THE SETTLEMENT HORIZON

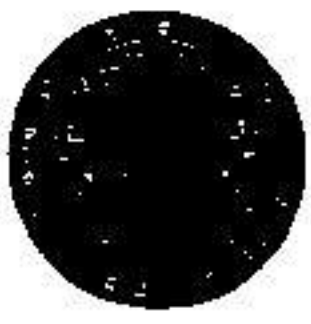
A NATIONAL ESTIMATE

BY

ROBERT A. WOODS

AND

ALBERT J. KENNEDY



NEW YORK
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION
1922

COPYRIGHT, 1922, BY
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

PREFACE

THE writers, who began this study at the suggestion of a representative group of fellow-workers in different parts of the country, have to express their deep appreciation of ready and thorough aid received from nearly all the American settlement houses. Many head residents have given us the fullest value of personal reminiscence and judgment. A large store of significant private data, in addition to every sort of printed matter, has been placed in our hands. Burdensome questionnaires, and a great variety of special inquiries, have been carefully answered. The visits which it has been our privilege to make to not less than four hundred of the five hundred settlements in the United States have kept us continuously in a rare atmosphere of loyalty to settlement aims, while in each instance providing vital information and suggestion in a field of effort qualified so largely by individual vision and power, whether among veterans or recruits. In connection with these visits, frequent opportunity of conference was afforded with men and women who possess that decisive acquaintance with the settlement which comes to its sagacious neighbors.

For the past decade, as joint secretaries of the National Federation of Settlements, we have had the opportunity of arranging for and responsibly participating in its annual meetings and of editing its reports; and have thus enjoyed close association with those giving expression, from year to year, to the most recent developments of specific experience and the most timely precipitants of conviction and purpose. Part of the official duties of the enterprise has been to keep in unbroken communication with staff and board members of neighborhood agencies throughout the United States and in many foreign countries. One of us has at different times visited the original as well as the more recent English establishments, and has had the privilege of seeing something of the new embodiments of settlement motive that are springing up at various points on the continent of Europe and in the Orient.

In addition to all that has come through these more comprehensive undertakings, we are specially indebted to Miss Alice E. Robbins and Miss Elizabeth S. Williams, who, in the early stages of the study, gathered and arranged the results of a systematic inquiry into the work of the numerous and widely suggestive settlements of New York City, a field familiar to them through long and successful experience. Later we served as editors of a productive national inquiry, in which there was the broadest settlement participation, into neighborhood work among adolescent girls. For New York, in organizing and interpreting the material thus collected, we had the valuable assistance of Miss Harriet McD. Daniels.

Dr. Jane E. Robbins has reviewed with special care the story of the beginnings on this side of the water. Miss Ethel W. Dougherty has given the presentation of club work among girls and women the benefit of her wide experience. Professor Henry G. Pearson, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with practised skill has aided in clearing the reader's path of obstacles in expression and substance.

Indispensable assistance at many points has come from association with our immediate colleagues at South End House and from the larger fellowship of the Boston settlements.

Settlement work, though predominantly localized, covers a range of active interests as wide as civilization, all of them in course of development. It will be understood, therefore, that each phase of a subject so many-sided will have bearings that cannot be covered under any one head. We therefore suggest reference to the Index by those who would follow up any specific topic in the settlement program. A selection of authoritative books and articles on the different phases of settlement work is presented in the Bibliography at the end of the volume. For an ordered outline of the work of individual houses our Handbook of Settlements, published in 1910 by the Russell Sage Foundation, should be consulted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ORIGINS

NEIGHBORHOOD GUILD

CULTURE AND REALITY

NEXT-DOOR TO LABOR

COMMON WEAL

COMMON WILL

GRASP AND REACH

APPENDIX

I

ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS IN ENGLAND

THE university settlement came as the response of spiritual enlightenment to elemental changes in the life of the English people. It had its origins in the work of some of the foremost moral leaders of the nation, as singly or in rare fellowship they passed in succession through the last century. These men had profound influence in remodeling institutions shaken by the industrial revolution; they played an indispensable part in devising and establishing new forms of collective enterprise. Gradually there was outlined a project which seemed to epitomize all that they proposed. It was one of those conceptions whose simplicity is its power. Though creating in some sort a missionary order of the new humanities, it provided for no apostles; it relied solely upon a discipleship pledged to a way of life. Within two decades this propaganda of deed was commanding the energies of hundreds of loyal companies throughout the English-speaking world.

