will find described in very simple and convincing terms in Homes of the London Poor published half a century ago.

Miss Hill was like Florence Nightingale in her recognition of the great advantage of small beginnings when you are trying to demonstrate the value of a new plan. Like Miss Nightingale also she had little interest in noisy publicity and shrank from it. Good workmanship, quiet influences, and thorough training for the

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younger generation of social servants who were to come after her were the tasks to which she devoted laborious days. It is small wonder, therefore, that, when I was engaged in gathering material for a textbook on social case work, I found the earliest and best description of its initial processes in a paper of hers read before the Social Science Association in 1869. She said then:

By knowledge of character more is meant than whether a man is a drunkard or a woman is dishonest; it means knowledge of the passions, hopes, and history of people; where the temptation will touch them, what is the little scheme they have made of their own lives, or would make, if they had encouragement; what training long past phases of their lives may have afforded; how to move, touch, teach them. Our memories and our hopes are more truly factors of our lives than we often remember.

And, in another connection, she has said:

I am convinced that one of the evils of much that is done for the poor springs from the want of delicacy felt and courtesy shown toward them, and that we cannot beneficially help them in any spirit different to that in which we help those who are better off. The help may differ in amount because their needs are greater. It should not differ in kind.

Miss Hill became an active member of the London Charity Organisation Society when it was organized in 1869. Unless you are familiar with the social literature of that time, you can have no idea what chaos the new Society was facing. Edward Denison had written not long before, "Every shilling I give away does fourpence worth of good by helping to keep their miserable bodies alive, and eightpence worth of harm by helping to destroy their miserable souls." To the many who felt this situation keenly Miss Hill brought a message that was constructive and cheering. I hope you will agree with me, when you read Miss Hill's *Life* and her essays in *Homes of the London Poor*, that her success in the Art of Helping can be summed up in her two characteristics of perfect clearness and strictness in business relations, and perfect respect for the individuality of the humblest in all her personal relations.¹ The large number of volunteers trained under her carried her spirit of service into many places, and to one of these, a resident of

¹ Carlyle said of her, "Faithful people are quite exceptional. I never heard of another like this one—the clear mind and perfect attention, meaning nothing but good in the people, and taking infinite care to tell them no lies."

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Philadelphia, and one of the founders of the Octavia Hill Association in that city, my own indebtedness is very great.

For a second pathfinder in the Art of Helping I turn to America. Here in New York on Staten Island there lived in the late 50's and very early 60's a young girl still in her 'teens—Josephine Shaw. Born into a cultivated home, early given the advantages of foreign travel and study, possessing a personality attractive and gay, the whole world seemed to be at her feet. But hers was destined to be a life intertwined not only most helpfully but most tragically with the life of her country. To think of Josephine Shaw Lowell is to think not only of the important developments in social work during the last half century, but to realize anew, unworthy though we are, the depth and splendor of the forces that have shaped American ideals. Robert Gould Shaw, her brother, died at the head of his regiment—the first regiment of colored troops—before Fort Wagner in 1863. And her husband, Colonel Charles Russell Lowell, was killed in action in 1864, less than a year after their marriage.

We all have our individual ways of taking a great loss. I know, of course, that in the popular view this is the time of times for beginning "to be good to the poor," as it is phrased—for developing, that is, a habit of unselfish living, but I doubt whether the hour of bereavement is the hour for creating entirely new interests. When we are grief-stricken, it is the familiar rather than the unfamiliar that can rouse us; and, as a rule, those who bear their personal griefs with the greatest dignity and fortitude are those who had learned to live in a larger world while their intimate personal relationships were still happy and unbroken.

Mrs. Lowell was only seventeen when the Civil War began. The United States Sanitary Commission (forerunner of the Red Cross) was organized by Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows to meet the pressing needs of the time, and Josephine Shaw was one of the young women who, with Mrs. William B. Rice (then Gertrude Stevens), Louisa Lee Schuyler, Ellen Collins, and others, worked from morning until night in the offices of one of the Commission's branches. After her marriage, life in camp had given Mrs. Lowell an opportunity to befriend the soldiers in hospital, more especially those from France, Italy, and Germany, with whom she was able

to converse in their own language. When, therefore, her personal losses left her stunned and helpless, the associations with unselfish service and with her fellow-workers were the first to be reknit. These friends rallied around her, and it was with Miss Collins that Mrs. Lowell went into Virginia two years later to establish schools for the colored people, while it was under Miss Louisa Schuyler that she became a member of one of the visiting committees to public institutions organized by the new State Charities Aid Association.

Out of these visits and the conditions revealed by them grew Mrs. Lowell's long service to the state and her appointment in 1876 as the first woman member of the New York State Board of Charities. The many practical reforms that she brought about in the state's care of its charges are well described in Stewart's *Philanthropic Work of Josephine Shaw Lowell*¹—a book that every volunteer in social service should read. Her labors meant better care for the insane, for the feeble-minded, for dependent children, and for delinquent women.

It was also as a member of the State Board that, in 1882, Mrs. Lowell brought the Charity Organization Society into existence. From then until her death in 1905 the new society became her chief interest, though she continued her active promotion of Civil Service Reform (George William Curtis, its great champion, was her brother-in-law), and, as the years went on, she became increasingly identified with the cause of industrial reform. Mrs. Lowell was one of the founders of the Consumers' League and its first president. "She was as quick," says Father Huntington, "as anyone to see the futility of many of the efforts of working people and the ignorance that exists among them; but she saw deeper than that, and felt intense sympathy with that which was noble and true in the hard struggle."

We must all agree that our city is at once so large and so lavish that it still has far to go in developing in adequate amount the kind of quiet and thorough work that Octavia Hill believed in. But when Mrs. Lowell and the Charity Organization Society first called attention to the situation in 1882, there was a sort of philanthropic free riot here, combined with the greatest inade-

¹ Stewart, William Rhinelander, *The Philanthropic Work of Josephine Shaw Lowell*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1911.—EDITORS.

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quacy—for lavishness and inadequacy are twins. Accordingly, the aspects of social work with families to which its leaders gave most attention in those days were co-operation among the social agencies and saner ideas about relief.

Under the head of *co-operation* I may mention, without attempting to describe them, a few of the undertakings launched by the Charity Organization Society in Mrs. Lowell's time. One was a published Directory of Social Agencies in New York City now in its thirty-second annual edition. The reference library established early by the Society for the use of all interested in social questions has now been absorbed into the sociological library of the Russell Sage Foundation. The first School of Social Work in this country was founded by the Society in 1898. From the beginning, it aimed to train social workers for all forms of social service and not merely for family work. The Social Service Exchange maintained at the expense of the Society is a co-operative index which enables any agency, church, or individual having a charitable interest in a given case to profit without delay by the experience of others who have known and tried to serve the same person or persons. The Exchange is not a device for detecting imposture or even for avoiding duplication of relief, though incidentally it may sometimes do both. Its purpose is to assure to the clients of social agencies the most intelligent and helpful service possible, and to protect them from the blundering which results from unrelated plans. This is done in a way that also protects the clients from publicity. Needless to say, there is no attempt on the part of the Exchange itself to dictate policies. Its service is entirely impersonal, and after those who are already interested in a case are brought into communication, it drops out of sight.

In a more informal way, but very effectively, the 10 district committees of the Society are centers of co-operation. In Mrs. Lowell's day, the different religious denominations had little to do with one another and their rivalries in the field of social work were a bar to co-operation. At a meeting the other day of the particular district committee of the Society to which I happen to belong, the Catholic, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Unitarian, and Jewish faiths were all represented, and we tried to think through together the best thing for our clients in the difficult cases under discussion, instead of seeking any corporate advantage whatsoever.

Under the head of *relief*, Mrs. Lowell's utterances are among the very wisest that we have. I saw her and heard her speak for the first time at a small meeting in Baltimore in 1890, and she made clear the absurdity of the terms "worthy" and "unworthy," as then frequently used, in a way that I have never forgotten. That same week I heard her discuss *inadequate relief* in these clear terms:

Yet can anyone really approve of inadequate relief? Can anyone really approve of giving fifty cents to a man who must have five dollars, trusting that someone else will give him the four and a half dollars, and knowing that, to get it, the person in distress must spend not only precious strength and time, but more precious independence and self-respect? Is it not a pity that all relief societies give to so many people, and give so little to each? Would it not be far better if each were to concentrate upon a smaller number of persons, and to see that each one of those was really helped, that the relief given to them really relieved them.

On the subject of relief given to supplement inadequate wages she was equally emphatic. The working people of the city would have a real grievance against us, she realized, if we began giving relief to the families of able-bodied men working full time, and with no acute illness in their homes, on the ground that their earnings were not enough to support their families in full health and vigor. Here is a situation that needs remedying beyond question, but the net effect of attempting to remedy it by a system of relief-giving would be to attract non-residents to the district in which such relief was assured, to decrease wages and to increase the rentals there. Mrs. Lowell wrote:

It is not only or chiefly selfishness which should lead every large city to dread an influx of the homeless and unemployed; for, in the nature of things, little can be done for them which will not finally be more of an injury than a benefit both to them and to others.