The especial mark of the historic processes which led up to this development was the endeavor on the part of men of the highest gifts and training to share working-class interests. It was thus that factory legislation had its beginnings. In its early struggles some of the best intelligence of the country joined hands with the labor movement. Recurrent and increasing emphasis was laid upon the necessity of a changed community background for working-class life. Several pioneer efforts were made to establish industrial villages among whose inhabitants obligations based on income and education should traverse all grades and distinctions. In the end it was discovered that the most fertile soil for participation between separated groups lay in the midst of working-class neighborhoods. Here, compassed about by all the problems of advancing democracy, university men might make their home. Here, under im-

memorial sanctions, might be formed between scholar and toiler the tie of neighbor.

The modern humanitarian movement was made possible by the increased material prosperity which appeared with factory production, even as it was made necessary by evils incident to the new industrial order. Its true impetus, however, came out of the Wesleyan revival, which, during the second half of the eighteenth century, wrought results so elemental in English life. Thoughtful people became more sensitive to the appeal of misery. The achievements of John Howard (1726–1790) in securing progressive prison legislation, and of William Wilberforce (1759–1833) in bringing about the abolition of Negro slavery, helped to revive the old-established tradition of protective legislation for workers. A long series of factory bills, promoted chiefly under the leadership of Lord Shaftesbury (1801–1885), gradually gained for wage-earners a sufficient foothold, in respect of physical vitality, education, and leisure, to make it possible for them to undertake constructive measures of self-help.

While laws restricting the exploitation of laborers were being added to the statute book, Robert Owen (1771–1858), a successful factory manager, was opening up some of the far-reaching possibilities of readjustment which lay in the factory itself and in the mode of life of its whole related personnel. Born of humble parents, Owen rose through his own exertions to ever more responsible positions, bought an interest in his employer's business and married his daughter, thus progressing through the orthodox British degrees toward success.

Owen was far ahead of his time in perceiving that the health and happiness of his operatives and their attitude toward work were important factors in production. He astonished his competitors by raising wages and shortening hours. He reduced child labor to a minimum. Finally he captured the imagination of his force by paying them their wages through a three-month period of unemployment caused by a shortage of cotton.

For the factory village of New Lanark, Owen outlined and enforced wholesome sanitary regulations, supplied skilled medical attendance, opened a model provision store, established a savings bank, and encouraged the organization of a sick-benefit society.

The possibilities inherent in the rising generation also caught Owen's imagination. He worked out and put into operation a scheme of elementary education which, in its emphasis on freedom, on those physical and mental activities best suited to counteract the effects of machine industry on growth of body and mind, and in its demand that children be prepared to earn as well as to spend a living, has never been bettered. He organized evening classes for adults, provided a village park, a playground, a hall for meetings and dancing, and encouraged wholesome recreation. The combination of good pay, provision for healthy family life, recreation, and a sound public spirit practically eradicated the drunkenness and lawlessness characteristic of mill villages. These experiments at the beginning of industrialism were of epochal significance because they proved conclusively that fair conditions of life were by no means incompatible with profitable industry.