This is peculiarly true of a great, congested district like our metropolitan area. After Mrs. Lowell's death in 1905, two fountains were erected to commemorate her—one at Radcliffe College and one in Bryant Park, New York. In the winter of 1920-1921, Bryant Park became a recruiting ground for vagrants and for the non-resident unemployed, where they were fed daily by various groups of citizens and were harangued by a notoriety-seeker. The news of these spectacular undertakings spread rapidly, and unemployed men hundreds of miles away were heard to comment, as

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they turned their faces toward New York, "That there Bryant Park sounds good to me." Well-intentioned but misguided people were promoting this free distribution under the very shadow of the memorial to Mrs. Lowell, and those of us who realize the harm that they were doing, and how slowly people learn what true charity means, were saddened by the juxtaposition.

In social work it is only the long views that are cheering. Thus, we are still engaged in a running fight with many casualties to assure in New York the better housing to which Octavia Hill devoted a lifetime of service. The battle for tenement house reform begun by the Charity Organization Society in Mrs. Lowell's time still goes on. Gains have been made in many directions, however, that would cheer her heart. Thus, in a census study that we have just made here in Gramercy District, where we are meeting today, the children of school age that are in school made a better showing than did Manhattan as a whole, though Gramercy is a poor district and overwhelmingly a foreign one. Credit for this belongs in part to the fact that there are many social workers in the neighborhood and that they are making a great point of keeping the children in school. Then no longer can children be taken out of school prematurely and put to work, and when they do go to work the working conditions are much better than they were formerly. But there are far too many street accidents. Whereas 33 children were killed outright hereabouts in street accidents during the last year, a recreation pier, taken away from the children during the European War, has never been restored to them by the city. We find that it is being used at the present time to store street-cleaning apparatus.

But the outstanding characteristic of the two women, about whom I have told so little while there is so much worth telling, was courage. The volunteer who enlists for the long struggle to make life richer and fuller for the least advantaged of our people needs courage, and should take courage from the gains already made. Richard Watson Gilder wrote of Mrs. Lowell in words that we may echo:

Most high God!

This city of mammon, this wide, seething pit
Of avarice and lust, hath known Thy saints,
And yet shall know. For faith than sin is mightier,
And by this faith we live,—that in Thy time,
In Thine own time, the good shall crush the ill.

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(See note to previous paper)

The diagram which we reproduce on page 589 was not originally intended to illustrate this paper, although it is appropriate. It was used by Miss Richmond to accompany several speeches of which only rough notes remain. Speaking in Philadelphia in 1925 on *The Rhythm of Social Work*, she said:

"An interesting characteristic of a spiral is the fact that though it returns again and again to the same general position, the return is . . . higher up. For the last fifty years, the swing of the spiral has been between mass betterment on the one hand and individual betterment on the other."

Using the same diagram in 1923, she said to students at the New York School of Social Work:

"When social movements, social agencies, social workers, have a conception of development and advance which *includes* both the welfare of the individual and of the mass, which reconciles these two points of view and assures the permeation of each by each, then the upward climbing spiral to which I referred in beginning will no longer lose its balance and momentum by swinging violently from one side to the other. It will take a far wider, firmer sweep in both directions, it will cover more ground more symmetrically. In some such way as this, as I see it, social work will at last come into full possession of itself and of its rightful field of service."

A SATISFACTORY thing about last week's lecture—to the lecturer at least—was the fact that every part of it could be well documented. Today I turn to more recent developments in the Art of Helping as well as to the possibilities immediately ahead of us, and in this part of my subject I find myself constrained to speak from a personal experience and point of view which is in no sense final or authoritative.

It happens that social case work had its origin and early development in family social work, but the general theories that grew up there and some of the methods, too, were soon adopted, with modifications, in social work for children and, later, in social service for the sick. The Boston Children's Aid Society was the

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first children's agency, I believe, to absorb the new point of view. The first hospital in America to develop medical-social case work was also in Boston—the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1905. It was no accident that both of these important developments had their beginnings in the city in which Octavia Hill's message, and her interest in developing volunteer service, had made a profound impression. To Chicago and its Juvenile Court we were further indebted, four years later, in 1909, for the first application of psychology and its findings to individual treatment in a social agency.

In all these different tasks, with emphasis placed now upon the individual child, now upon the sick patient or upon the disadvantaged family, the thing to remember is that the Art of Helping is essentially *one*. "Even while the child remains in the family," wrote Sir Charles Loch, "his interests are often considered separately, though, as a result, the problem is not simplified but misunderstood and misstated, and with most injurious results the child is treated, not as a child, but as a denaturalized, family-less thing, not as a child but a creature." And I need not remind you that the patient comes to the hospital or dispensary more often than not from a home and a family to which he must return. The conditions in that home have often had a part in making him a patient, and hardly can he be made a well man—most certainly he cannot be kept a well man—unless those conditions are known and dealt with.

As the methods and principles of work developed by Miss Hill and Sir Charles Loch in England, and by Mrs. Lowell, Robert Treat Paine, Dr. Charles Putnam, John Glenn, Sr., and a host of others in America, began to be adopted outside what was known as the "charity organization group" of the 80's and 90's, a whole-some reaction followed upon the work of this group of family workers. From being a preaching body it became a teaching body. I have said that the family social workers were the founders of the first schools of social work. These schools brought the different specialists in closer contact with one another and soon made the family workers conscious of weaknesses in their own service. You never really know a subject until you have to teach it. Then, too, the habit of keeping honest and fairly full chronological records

of what you are doing is very chastening. You can read back into the past, as you remember it, all the things that you have intended to do and say and did not, but the record made at the time, with no knowledge of what the future may unfold, is a discourager of rose-colored views of one's own achievements. The charity organization group learned early to keep records, and some of their number, as time went on, became very much dissatisfied with the clumsy ways of doing things revealed by these records. Thus, though the group had always advocated getting at the outset as clear a picture as possible of the true situation in an individual case, it was not until the charity organization movement was twenty-five years old that it began to apply itself in earnest to developing a sound method of investigation.

There were several reasons for this long delay. The failure of many to understand the true purpose of investigation was one of them. I well remember my combined amusement and despair when a public official in Philadelphia, seizing upon a printed statement of mine that less than 5 per cent of the applicants to family agencies could be accused of anything that could be described as deliberate fraud, asked what in the world the presumably respectable society of which I was secretary was about, to spend thousands upon thousands of dollars every year just to expose that less than 5 per cent. If I had quoted Miss Hill to him; if I had told him that, so far from trying to expose anybody, we were honestly trying to discover the hopes, the possibilities, and the special temptations of all our clients in order to know how to "move, touch, teach" and truly help them forward, I fear he would have been more indignant than ever.

Another reason for our delay in mastering some of the difficult details of this initial process is found in the great wave of enthusiasm for wholesale measures of reform—a wave which passed over this country between the years 1905 and 1914. That wave brought with it many changes which made better social case work possible, but some of the leading social reformers of the period lost their heads to this extent—they were sure that legislation and propaganda, between them, would render social work with and for individuals quite unnecessary, and they did not hesitate to say so. One of my fellow directors, on the monthly all day trips that I

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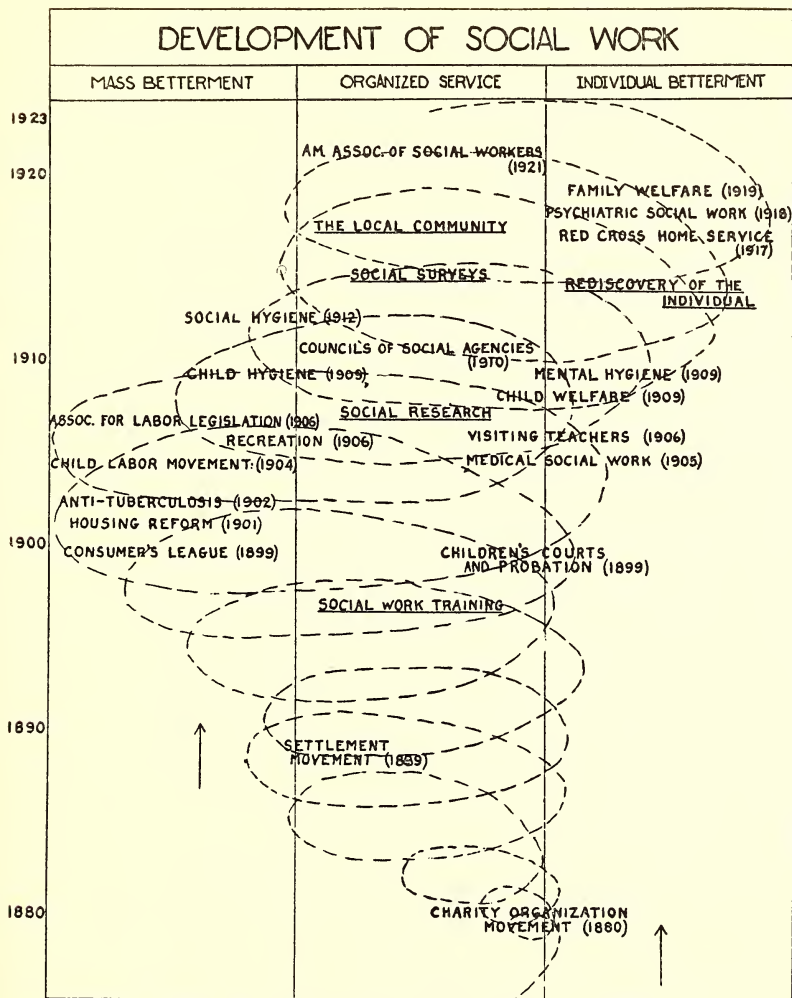
used to take at that time to the meetings of the board of a large hospital for the insane, was in the habit of declaring with a magnificent air that "prevention was the watchword of the hour." Perhaps this mouth-filling phrase was responsible for the fact that I could not interest him in providing therapeutic occupations for the vacant-eyed and vacant-handed women inmates of the hospital. During all that period, I know, it was uphill work to interest either the public or the social reformers in any reform that dealt with people one by one instead of in great masses. It was a time of slogans. A professor published a book on the Abolition of Poverty in which war was no more than mentioned, and he published it, of all years, in the year 1914.

Do not misunderstand me. I am as eager to see poverty eradicated as anyone can be, but the verb "to abolish" has for its synonyms "to repeal, to revoke, to rescind, to recall, to abrogate, to annul," and I submit that poverty is not a political or even a social status, to be abolished or rescinded by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States or by a presidential proclamation. You cannot "lay the axe to its root" in those ways because it has a thousand roots. It is like some noxious weed, which can be eradicated in time with patient labor, but only after cultivating and enriching the soil in which it now grows. Prevention is another of those words which, as used in proverb and slogan, has been much abused. Who that is familiar, for instance, with the history of the tuberculosis campaigns in this country can ever place "prevention" and "cure" in antithesis to each other again? The two processes interplay at every turn, and cure, in and of itself, is a form of prevention, for we learn how to prevent by honestly trying to cure. In other words, prevention is one of the end results of a series of processes which include research, individual treatment, public education, legislation, and then (by retraced steps) back to the administrative adaptations which make the intent of legislation real again in the individual case.

The interplay of these wholesale and retail processes is an indispensable factor in any social progress which is to be permanent. I have sometimes illustrated such interplay from my own experience during the early child labor campaigns in Pennsylvania. Twenty years ago that state was making a more effective wage

demand for the labor of young children than any other in the Union. A committee had been formed to draft a bill and advocate its passage, but at the outset many of its members wanted exceptions made in favor of one occupation and another which were supposed to have an educational influence. At last an investigator was employed who plied the committee with facts brought to light from the case records of social agencies, from settlement clubs and classes, and from other social work sources. By means of the actual instances thus gathered and by these alone a chastened committee was induced to agree upon a bill which, after a lively campaign of publicity with the investigator's results well featured, became a law. But immediately after this law went into effect there was no little clamor about the hardship caused by it, and the leading family welfare agency of Philadelphia was called upon—not for facts this time, but for plans by which, in co-operation with the local public education association, every alleged case of hardship could be provided for while protecting at the same time all young children from premature employment. Unless some such guarantee could have been given there is little doubt that the law would have been repealed long before the community could have become adjusted to it. All of which illustrates a relation between social case work and social reform that is characteristically of a "before and after" sort. Social case work provides many of the facts on which the necessary reform is based, and later it makes the adaptations that render possible the enforcement of a law embodying the reform. But case workers have neither the experience nor the special technique which can make all parts of a social reform campaign successful. In legislative drafting, in publicity campaigns, in dealings with legislators they are only too glad to accept the leadership and experience of that splendid group of social reformers to whom our country is indebted for most of the effective social and industrial legislation on its statute books.

I have said that we social case workers were a discouraged group in the decade preceding 1914. In that period of the slogan and of the so confidently predicted "new day," we were often waved aside as having outlived our usefulness. But, before the decade was over, came signs of what, when the history of



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social work is written, will probably be termed *the rediscovery of the individual*. Mental hygiene as an organized movement dates from 1909, and the White House Conference on child welfare was held in that same year. The war brought us Red Cross Home Service and psychiatric social work, while, in 1919, the charity organization movement took on new life with a new declaration of principles and a new name dedicating the movement to the promotion of family welfare.

All this development has been marked by the extension of social case work in some form to a variety of administrative activities. From being nobody's child, suddenly it has become everybody's child. Both stages have had their embarrassments. At one time it was assumed that only dependents, defectives, and delinquents needed individualized attention. But the first savings banks in the world were for wards of a poor-relief department, and the first hospitals were established for the destitute only. Just as these developed far beyond their early boundaries we now find new uses for the case work method coming to light on every side. Thus, we find that the Art of Helping, with its system of careful diagnosis and individualized treatment, is rapidly becoming a necessary part of our courts, our schools, our workshops, our stores, our hospitals, our vocational bureaus, and of a hundred other places.

Robert Browning tells how a fisherman once brought up in his netful of ocean plunder from the Tyrian Sea, along with the whelks and weeds, a tiny shell enclosing a dye "one drop of which worked miracles." He turns the incident about and applies its parable to a group of minor poets:

Hobbs hints blue,—straight he turtle eats.
Nobbs prints blue,—claret crowns his cup.
Nokes outdares Stokes in azure feats,—
Both gorge. *Who fished the murex up?*
What porridge had John Keats?

Who "fished the murex up" in our case? Social case work did, and before the good work can be regarded as in any sense complete it must have made over that side of our modern life which has been and still is the weakest; namely, the administrative side. There is no time here for detailed illustration, but you will find an account of a first experiment in the application of case work methods

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to the administration of workmen's compensation laws, written by Miss Frances Perkins, to whom New York State owes this good innovation, in *The Family* for April, 1921. In the field of marriage law administration, to which the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation has been giving special attention for several years, it is evident that we have another unplowed field—almost a morass—in which too often the intent of the laws and their actual achievements are miles apart. It is too early to say what the lessons learned in practical social work can do for us in this much talked about aspect of social well-being, but it is already evident that some of the experience and wisdom gained by social work in other fields would be applicable to marriage law administration at once without any radical changes of law and without running counter to rooted prejudices.

Another development of the movement is the demand just beginning to make itself apparent for the services of the experienced social case worker in well-to-do families. It has happened occasionally to medical social workers, to family social workers, and to child welfare workers to be called in by the economically independent to advise in situations quite as complicated and difficult to solve as any that they had found among their very poorest clients.

As I have already indicated, we worked hard for a number of years in the attempt to discover and develop a system of getting a fairly complete picture of the difficulties of our clients, case by case. Now we are turning our attention (and when I say "we" I mean all the professional social case workers of whatever kind) to a more intensive study of the problems of treatment.¹ As a last word, I would appeal to all volunteers who are in a position to aid professional social case workers, to help them to so organize their work that they may command more free time. I plead for this in order that they may make more discoveries than the overworked victim of routine can ever make. If I am right in thinking that great developments are before us, if it is true that life for the individual and for the race can be made a richer, better thing by an extension and strengthening of case work skill, then case

¹ See in this connection, "A Study of Social Treatment," by Porter R. Lee. In *The Family*, vol. 4, December, 1923, p. 191.

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workers should be encouraged and helped to do their very best work, and it should be made possible for them to make discoveries along the way.

That our work cannot go forward without the wholehearted participation of many volunteers committed to social welfare as their serious opportunity seems to me self-evident. But it is the co-operation of professional and volunteer, it is their teamwork that yields the highest results. Years ago, a volunteer who is no longer living wrote to me in a private letter, "Is it out of place to say here that the spirit in which the full-time workers in the district are doing their work is something quite worthwhile to have met with, and that people not at present interested do not know one of the pleasantest sides of the work—the acquaintance with the 'paid worker'?"

AN OUTLINE FOR READERS OF BIOGRAPHY

(Hitherto Unpublished)

The first tentative draft of a memorandum drawn up by Miss Richmond in February, 1926, for "The Talkers," a group of friends who met regularly during two winters at her home, as described on page 427. A series of discussions was based on this outline, which, while obviously never intended by her for publication, is included here because it shows the direction in which her interests were beginning to lead her.

GOSSE says that the distinction between biography and history is a modern one, that it is doubtful whether Plutarch conceived of biography as an independent branch of literature.¹ According to the Century Dictionary the term "memoir" is used to indicate a less complete or minute account of a person's life, or it may be that the person himself records his own recollections of the past, especially as connected with his own life. In the latter case memoir should be in the plural. Autobiographies showing self-study actuated by a religious or a scientific motive belong to yet another group, and antedate the beginning of the Christian era. Mrs. Burr brings out the difference between the commentary and the more personal record when she contrasts Josephus with Augustin. The former said in effect, "These are my deeds; judge me by them"; while the latter was concerned with the inner change, and begged his readers to think "not of what I was but of what I am."² "The subjective autobiography groups itself about the great intellectual movements and changes of the world, and lessens or disappears in times of material change."³ "In modern times it is exceedingly rare to find the scientific worker who has *not* left some measure of autobiographical material."⁴

¹ Britannica, 11th ed., article on Biography.

² Burr, Anna Robeson, *The Autobiography, a Critical and Comparative Study*. Houghton Mifflin and Co., Boston, 1909, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

With autobiography on the extreme left, and memoirs standing half way between the personal record and the history of a given time, we then have occupying a central position the full-fledged biography or "history of an individual" which has been written by another. Beginning with Sainte-Beuve and continued by Strachey and Bradford, there have been an interesting series of biographical portraits or "essays in psychography" which may be placed on the extreme right. Usually these last are founded on the painstaking researches of other biographers. Thus, a recent and brilliant example of the method is *The Portrait of Zélide* by Geoffrey Scott. This is a study of Madame de Charière and of her relations with Benjamin Constant. Many of its materials were supplied by a Swiss professor, Philippe Godet, who spent twenty years in ransacking local tradition and private archives for an authoritative biography. "All I have done," says Scott, "is to catch an image of her in a single light, and to make from a single angle the best drawing I can of Zélide, as I believe her to have been."¹

But it is with the all-round biography which bears a close relation in many of its processes to the writing of history that now we are chiefly concerned. When no life has yet been written what can be the documentary sources for such a life? What tests should be applied to the documents? What testimony may be had from eye-witnesses if any are still living? What unconscious testimony is there in products of the hand, the mind, in institutions, and so on?