The success of his experiments at New Lanark led Owen to put forth some bold speculations about the causes and cure of vice and poverty. He became convinced that character was largely if not altogether the result of environment and training, and could be formed by a proper system of education. The school, therefore, was always the heart of his broad plans for social regeneration. He also saw the anomaly of a population in danger of starving because machinery enabled goods to be produced faster than they could be consumed. His remedy was a mixed agricultural manufacturing communism organized on a village basis. For he understood the fundamental quality of village organization and its human and associational possibilities as few social philosophers have done. Colonies based on his ideas were founded in Ireland and America, none of which, however, was ultimately successful.

Though the establishment of communistic labor colonies was a chief interest with Owen he gave generous assistance to various other efforts for social reform. He was in a large measure responsible for the Factory Act of 1819, the first in which the state definitely recognized its guardianship of children, and hence one of the most important in the entire series of factory enactments. His school at New Lanark had a profound effect on the development of public education in England and in America. He encouraged groups of workingmen to open co-operative stores as a means of accumulating

capital with which to found one of his colonies. These stores laid the basis for later growth of consumers' co-operation. He lent his aid to the pioneer trade unions, and the first proposal for a universal eight-hour day came from him. But his great service consisted in forcing operatives and well-to-do alike to look at industry in terms of its effect on the total life of a nation; in pointing out to wage-earners that the determining factor in the new system of industry was not machinery but the principle of association; and in making it clear that they could protect their interests only by learning the mastery of that principle.[1]

While Owen was thus engaged in working out his plan of a model mill town, the Scottish divine, Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), at the beginning of his career was bringing to the organization of a city working-class community a remarkable combination of disciplined evangelical fervor, comprehension of economic law, and power of leadership. In 1819, as a partial response to his declaration that twenty new churches were required to care adequately for the people's spiritual life, the Glasgow town council laid off for him a large and needy parish.[2] Establishing his home in the midst of it, he gathered about him, principally from the parish, a staff of volunteer assistants. He divided the district into twenty-five small neighborhoods, each containing from sixty to one hundred families. To each of these subdivisions he assigned an elder and a deacon; one to look after its spiritual interests, the other to provide for relief of the poor and the education of children. In addition to regular weekday schools, he established here and there throughout the district more than forty small Sunday schools for both religious and secular instruction.

[1] Owen was an autocrat in mind and method, with a basis of theoretical democracy of the eighteenth century sort. His limitations were those of the typical captain of industry—he wanted to create his world *de novo*. His system, founded on village life in New Lanark, was indeed little more than the indefinite multiplication of that community.

All things considered, Owen achieved an astonishing measure of influence even in his own day. The chief opposition to his proposals grew out of his supposed attitude toward religion, which was greatly misjudged. He pointed out the waste and evil involved in sectarianism, and mapped out a kind of church union very similar to that later advocated by Arnold Toynbee. If he could have suppressed some very just but extremely (considering the age) untimely criticism of ecclesiasticism in general, Owen might have carried his plans further. Nevertheless his influence on all classes was very great.

[2] His ministry in Glasgow extended from 1815 to 1823.

In everything Chalmers did he insisted upon the necessity and value of thoroughgoing neighborly relations. He went about through his district constantly in order to be on personal terms with all sorts of men, women, and children. "Man," he said, "will at length learn to be more practical and less imaginative. He will hold it to be a worthier achievement to do for a little neighborhood than to devise for a whole world."[1] He urged, in fact, that unless the helpful approach was that of the discerning neighbor, assistance might stifle rather than arouse the initiative of people. His "principle of locality" was a logical outgrowth of his endeavor to be at once human and thorough.

Though limited in his views about many industrial problems by theories of the day, Chalmers held it to be the church's duty to meet new issues which the factory system was projecting into the life of the people. He believed that through the neighborly inclination of each to do his part with all others, every working-class community could become sufficient to its own economic needs and pauperism might be abolished; and he well-nigh proved this contention. His faculty for fresh practical insights into human nature, inseparable from his power of invention and organization in human relations, gave a peculiarly stimulating quality to the influence which he continued to exert during his later career.