Beyond the mere processes of accumulating and testing there is a still deeper resemblance to history if, as Teggart tells us, the main purpose of history should be to determine how man everywhere has come to be as he is.² It may not be amiss to summarize Teggart's argument briefly at this point, for it leads up to a helpful approach to biography:

Political organization is really not only a comparatively recent phenomenon but it is still imperfectly extended over the population of the areas where it is dominant. Survivals of earlier regimes are to be found in the

¹ Scott, Geoffrey, *The Portrait of Zélide*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1925, p. 215.

² Teggart, Frederick J., *The Processes of History*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1918.

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most highly developed countries.¹ The earliest form of organization was on the basis of kinship. Only very gradually has this basis been replaced by domicile. And in the primitive group individuality did not exist; the unit was not the single life but the group.² With the contacts and conflicts of alien groups came the release of personal initiative and the recognition of personal worth and individuality. The process is not one of *adoption* of alien ways and idea-systems so much as a process of transition and release. "Primitive man does not 'think' he performs definitely prescribed actions under the eye of the community, which, in turn, is vitally concerned in the exactness with which the repetition of formula or ceremony is carried out."³

"Every civilization of a settled population tends to incessant decay from its maximum condition; and this decay continues until it is too weak to initiate anything, when a fresh race comes in, and utilizes the old stock to graft on, both in blood and culture. As soon as the mixture is well started, it rapidly grows on the old soil, and produces a new wave of civilization. There is no new generation without a mixture of blood, parthenogenesis is unknown in the birth of nations." (Petrie, *The Revolutions of Civilization* quoted by Teggart.⁴)

The process as regards peoples is illustrated in the history of language. (See Whitney's *Life and Growth of Language*.) The spoken dialect tends to remain the same from age to age. But at the other extreme revolution has sometimes led whole communities to adopt the speech of another people.⁵

The main hypothesis of Teggart's book is that "human advancement follows upon the mental release of the members of a group or of a single individual from the authority of an established system of ideas. This release has, in the past, been occasioned through the breaking down of previous idea-systems by prolonged struggles between opposing groups which have been brought into conflict as a result of the involuntary movements of peoples. What follows is the building up of a new idea-system which is not a simple accumulation of the knowledge previously accepted, but the product of critical activity stirred by the perception of conflicting elements in the opposed idea-systems."⁶

But these same processes are operative in our several individual lives. They may be tested by each individual investigator from the resources of his own personal observation.

"Thus, for example, if we consider the processes manifested in the fixity and persistence of idea-systems and ways of doing things, no one can be at a loss to discern the influence upon himself of the community in which he has grown up. From the beginning of life each one of us has been subjected to a discipline by those surrounding us which has determined and defined the avenues open to us for self-assertion or individual purposive

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

activity. Again, each one of us is conscious of explicit restrictions in mental activity due to the particular selection of information and ideas which has been imparted to him at the outset of his career; the mental equipment which each one receives represents only a limited selection from the whole body of knowledge at the command of the group, and yet this selection, which under any other circumstances whatever would have been different, has been, and must remain, a dominant factor in our lives.

"Notwithstanding the tenacity with which we cling to mental habits once acquired, our ideas and ways of doing things are continually undergoing modification, the actuality of which we may also verify by direct observation. Indeed, this process is particularly noticeable in advanced groups, for in these, while group discipline is effective in maintaining a certain uniformity in external behavior, the idea-systems of individuals vary within wide limits. This variability is due, primarily, to the vast extent of the intellectual heritage of modern groups. Among ourselves, the body of knowledge immediately available is so great that its complete transmission to any individual is wholly unthinkable. It follows that, in modern groups, the participation of the individual in the group idea-system is irregular and incomplete, and that under actual conditions each member of a given community acquires a personal system of ideas which differs considerably from that of his fellows, though drawn from the same source. As a consequence, the contact of individuals, being accompanied by the interchange of differing personal views, leads to a continual criticism and modification of our outlook upon the world; and, indeed, the attitude which we regard as specifically characteristic of members of advanced groups is a wide tolerance of these differences in ideas, and a conscious admission of the merely tentative validity of our most cherished convictions.

"Every individual, then, may verify from his own experience the actuality of the processes which are manifested, first, in the persistence, and, second, in the slow modification of ideas and ways of doing things, but the case is different when we come to consider the processes and factors of change and advance. As we have seen, change ensues upon a condition of relative fixity through the interposition of shock or disturbance induced by some exterior incident. Now, while historically advancement has been dependent upon the collision of groups, the resultant response has taken place in the minds of individuals, and so we are led to see that all transitional eras are alike in being periods of individual mental awakening, and of the release or emancipation of individual initiative in thought and action. This applies equally whether we consider the past or the present, and, consequently, since the antecedents of advance are realized only in exceptional cases, we are forced to rely, for the verification we are now discussing, upon the testimony of exceptional individuals. That the historical process of individualization of thought is also the form through which advancement proceeds today would best be shown by an

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extended examination of the biographies of notable men, but for the present we may accept the evidence adduced by psychologists and other investigators who have already called attention to the facts."¹

It follows that a biographer must be more keenly aware of the signs and effects of *change* than of the mere sequence of *events*. The evidences of that sequence, however, do concern him. First, he must set aside any personal bias or point of view and survey the whole field for external evidences. He must examine each one of these for its inner meaning. He must then be able to arrange, order, and select from the resulting total in such a way as to convey a faithful impression not only of the life but of the true personality of his subject. The outline following is divided, therefore, into External Evidences, Critical Handling of Evidences, Classification of Material, and Interpretation or (as one of our group has termed it) Apperception.

THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCES

1. *What types of material were available for this biography?*

2. *What types were used?*

Were any autobiographical materials available? Diaries, journals, and so forth? What attempt to cover all correspondence and letters? Did business papers, deeds, accounts, wills, check stubs, yield anything? Did correspondents merely quote from letters or exhibit the originals? If there were published or unpublished works of the subject, these too are of prime significance.

3. *What use was made of the oral testimony of eye-witnesses who were interviewed by the biographer?*

Supplementary to this would be the diaries, letters, memoirs, and so forth of those no longer living who knew the subject and whom the subject knew.

4. *What use was made of the unconscious testimony of the subject's former environment, of his homes, schools, books, furniture, the products of his hands, his various occupations, and so forth?*

At this point the biographer is a collector of the raw material, the external evidences out of which his interpretation must grow if he is to give it body and substance.

¹ Teggart, Frederick J., *The Processes of History*, pp. 153-156.

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THE INNER MEANING OF EACH BIT OF EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

In our critical handling of evidence, Sir Sidney Lee warns against the following forms of bias:

- a. Family bias, which can be short-sighted, domestic, and partial.
 - b. Official bias, which holds in undue respect the conventional formulæ of public or social life.
 - c. Ethical bias, which condemns biography to serve exclusively the irrelevant purpose of moral edification.
 - d. Hero-worship bias, which indulges in undiluted panegyric of obsequious adulation.
 - e. Historical bias, which is calculated to repress unduly the element of personality which biography exists to transmit.¹
5. *Has there been a critical examination into the good faith and accuracy of the mind behind each document used, each witness interviewed?*

See Langlois and Seignobos² on this point, or the short summary of their tests given on page 64 of *Social Diagnosis*.

The very spirit of a given time makes for accuracy or the reverse.³

6. *What was the cultural heritage, the group, and the strength of the group influence? What means of intercommunication? What art? What laws, how administered? What were the religious and philosophical influences? What was the condition of science?*

On the economic side, the following, quoted by Vincent from [the social economists of the School of] Le Play, is suggestive:

Conditions Surrounding the Family

- a. Condition of the soil, of industry, and of population
- b. Civil status of the family
- c. Religion and moral habits
- d. Hygiene and sanitary conditions
- e. Rank of the family

¹ Lee, Sir Sidney, *The Perspective of Biography*. Pamphlet No. 41 of the English Association, 1918.

² Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*. Translated by G. G. Berry. Duckworth and Co., London, 1898.

³ Vincent, John Martin, *Historical Research*. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1911.

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- f. Means of existence of the family
 - (1) Amount of property (furniture and clothing not included)
 - (2) Subventions
 - (3) Labors and industries
- g. Methods of existence of the family
 - (1) Kinds of foods and meals
 - (2) Dwelling, furniture, and clothing
 - (3) Recreation
- h. History of the family
 - (1) The principal phases in its existence
 - (2) The customs and institutions assuring the physical and moral well-being of the family

Definition of Place

- a. Soil and waters
 - (1) Geographical situation of the family and of the space investigated
 - (2) Relief and contour of the soil or landscape
 - (3) The soil (with a view to productivity)
 - (4) Waters
 - b. Subsoil (geology of the place)
 - c. Air (facts of meteorology)
 - (1) Seasons
 - (2) Local peculiarities or atmospheric accidents¹
7. *What shocks or transitions from without the traditional group molded or released the mind of the biographer's subject and changed that subject's traditional idea-system?* (See summary of Teggart given earlier.)

CLASSIFICATION AND INTERPRETATION

In a review just published of Teggart's new volume, *Theory of History*,² Truslow Adams agrees that the collection and verification of historical data have reached as high a degree of "scientific" precision as perhaps they are capable of. "It is easier, however, to accumulate documents than it is to weigh them," and, in the weighing, a constitutional inaccuracy does creep in. How can we be sure that some all-important bit of documentary evidence is

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

² Teggart, Frederick J., *Theory of History*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1925. Reviewed by James Truslow Adams in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, February 6, 1926, p. 541.

not next door but one to the evidence already gathered, that some witness yet unseen and unheard does not hold the key to that particular part of the biographer's task which presents the greatest difficulty? There would seem to be no way of being sure that the important ground has been covered save by preparing a series of questions, as suggested by Langlois, and checking off every possible source of information and insight.

In a thesis on Sainte-Beuve's Critical Theory and Practice¹ it appears that Sainte-Beuve prepared himself for each of his *Causeries* by an elaborate study of his author-subject's background and foreground. Much condensed, the ground covered was as follows:

- a. *Race*. This the critic often confused with nationality or even with such provincial strains as the Breton or Gascon, but the physiological and mental characteristics of both races and nations were to him full of significance.
- b. *Epoch*. Only certain ages, certain social backgrounds, could have produced certain books or men.
- c. *Family*. One must consider the subject's parents, especially his mother; also his sisters, brothers, and his own children. The essays on Cowper and on Maurice and Eugénie De Guérin are examples of this method.
- d. *Early Life and Education*. Note, for example, his approach to the subject of Mme. Geoffrin.
- e. *First Group of Friends*. These early associations *du même printemps* leave their mark.
- f. *First Success*. This is when an author's talent is at its simplest.
- g. *Moment of Initial Dissolution*. Or that point at which an excellence, perhaps, becomes a fault.
- h. *The Physical Basis*. Sainte-Beuve studied medicine and "to this I owe," he declares, "whatever good methodical procedure my writings, even my literary writings, possess."
- i. *Private Life*. "So long as you have not asked a certain number of questions about an author and received the answers you cannot be sure that you have grasped him wholly. What did he think in matters of religion? How was he affected by the spectacle of nature? How did he

¹ MacClintock, Lander, Sainte-Beuve's Critical Theory and Practice after 1849. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1920.

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conduct himself toward women? What was his every-day manner of life? What was his vice or his foible? Every man has one."

- j. *Testimony of Contemporaries.* What did those worthy of belief have to say about him?
- k. *Diagnosis.* How can his essential qualities be summarized in a few necessary words?

But Sainte-Beuve was careful not only to cover the ground; he put it in the background at last, forgot it if necessary, in order that he might "attack his work with vital interest and unjaded taste." "The genius the irreducible personality of an author," he tells us in the *Nouveaux Lundis*, "cannot be perceived by the intellect, nor explained by an analytical process; it must be felt by the critical faculty, itself an irreducible intuition."

This brings us to Apperception.

- 8. *Has the biographer not only collected, compared, sifted, and classified, but has he reacted freshly and vividly to the material as a whole, and reacted in such a way as to have a personal perception of the true significance of it all? What, in other words, does this life mean to him, and what, as he interprets it, is the "irreducible personality" of his subject?*

THE CONCERN OF THE COMMUNITY WITH MARRIAGE

This was Miss Richmond's last public utterance. It was delivered in Buffalo, October 4, 1927, at the Conference on Family Life in America Today, called by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the charity organization (family welfare) movement in the United States. The speech was published in *The Family*, December, 1928, and republished in the volume, *Family Life Today* (Houghton Mifflin Company, copyright 1928). Reprinted here by arrangement with the publishers.

MARRIAGE, our theme today, seems to have been sharing the fate of many good melodies. Once afloat in the world, they are taken up, as a wise observer noted long ago, "by all sorts of instruments, some of them woefully coarse, feeble, or out of tune,"¹ until people are in danger of crying out that the themes and the melodies are themselves detestable. You must have often observed that human beings tend to oversimplify in this way. It saves trouble to ignore the nature of the instrument; it saves thought to pronounce this great social institution of marriage altogether good or altogether bad. And in these days of so many specialties, when life is becoming thoroughly compartmented, we are in graver danger than ever before of condemning both marriages and melodies from a too narrow, too specialized point of view.

Social reformers are apt to say, "Why doesn't the state attend to such glaring evils as these that we see all about us—the divorces, the unhappiness? What we need is a new state law." Or, as they have been taught to exclaim more recently, "What we need is an amendment to the federal Constitution." Certain of the specialists, on the other hand, are equally prompt to decide that marriage is not the state's or the nation's business at all; they are convinced that,

¹ Miss Richmond owned a George Eliot Birthday Book. It has no date, but in it are names of people whom she never saw after 1880. Among the quotations marked with pencil in the margin is the one given above, from Janet's Repentance. Its use here illustrates how Miss Richmond had always at her command reading done at any time in her life.—EDITORS.

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especially where no children are involved, marital and sex relations are nobody's business but the business of the two persons concerned. The group that champions this latter conclusion has the formidable backing of Havelock Ellis, Bertrand Russell, and H. G. Wells. But Havelock Ellis is a physiological psychologist; Russell was first a mathematician though in these later days he has devoted himself to philosophy; while Wells—I don't know what Wells is, save that he is *not* an historian. All of them seem to forget that man is a social animal and that this one fact colors and to a large degree controls every one of his relationships.

When a specialist in any science comes forward to settle finally and on the basis of his own specialty a matter like this of marriage, which whatever else it may happen to be is also social, I am reminded of the comments of a columnist about a chemical convention held recently. One of the chemists at this meeting had predicted that chemistry would soon discover an antidote for fatigue poisons which would do away with sleep. The columnist, after wondering what would become of the psychoanalysts, continued,

Fifty-one weeks in the year there is no more plodding, patient, humble and incidentally underpaid member of society than the scientist in his laboratory. He measures with relentless caution. He probes with almost suicidal skepticism. . . . But when the scientist has put away his tubes, washed his hands, packed his dinner jacket and joined his fellow-scientists in annual session he lets himself go. He will glance at nothing less than a human race and concern himself with nothing less than a cosmos.

These cosmic forecasts of the biologist, the physiologist, the psychologist, the eugenicist, sometimes touch in their prophetic sweep the subject of marriage. At such times it is well to remind ourselves of the lavish gifts that science has already been able to bestow upon our modern world by its *united* approach to such a subject of outstanding importance as health, for example. When the physicians and laboratory men of a generation ago looked over the top of their professional and watertight compartments at the world outside, they discovered an intimate relation between their study and treatment of disease and the health of the nation. Thanks to their willingness to take a new point of view and to unite

their efforts with those of mere laymen, things that then were the well-guarded secrets of medical practice gradually became the commonplaces of our daily living. We owe it to their leaders and, in a lesser degree, to our own leaders of thirty years ago, that the great, absent-minded, unheeding public now knows something about health. Anyone who has read the Life of Sir William Osler must realize what a fund of common sense and wholehearted devotion went into the launching of a movement that, in its catholicity and its varieties of approach, seems to me to point the way for the community's better relation to the subject of marriage. This analogy, suggested by the united attack of the health movement, is one to which I shall wish to return a little later. I am no scientist, but I too am having a fifty-second week in my year; I too may want to claim the privilege of letting myself go to the extent of indulging for this once not only in generalization but in prophecy.

After having striven for quite a long time to pick up a few of the loose threads in one small corner of this vast subject of marriage, it is a relief to be able to indulge here in one or two general statements. By contrast, therefore, with what might be termed the strictly zoölogical view of marriage, I venture the opinion that marriage always has at least four outstanding aspects: First, its strictly personal aspect; second, its family aspect; third, its community aspect; and fourth, its public or state aspect.

No one who considers what a varied and complicated thing a human being is will deny the supreme importance of the personal side, ranging as it does through body, mind, and spirit to join two unique personalities in the most intimate social relationship known to us. But this personal side of matrimony and the educational responsibility of families and kinsfolk toward their young people in preparation for it are not my subjects. You are to hear at this session from others better fitted than I am to discuss them. The state and community aspects with the boundary line between these two are going to be more than enough for my portion.

In respect of the state it would seem as true of marriage as of the melodies that are now coming to us over the air through the radio that some degree of public regulation of wave lengths and so on is necessary unless we are to have intolerably competitive discord. If there is to be any real freedom at all in marriage we must be free to

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give up some of that freedom in order to enjoy the rest. In the world as we know it certain social obligations are not met at all unless they are met with the help of the community as a whole acting in its collective capacity. This problem of how to make law and public administration serve human welfare in the state's relation to marriage is, as I have indicated, only one aspect of a much larger question, but it happens to be the sub-topic about which I know a little and to which the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation has been devoting attention during the last ten years. These studies are now nearing completion, but I must not attempt to summarize any of their conclusions; it would be futile to do so without giving you the findings upon which those conclusions are based. The state's part in the marriage contract is a modest one. Few would deny, however, that it is the duty of the state to protect immaturity from exploitation through premature marriage; or that it should safeguard its citizens against downright fraud in marriage; or against compulsion and duress; or against consanguineous unions and communicable disease. The social order is actually a freer order when it has been "liberated from the encroachments and confusions of unregulated desires" to that extent. If there were time, I could also give you at least a dozen good reasons why the state should have a permanent official record of every marriage—a record made at the time the marriage takes place.