The concrete suggestions of Owen and Chalmers for meeting new issues of industrialism found reinforcement in the teachings of two great thinkers. Bred, like Chalmers, in the vigorous Scottish tradition, Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) began to unfold a thesis, pieced out of clues drawn primarily from the German philosophers, at the time both novel and intangible. Carlyle taught that society is a moral organism, a living unity and fellowship; that "all social growths in this world have required organizing; and work, the greatest of human interests, does now require it." He challenged with all his power of thought and purpose the national policy of unrestricted competition, of industrial leadership indifferent to the welfare of the industrial army. Sartor Resartus, first published in 1833–1834, and Past and Present in 1843, exercised a profound in-

[1] The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns, p. 133. Abridged, with Introduction by C. R. Henderson. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

fluence upon the younger generation of leaders who were coming to consciousness of the real state of the nation.

Tendencies thus developing were notably reinforced, especially among conservatives, by the writings of John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), the most broadly human of the classical economists. In his Political Economy, published in 1848, Mill challenged the attention of the universities with a demand for the more equitable distribution of wealth. Every phase of his life work, however abstract, is found upon analysis to have been dictated by his desire to see the lot of working people ameliorated. During his last years he exerted a profound influence in the radical reshaping of the national economic purpose.

Meanwhile, reform of factory evils by legislation had been carried triumphantly to the end of its first stage in the Factory Act of 1844, which abolished night work for women and children in spinning and weaving mills; restricted working hours for young persons and women to twelve per day and prohibited their employment on Sunday; reduced working hours of children between the ages of eight and thirteen to six and a half a day, and required that they attend school three hours daily during the first five days of the week. Lord Shaftesbury, the unflagging leader in this legislation, was moved, not by considerations of philosophy or economics, but through the sense of pity and of duty which went with his evangelical faith. He continued to the end of a long life his many-sided activity throughout the congested centers of poverty and ignorance in London, devotedly, and it must be confessed, solemnly, laying the foundations upon which many later and better considered forms of charity and public education were to build.

Caring quite as deeply for the same sort of human beings, Charles Dickens (1812–1870) exemplified toward them always the liveliest sense of comradeship. One of his earliest essays was entitled "The Parish," and this was followed by another on "Our Parish." The scene of nearly all his stories was set amid some group of humble neighbors. By imparting to his readers an abiding feeling of having been in and of every circle of life he depicted, he prepared the minds of large numbers everywhere for more personal approach on their part to the unprivileged of all degrees. Even less moved than Shaftesbury by the historic meanings of a changing order, yet

by the very accumulation of his influence Dickens affected it in supreme degree. No follower of his failed to have a keener sense of the claim of human nature under stress of poverty and of the elemental virtue and nobility, then hardly suspected, that are the treasures of labor. He was an ardent and vital champion of reform in education, in housing, in the administration of relief, and the care of prisoners. Shaftesbury said, "God gave Charles Dickens a general retainer against all suffering and oppression."

While the upper classes were slowly waking to the extent and seriousness of the suffering brought about by the factory system, the unrest of labor had become intense and widespread. Disappointment that improvement in living and working conditions failed to follow the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, on which so many hopes had been built, and growing distress due to constant crises, created a spirit of revolt which became increasingly self-conscious and vocal during the "hungry forties." The February revolution of 1848 in Paris inflamed workingmen all over the continent and led to profoundly influential demonstrations in the principal industrial cities of Europe, some of which were accompanied by violence. Doubtless the most dramatic and, as it turned out, one of the most far-reaching manifestations in behalf of popular rights in England during the nineteenth century was the attempt on April 10, 1848, to convey to the Houses of Parliament, under escort of a great army of workers, a monster petition in favor of a People's Charter. The chief tenet of this document was manhood suffrage with attendant representation. The government, at once hampering and emphasizing working-class expression, filled London with troops and swore in thousands among the upper and middle classes as special constables.