There is a distinction, however, between the community and the state. The state is only one of the organs of community—a way in which the community organizes itself, as Professor MacIver has taught us. It is not by any means the only way, of course, for the instruments of social control are not confined to municipality or nation; they are multitudinous. The many communities of which we are all members—in so far, that is, as we are capable of participation and interchange of ideas within them—can influence more intimately our ideals and our actual achievements than any generalized and codified public opinion ever does. Of course a process of redistribution of services and functions is forever going on. Certain forms of skilled treatment are taken over sooner or later by the state, while other and especially the newer forms continue to be shaped by small communities within the community

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and by the communities of interest that stretch far beyond it. As this communal life grows more diversified, however, there is more not only for the voluntary associations to do but for the state as well; there is more public control and there is more responsibility to be borne by each one of us and also by the host of private agencies through which our associated thinking and doing go forward.

I must hurry on without marshalling my illustrations of this. Let me take just one, however—the simplest one. What light do *early marriages* throw upon the boundary line between state and community? As one of our smaller studies, Mr. Hall and I published a book two years ago on Child Marriages. It seemed clear to us that the state had a part to play here in the protection of the immature, that at certain points it must supplement or even take the place of the family; while at certain other points state action must be preceded and followed by voluntary effort.

We have been keeping close watch of marriage legislation of all kinds in this country since 1920, and the number of marriage bills introduced this year was nearly double the number introduced in any other legislative year since we began our count. In 1927 there have been 138 such legislative bills of every degree of merit and the reverse. Of this number, 26 have now become laws. Without knowing the origin of every one of the 26, we do know that social workers were responsible for at least 5 of the best of them, while Leagues of Women Voters and state registrars of vital statistics also bore an important part in the legislative changes of certain states.

Pennsylvania made one of the most notable advances of the year. Under the leadership of the Public Charities Association, the social workers of that state actually were able to raise the statutory minimum marriageable age for girls from 12 to 16 years. After an unsuccessful campaign two years ago, they made studies, wrote articles, delivered speeches, and conducted the energetic campaign of education which has now ended so successfully. Minnesota has advanced her minimum from 15 to 16; New York raised hers last year from 12 to 14. This could be bettered, of course, but 12 of our states still have the 12-year minimum. Though New York's 14-year limit is still too low, the state has placed an administrative

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provision on the statute book this year which is probably a new one. The book on Child Marriages contained a whole chapter on proof of age. Following this lead, perhaps, the social workers of New York State, aided by the League of Women Voters, have procured the passage of a law that was drafted here in the city of Buffalo. It requires documentary proof of age from all candidates for marriage who are under 21. Candidates who allege they are older but appear to the license issuer to be younger can be required to furnish evidence in much the same form now demanded by many states for the issuance of working papers.

There are a number of other possible provisions as valuable as this one but untried anywhere as yet, and we hope before long to be able to suggest these further measures to the public for consideration and possible adoption in our different states. After having watched for nearly ten years the difficulties encountered in enforcement, our recommendations are going to be conservative, but we have faith that some of them will be quite as practical as this one about proof of age. The clamor still heard in some quarters for a federal law regulating both marriage and divorce will, we believe, die down soon, for the federal measures thus far proposed would only weaken the good marriage provisions that many of our states already have without giving any adequate return whatsoever. The federal proposals are administratively unworkable.

But immaturity is only one aspect of early marriage. There is a community aspect that the state is not called upon to regulate to anything like the same degree. I refer to marriages between 20 and 25. These may still be called early, and in comparison with marriages contracted at later ages they seem eminently desirable from every point of view. As a nation, we marry earlier than we used to. The health and good comradeship of the married portion of our population has, I believe, been promoted thereby. There is, however, an unfortunate lag among the very group from whom the nation has a right to expect the most and upon whose preparation for life it has expended the most. I refer, of course, to the professional class.

When President Eliot, standing erect in the dignity and beauty of his ninety years, had addressed the distinguished assemblage in Sanders Theater that gathered there to greet him on his birthday,

he also spoke outside in Harvard Yard to the College boys. He urged upon them the importance of not postponing marriage too long. "Do not wait," he urged, "till you think you can offer the girl you want to marry all the luxuries and privileges to which in her father's home she was accustomed. When you have made up your mind, give the girl a chance to tell you hers." Of course, this stated the situation at its simplest and it is far from simple, but earlier marriage for college graduates was a favorite theme of his. One wonders sometimes whether our educational standards plus our high standards of comfort and of the conventions are not a good deal to blame for what we find.

For example, two colleagues of mine took the new edition of *Who's Who* this summer and noted the age at marriage of each man among the first thousand married Ph.D.'s in the book. They found that the average age at marriage of these thousand was $29\frac{1}{2}$ years, or 29.47 years to be exact. They also found that 48 per cent of the thousand married before their doctorate had been won, and that these 48 per cent actually averaged only $26\frac{3}{4}$ years at marriage. But how many children did the thousand doctors of philosophy have? All were married and all were old enough to have achieved a certain measure of distinction. Well, they averaged 1.87 children apiece. There is, however, the probability that, though all were requested to report their children, a few did not do so, and I give this figure with somewhat more hesitation than the others. But surely President Eliot was right when he said, as he often did, that college graduates had too few children. The relatively late age at marriage, if it should still hold after an analysis of all the Ph.D.'s in the book has been made, suggests the need of further investigation to discover causes and the remedy if there is one. This problem is one for the community and not for the state—more especially is it a problem for the educational community and for those in charge of professional education. If, as many educators think, we are wasting the time of students in our secondary schools, wasting several years of it, or if we are postponing the advancement and the highest earning power of the capable professional man unduly, then here are two points at which the founding of new families suffers. It has been urged by the eugenicists that the stocks assumed by them to be superior should become more productive,

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and that the so-called inferior stocks—usually of the poor and uneducated—should become less so. The tests, however, that are at present suggested for dividing the sheep from the goats are so many of them far from conclusive, and the chance of improving a biological strain by adopting them is still in the present state of our knowledge so very uncertain, that the educational community would probably be on safer ground if it confined itself to a program of next steps which will increase social satisfactions and develop a sounder family life for this present generation and the next. This Conference has approached its chosen subject from that point of view. Standing outside the family and looking in upon it, it has asked itself what industry and marriage and leisure and religion were doing to help and to hinder family life today. It is from this point of view and for purposes of illustration only that I have ventured to suggest some of the state's and some of the community's relations to early marriage.

But I must not forget that this is my fifty-second week in which, instead of reporting on legislative bills that have been passed or on the statistics of Ph.D. marriages, I have a right to make some good, round, arresting prophecies. I limit myself to just one, and it is this: I prophesy that, just as the health movement has swept the country during the last twenty years, so a new social movement, a new community awakening, is very nearly due. Its subject will be marriage, and to achieve social results at all comparable in value with those of the earlier movement it will have to be as many-sided in its approach, as resourceful in its attack, as the making over of our health habits has been.

The physicians who shaped the health movement at its inception were wise men. They built their edifice solidly upon the foundation stones of discovery and organization. While continuing to advance steadily their standards of medical case treatment, they also labored unceasingly at research. And busy though they were, they took pains to interest the laity in their new program. Above all they recognized the importance of a form of health organization with many parts. Nothing that was essential seemed to them too small and nothing that was an obstacle was too big.

If it were possible to condense into one paragraph the main trends of this country's health developments during the last fifty

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years, that paragraph might suggest by analogy a possible course of development for marriage reform during the next fifty. The relation of the state to health received attention first. None of the early leaders saw the end from the beginning, nor can we, but there were great outstanding evils and possibilities at their doors and they attacked the one, developed the other. If sanitary inspection was the duty of the health wardens and if, in the New York City of those days, the health wardens were usually saloon keepers, they dealt courageously with this particular evil, to the no small disgust of the wardens. When they found that many of the physicians were themselves indifferent, they organized a campaign of education among them. If an epidemic of cholera broke out in Europe, they sought the aid of the police power and of the legislature to control not only cholera and smallpox but later yellow fever as well. What they learned in their field laboratories they applied. If the liberty of the individual to acquire and to spread disease had to be interfered with, they interfered with it. And when, still later, the ravages of typhoid and of tuberculosis had centered the attention of preventive medicine upon water systems and the milk supply, upon housing and other living conditions, they did not hesitate to cross the boundary lines between state and community action and, calling upon the social workers of the country to help them, to utilize such familiar tools of our own profession as the social survey, the social exhibit, and social legislation. It was also at this stage in health developments that so much was achieved in the reform of our state and municipal health departments, and in the extension of the registration area.

But even after all this had been done, the health movement as we know it today had arrived no more than half way. It is interesting to note that topics discussed and rediscussed in the earlier proceedings of public health conventions in this country are scarcely ever mentioned now. The death rate continues to fall, however, as our health forces turn their attention more and more to the *positive content* of health—to re-education of habit, to personal hygiene, and in these later days to mental hygiene. Though all parts of the program must still be developed and I must not seem to assume that there are no more plague spots for the sanitarians to clear up, the more detailed, man-to-man procedures

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will probably receive the larger share of our attention from now on. It is evident, however, first that no one step in the long journey could have been dispensed with; and second that every vital aspect of modern life and almost every possible form of community organization has been swept into the health advance at one or another stage of its increasing momentum.

Are we not facing today another and equally important set of social conditions—conditions surrounding the founding of new families that at some points are quite as unhappy as the health situation of fifty years ago? Look around you if you doubt it; and a courage just as high, a willingness to study, to confer, to act with a like degree of humility must be ours today, if we are to do more than play at being socially minded. The line of development may not take the same course, but I suspect that it will have to. Even if we would, we cannot escape the community aspects of this subject of marriage. Though its more personal side is of vital importance too, the right of the individual to ignore social welfare is a self-destroying right.

It is time now that we asked ourselves—assuming that a new and separate movement for saner, more truly permanent, more socially successful marriage is soon to get under way—what elements in the community are likely to bear an important part in it. Health will bear an essential but not a leading part, I believe. Just as the physicians were foreordained leaders in the conquest of disease, so in a marriage reform movement leadership will probably belong, in the earlier stages at least, to some of those who are already responsible for our formulated marriage policies. These are the legal fraternity, the clergy, the lawmakers, the administrators of the marriage law, the women's organizations of the country, certain of the scientists, and the social workers. I do not pretend to know which one of these groups will be the dominant factor in marriage reform, but each group has something to contribute that the others have not. Historically, the law and the church have borne leading parts in helping to shape our marriage customs. Their increasing recognition of the value of the laity's point of view in other connections encourages one to believe that they will

abandon any closely compartmented procedures in relation to marriage also.

The general public does not yet realize what advances in the art of noting the actual happenings to clients, plaintiffs, and defendants have been made of late by the legal profession and the faculties of our law schools. To name only one instance, a study is now being made, under the leadership of Dean Pound and some of his colleagues, of the courts of Boston. Social workers and others familiar with the life of the city of Boston have been given ample opportunity to contribute their concrete experiences. Five years ago I had occasion to quote to family social workers a statement of Dean Pound's which applies not only to his specialty and to ours but to the problems of marriage as well. He said, "At whatever cost in dramatic interest or satisfied simplicity of plan, we must insist on plurality of causes and plurality of remedies." We must indeed. Many failures in marriage legislation and marriage law enforcement in the past are traceable to a combination of rigid tradition with simplicity of plan.

The churches are also beginning to recognize the importance of plurality of causes and of remedies. Recently the Federal Council of Churches appointed a commission to study the subjects of marriage and divorce. This Commission is taking the word "study" seriously, and is seeking co-operative relations with bodies made up of laymen interested in the subject.

Bearing a relation to both Church and State, it is estimated that there are about 130,000 clergymen in this country who are empowered to officiate at marriages. Here we have a small army. If we add to those ministers not only the 30,000 civil officiants at marriages but the 7,650 lawmakers who are empowered to pass state marriage laws, and the more than 10,000 marriage license issuers (including their deputies), we have nearly 178,000 of our representatives who are in a position to interpret the state's intent—your intent and my intent—to the citizens of the United States who are about to marry. I have had occasion to know something of the powers and the predispositions of some of this large body of public servants. Heretofore their unrelated activities in the marriage field have been nobody's business in particular, but what has already been done to improve the state's relation to health can

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also be done to improve its relation to marriage. Many of the 178,000, seeing more than we do of the present somewhat chaotic conditions, are eager to help.

As soon as a movement for marriage reform gets well under way, another factor in it—a much newer one than those already named—will be the women's organizations of the country. No one has ever accused me of being an advanced feminist, but to study the history of marriage legislation is to become convinced that there has been a good deal of very stupid, man-made law on the subject of marriage. Heaven forbid that it should be followed by a lot of woman-made law! What we need, of course, is a reconciliation and fusion of the two points of view.

There is going to be no neglect, I trust, of the special sciences that can throw light upon our subject. Though marriage reform will not have so much to learn from science as did health reform, we should be eager to profit by all that biology, anthropology, eugenics, and psychology have to teach us. If there is any science that can help us to be wiser, less credulous, and less sensational in our use of vital statistics, I hope that science will begin to deal with us very soon. The statistics of marriage and divorce seem to present many temptations to the sensation-mongers.

In this incomplete enumeration of the different communities and professions that may be interested in a movement for marriage reform, it would be foolish to assume any high degree of unanimity among them at the initial stage. There may be sharp differences of opinion at first. But, to quote Whitehead, "a clash of doctrines is not a disaster—it is an opportunity." If it stimulates us to study harder, and fires us with a desire to examine all the evidence instead of any particular part of it only, the clash will do us good.

A friend of mine who often reads my manuscripts and gives me the benefit of criticisms sometimes tart and always tonic has said of this paper that it takes altogether for granted, and so does not attempt to prove, that marriage is a good thing. I have defended myself by quoting Mr. Folks' dictum of years ago that the people who then came to lecture at schools of social work always began with Adam and made it difficult by so doing to get forward with the subject in hand. It is true that, by and large, I am assuming marriage to be a good thing, just as I am also assuming disease to

be a bad thing. But a number of people are so far from thinking disease a bad thing that they deny its existence altogether. Their mistaken attitude has given the health movement a world of trouble; so will be attitudes of certain groups toward marriage, but these need not deflect our attention from our goal.

Our ultimate goal, I take it, is the one suggested by Mr. Bruno several years ago at a National Conference of Social Work when he said, "We must help to transform a society which has controlled its behavior by tradition into one which controls it by intelligent choice." That statement has seemed to me the keynote of all this series of meetings. The intelligent choices controlling marriage have many of them still to be discovered, but the interest in the subject today as a social problem of commanding importance encourages one to hope that not too much time will be wasted in such theoretical and inconclusive speculations as we have just had in the Keyserling book on marriage, for example. What we need is a series of next steps, however short. It is through proceeding to take such steps, in fact, that discovery is made possible.

You may be asking, "But where do the social workers, and especially the family social workers come in in all this?" I have saved them for the very end, and it is here, unfortunately, where I am most deeply involved, that my gift of prophecy is most likely to fail me. Our best beginning, probably, is to begin where we are. The editor of the Association Press said recently, "Humanity is so passionately sure that some new social device will get us out of the present crisis in marriage that it is almost impossible to secure any consideration for an attempt to work the means that we possess." Beginning where we are involves making the best possible use of our case work experience and improving both the background and the foreground of our records when they deal, as they often do, with marital difficulties. But we should not stop here. It is true that the small group and the individual aspects concern social case workers most nearly, but if there had been time I think I could have convinced you that the successive steps by which I was drawn into the administrative studies that my colleagues and I have been making are all social case work steps. As between social reform and social case work, in fact, there is no "either or" situation but a "both" situation always. Everything said by Miss Hamilton two

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days ago at this Conference is so profoundly true that it seems to me to establish a social work landmark, but my topic today happens to be the other side of our program.¹

Social advance is a unit, and if we study our case work failures carefully we are only too likely to find that even the most painstaking case treatment often breaks down at the very point where another community resource or group of resources touches the lives of our clients vitally. Unless, therefore, we are able, while remaining loyally devoted to our own specialty, to work from the basis of the whole and to see the multiform interrelations of the whole, we are in grave danger of making the mistake that the French physicians made when they objected to Pasteur's revolutionary discoveries because their concern, as doctors, was not with the disease but with the individual patient.

In any new social reform, social case work is likely to come in at two important stages. It precedes the large concerted movements and prepares the way for them by bearing faithful witness to the pressure of bad conditions upon individuals and families. But later, it is equally serviceable in applying the new legislative and administrative measures in detail; especially in the initial stages can it bear an important part in helping to make these new measures workable.

If I were going on a long journey and not likely to come back, I think my very last words to my colleagues in family social work, with whom I have had so many good times, would be these: Study and develop your work at its point of intersection with the other services and social activities of your community. Learn to do your daily tasks not any less thoroughly, but to do them from the basis of the whole and with that background always in mind. After all, society is one fabric, and when you know the resources of your community both public and private, and the main trends of its life rather than any particular small section of it, you are able to knit into the pattern of that fabric the threads of your own specialty. There are eddies and flurries, not to say crazes. Disregard them and let your minds carry through to the practical next steps by which genuine social advance is achieved.

¹ Hamilton, Gordon, "The Contribution of Social Case Work to Modern Life." In *Family Life Today*, edited by Margaret E. Rich, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1928, p. 193.—EDITORS.

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In this matter of marriage—and no larger question, as it seems to me, is likely to demand your attention during the next fifty years—bear faithful, unsensational witness to what is happening in your own state. Instead of seeking any comprehensive, all-at-once remedy either through national or state action, be content at first with short next steps carefully taken and well secured by good enforcement. Work with the administrators of the marriage law, try to understand their difficulties. You ought to find it easy, for some of theirs are yours too. And yet again, and now finally, consider what a wonderfully varied and constructive part is going to be borne later in all this by the many different associations and forms of community that constitute our free society. The goal is so great a one! Prepare yourselves to contribute your characteristic difference to that common stock of insights through which—without a thought of who is to get the credit—there is finally to be achieved as great an advance in marriage reform as we are now achieving in the field of public health.



THE LIGHTED TORCH

Originated by Miss Richmond and drawn by Elizabeth Shippen Green (Elliott) for the Conference on Family Life in America Today, held at Buffalo in 1927. This design is now copyrighted by the Family Welfare Association of America.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MISS RICHMOND'S PUBLISHED WORKS NOT INCLUDED IN THE PRESENT VOLUME

[Omitted from the list given below are: Communications to newspapers, appeals and publicity in pamphlet form, summaries of speeches and contributions to discussion at various conferences.]

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- Typical Married Vagabonds. In the *Baltimore Charities Record*, vol. 2, pp. 63, 79, 86, October and December, 1896, February, 1897.
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APPENDIX B

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, 1909-1929

[The Charity Organization Bulletin and case histories are not included here, since they were privately printed and their circulation was strictly limited.]