The threat involved in these several uprisings fixed the attention of the moneyed and governing class of all nations on the seriousness of underlying industrial conditions as nothing else could have done. While the first effect was a conservative reaction, a number of idealistically minded men of education were led, as it were, out of the heart of the revolt, to seek measures of amelioration.

It is significant that the year 1848 saw the birth of the two most influential forms which the modern movement for social reform has taken. Both were in part designated by the word "socialism,"

which had first appeared in connection with Owen's model communities, and both were to have an influence hardly to be overestimated upon the subsequent progress of democratic civilization.

"The Communist Manifesto" of Marx (1818–1883) and Engels (1820–1895), published early in 1848 in London, contains in germ Marx's broad generalization that the political, legal, and social structure of a nation is an outgrowth of its economic organization. Although based largely on English conditions, this theory was of course in no sense the outcome of an English point of view. His continued study of the results of private control even of the instruments of production led Marx to prophesy the inevitable concentration of capital in the hands of a few, continued overproduction with attendant crises, ever-growing poverty, the rise in self-defense of wage-earners, and the final nationalization of all land, machinery, and capital. Marx and his disciples despaired utterly of things as they were, and centered their energy on the task of securing a solid working-class front for far-reaching and drastic action. The theory of "class struggle," with its watchword, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" represented for many years the sole appeal of what has come to be known as Marxian Socialism. Not until after his death did it, with profound modification, become a direct force in English life.

Christian Socialism was characteristically English, embodying as it did the national genius for compromise. It was less a system of ideas than a moral impulse. Examined closely it turns out to be in the first instance a synthesis of existing beginnings toward social reform. Its exponents were, and continued to be, filially attached to university and church. Perhaps its most important achievements came of the fact that some adherents actually joined working-class organizations and gave time, strength, and money to developing the effectiveness of these bodies and to interpreting their aims to the public. Though it had a relatively brief organized career, its exponents, during the following half century, continued to have a widespread and potent influence in promoting a more just and fraternal ordering of civilization.

The spiritual guide of Christian Socialism was Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–1872). Influenced directly by Carlyle, and in general by Hegelian teaching as to the organic unity of mankind,

Maurice set forth the Kingdom of God on earth and among men as at once the basis of Christian doctrine and the touchstone of Christian action. He had the high distinction of drawing about himself perhaps the rarest group of young men to be found in any such personal allegiance during the whole nineteenth century. His wide experience and varied connections doubtless helped to soften the reaction against what, in the late forties and early fifties, must have seemed to the stock British mind a monstrous desertion of class and professional ties on the part of barristers and clergy. The personal reverence which he inspired, and the never-swerving loyalty of his followers, frequently made him appear the creative mind in specific activities to which he was by no means wholeheartedly committed. If in the pioneering stage of the movement this fact drew toward him the onus of public blame, it later brought him, in comparison with others, disproportionate praise.

Next to Maurice, Charles Kingsley (1819–1875) was, because of his power of cogent presentation, the most influential member of the group. But John Malcolm Ludlow, Thomas Hughes, Edward Vansittart Neale, and Frederick James Furnival will always be remembered as having most definitely and persistently carried out the practical proposals of Christian Socialism. While other exponents were soon too absorbed by professional duties to continue active propaganda, these four devoted a large part of their lives to the furtherance, on the basis of educational standards, of working-class organizations.

The beginnings of Christian Socialism go back to 1846, when Ludlow, a law student at Lincoln's Inn, called on Maurice, who had just been appointed its chaplain, for assistance in "bringing to bear the leisure and good feeling of the Inns of Court upon the destitution and vice of the neighborhood." A system of visiting and relief was undertaken by the students which led to their establishing an elementary day and evening school. The men who assumed these duties were in the habit of meeting weekly at the home of Maurice for discussion and religious fellowship. It may be pointed out that this work, carried on in and limited to a neighborhood, was apart from direct parochial connection, and was engaged in by young laymen fresh from the universities. Meanwhile Kingsley, who had been attracted from law to the church largely by the writings of

Maurice, had fairly begun, in a neglected country parish, a pastorate illustrating in the highest degree the human meaning of Christianity.