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- Klein, Philip.** *The Burden of Unemployment: A Study of Unemployment Relief Measures in Fifteen American Cities, 1921-22.* 260 pp. 1923.
- May, Geoffrey.** *Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States: A Manual.* 467 pp. 1929.
- Nesbitt, Florence.** *Household Management.* 170 pp. 1918. Social Work Series.
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DEPARTMENT PUBLICATIONS

PAMPHLETS

[All the pamphlets listed below are out of print except *What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Communities*, by Margaret F. Byington, and *Medical Certification for Marriage*, by Fred S. Hall.]

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Hall, Fred S. *Medical Certification for Marriage: An Account of the Administration of the Wisconsin Marriage Law as It Relates to the Venereal Diseases.* 92 pp. 1925.

Handbook Concerning the Issuance of Transportation by Charitable Societies and Public Officials. 54 pp. 1909.

Harrison, Shelby M. *Social Case Workers and Better Industrial Conditions.* 23 pp. Paper read before the division on the Family of the National Conference of Social Work, May, 1918.

Hodges, George. *Efficient Philanthropy.* 12 pp. 1911. Extracts from an address delivered at the annual meetings of the Associated Charities of Columbus, Ohio, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Johnson, Alexander. *On Being a Director: An Open Letter to One of the Board of a Society for Organizing Charity.* 8 pp. 1910.

——— *Organization in the Smaller Cities.* 4 pp. Reprinted from *Charities and the Commons*, May 3, 1905.

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- Lee, Porter R.** Treatment: Methods Employed by Organized Charity in the Rehabilitation of Families. 16 pp. 1910.
- McLean, Francis H.** The Formation of Charity Organization Societies in Smaller Cities. 53 pp. 1910. Revised and enlarged from a pamphlet originally issued by the Field Department of Charities and the Commons in 1906.
- Passing on as a Method of Charitable Relief with a Description of the Telegraphic Code and Transportation Agreement. 35 pp. 1911.
- Richmond, Mary E.** The Interrelation of Social Movements with Information about Sixty-seven Organizations. 32 pp. 1910.
- Motherhood and Pensions. 8 pp. Reprinted from the Survey, March 1, 1913.
- War and Family Solidarity. 14 pp. Address before the division on the Family of the National Conference of Social Work, May 21, 1918.
- Richmond, Mary E.** and **Hall, Fred S.** A Study of Nine Hundred and Eighty-five Widows Known to Certain Charity Organization Societies in 1910. 83 pp. 1913.
- Riis, Jacob A.** A Modern St. George. 31 pp. Reprinted from Scribner's Magazine, vol. 50, October, 1911.
- Sheffield, Ada Eliot.** The Charity Director: A Brief Study of His Responsibilities. 16 pp. 1913.
- Tufts, James Hayden.** Wartime Gains for the American Family. 20 pp. Address before the division on the Family of the National Conference of Social Work, June 2, 1919.
- and **Crothers, Samuel McChord.** The Family. 29 pp. Address delivered before the section on the Family and the Community at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, May 15, 1915.
- What Is Organized Charity? Ten Pertinent Questions Briefly Answered. 16 pp. 1910.
- What Public Officials Say Who Have Tried the Transportation Agreement. 7 pp. 1916.

APPENDIX C

INTERRELATIONS OF THE FIELD DEPARTMENT OF CHARITIES AND THE COMMONS, THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, AND THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATION IN THE FAMILY FIELD

IN 1905, at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Portland, Oregon, a few of the secretaries of the larger charity organization societies agreed to exchange information, forms and other material, and asked Miss Richmond, then general secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, to undertake to direct the exchange. Charities, the social work journal which was succeeded by the Survey, was at that time published by a Committee on Publications of the New York Charity Organization Society, of which Robert W. de Forest was and still is president. The Committee on Publications was induced to undertake the mechanical work of exchanging the material, Miss Richmond's time in directing being contributed for the period that she continued in Philadelphia. Later in the same year, Charities was merged with a Chicago journal called the Commons, and the informal exchange plan became dignified into a Field Department, with Miss Richmond as editor, and F. H. McLean, then general secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, as assistant editor. The arrangement worked so well that at the Minneapolis Conference in 1907, a group of representatives of the larger societies urged that a more definite plan of extension, including field and direct consultation service, be developed. Charities and the Commons thereupon engaged Mr. McLean on full time as field secretary, Miss Richmond continuing to direct the Department. Mr. McLean says of this period:¹

The first charity organization society was founded in this country in 1877. The movement spread rapidly for a while and 180 such societies under a variety of titles were listed in 1907. But many were little more than names, others had a very inadequate budget, and still others had drifted back into the old-fashioned type of small-dole agency. There were a goodly number of efficient, growing societies, but geographically these were very unevenly distributed, leaving whole sections of the country in

¹ For a more extended discussion of the period, see *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, by Frank D. Watson. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922, chap. 9.

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which charities were multiplying rapidly and social needs becoming more complex without any planned and co-ordinated attack upon distress and its causes. An attempt to impose upon these communities a uniform system of organization would only have increased the number of paper societies. It was most important that local needs and local possibilities should be studied.

The financial panic of 1907-1908 was in full swing, and it remains a mystery how Miss Richmond found time to devote to the Field Department, but during the two years that followed she and Mr. McLean continued the Exchange, added a special confidential exchange of reports on the unemployment situation, published the Field Department Bulletin (at first mimeographed, later printed), began a study of case records, worked out uniform case record forms which were sold to the societies, developed the system of "forwarding centers" still in use by family societies, published a directory of charity organization societies, extended the use of the telegraphic code for intercommunication on transportation cases, the Field Department having been appointed the agent of the National Conference of Charities and Correction to administer and extend the use of the Charitable Transportation Agreement.¹ In addition, Mr. McLean, with one assistant, Miss Margaret Byington, who was added to the staff in 1909, had made 76 visits of greater or less duration, to 49 different cities, in order to help organize, reorganize or strengthen the societies in those cities, and had also corresponded with societies or with groups of people anxious to form societies in 227 cities.

The modest cost of this truly staggering volume of work had not been borne by the societies themselves, but was met through a grant from the newly established Russell Sage Foundation, of which Mr. de Forest was vice-president, and John M. Glenn who had been a friend and co-worker of Miss Richmond's in Baltimore, was director. Both men had been brought up in the school of charity organization method, and knew how to appraise the value of what the Field Department was doing; and both felt that it needed Miss Richmond's full attention. Accordingly, they planned to make the extension of the charity organization movement one of the important departments in the new Foundation's program, and by amicable agreement with Charities and the Commons, on October 1, 1909, the Field Department became the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation.

In accepting the directorship of the new department, Miss Richmond stipulated that there should be no objection when, at some later time, the

¹The idea of the Transportation Agreement and Telegraphic Code had first been developed, however, by the National Conference of Jewish Charities. See its Proceedings, 1900, p. 19.

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societies might form an association of their own and desire to take over some of the work on the Department's original program. She lent her efforts to the formation of such an association, with strong backing from a group of the leading societies in the field; and, after a year of preliminary work by a temporary committee, there was launched at the Boston meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911, the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity.¹ Mr. McLean left the Charity Organization Department to become its director, while Miss Byington remained, and Fred S. Hall was added to the Charity Organization Department's staff.

The greater part of the field contacts were taken over into the new association, leaving the Charity Organization Department free "to study, teach and publish in the charity organization field, bounding that field broadly to include the better co-ordination of all social service."² There remained in the Charity Organization Department, however, many direct services to the societies which the new association was too young and weak in resources to undertake, and which were gradually transferred to the Association or superseded by other activities which it developed. The Charity Organization Department continued for ten years or more to carry on the exchange of letters and forms among the societies, as well as the circulation of annotated scrapbooks, educational publicity material, mounted posters, and a "suitcase exhibit." Placement was for some years a joint enterprise between the Charity Organization Department and the Association, which shared what Miss Richmond has described as "the fight for the trained secretary."

Correspondence with societies and advice by letter on local problems continued also to be given for some time by the Charity Organization Department, as a supplement to the efforts of the field staff of the Association; but these services were gradually curtailed as the Association grew stronger. The old Field Department Bulletin was retained under Miss Richmond's editorship and rechristened the Charity Organization Bulletin. It continued to be issued by the Charity Organization Department until November, 1918, when Miss Richmond decided to bring the series to a close, chiefly in order to leave the field free for the Association to begin the publication of *The Family*, which it did in March, 1920.

The last major function to be relinquished by the Charity Organization Department was the administration of the Transportation Agreement.³

¹ In 1912, the name was changed to American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity; in 1920, to American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, and the present title of Family Welfare Association of America was adopted in 1930.

² From an unpublished report.

³ See *The Cheerful Giver of Transportation*, p. 305.

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This work, consisting of printing and circulating the code governing the giving of charitable transportation, extending its use and securing signers for the agreement, and adjusting disputes that arose as to its interpretation, was carried on by the Charity Organization Department as a representative of the National Conference of Charities and Correction until 1921, when the developments in the national case work field made it seem more appropriate for the Association to take the lead in organizing a national Committee on Charitable Transportation, which has since administered the agreement. The only direct service to the societies which the Charity Organization Department continued after 1921 was the preparation and sale of certain record forms and statistical cards, though indirectly, of course, its entire output of study and publication was developed to serve the field of case work.

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