The Chartist demonstration of April, 1848, incited the Brotherhood thus formed to a wider range of activity. Fearing a serious outcome, Kingsley had hastened up to London from his parish at Eversley. With Ludlow and Maurice he sought for some way by which the moral impulse behind Chartism might be saved and the church awakened to a realization of its responsibility. The immediate result was a public appeal[1] addressed to the "Workmen of England," pledging assistance of many outside friends and calling the men to a more righteous personal life. An important part of the Christian Socialist program as it began to take form was the allaying of class prejudice through deepening and extending the religious sense of brotherhood and through promoting in new ways the spread of higher standards of culture and conduct.

A penny paper under the editorship of Ludlow was projected, the first number of which appeared on May 6, 1848, with the title, *Politics for the People*. Kingsley's "Parson Lot" articles came out in it, as well as much of the freshest and most forceful writing produced by the group. After seventeen numbers, publication was discontinued. The paper was followed by a series of tracts and a second journal, the *Christian Socialist*. The stimulus of this kind of writing drew from Kingsley two stirring novels, Yeast, and Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet. The direct and indirect effect of these literary labors in promoting a vital and sympathetic knowledge of the hardships suffered by great numbers of working people can hardly be overestimated.

The unique distinction of the Christian Socialist group was the ingenuity, devotion, and persistence with which members constantly tested their large aims by the close-range demands of actual local situations. Kingsley's bitter experience with disease-breeding ways of life in the cottages of his parish, and with bad drains in his own parsonage, prepared him to discern and led him to set forth in terms of human degradation all that went with neglected and over-

[1] "Maurice is in great excitement. He has sent me to Ludlow, and we are getting out placards for the walls, to speak a word for God with."—Kingsley, Charles: His Letters and Memories of His Life, Vol. I, p.116. London, C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1880.

crowded tenements. Such teachings, continued year after year, helped to raise the reform of sanitation and housing into public necessities that should be undertaken by municipalities and even by Parliament.[1] Yet when a member of the group, recognizing the importance of organized action, proposed a National Health League, the suggestion was vetoed by Maurice in favor of beginning close at home in an ill-favored neighborhood called Little Ormond Yard; and the Brotherhood until the very end continued to emphasize the moral responsibility of every individual both for drains and conduct.[2]

In January, 1850, a new practical step was taken by the organization of a Society for Promoting Workingmen's Associations. Ludlow had spent the summer of 1849 in Paris and had come back full of the accomplishments of the Associations Ouvriers. He converted the entire Brotherhood to a system of modified or group capitalism under which workingmen were to own or hire the machinery and money for an enterprise, choose the management from their own number, and divide the returns.[3] It was recognized that such undertakings were not immediately adapted to unskilled laborers, nor applicable to industries demanding large capital. The trades selected for experiment, therefore, were tailoring and shoemaking.

The first Co-operative Tailors' Association was formed in February, 1850, with Walter Cooper, a Chartist, as manager. During the following four years a long series of such enterprises were founded. Early shops failed both in productivity and in morale,

[1] Kingsley wrote to Ludlow that then would come, "National Education, Sanitary and Dwelling-House Reform, the Free Sale of Land, and corresponding reform of the Land Laws, moral improvement of the Family relation, public places of Recreation (on which point I am very earnest) . . . . . ." Opus cit., p. 194.

[2] "God will only reform society on condition of our reforming every man his own self, while the devil is quite ready to help us mend the laws and the Parliament, earth and Heaven, without ever starting such an impertinent and 'personal' request, as that a man should mend himself."—Kingsley, Charles: "Letters to the Chartists" in *Politics for the People*, May 13, 1848.

[3] "I certainly thought (and for that matter have never altered my opinion to this day) that here we had found the solution to the great labor question; but I was also convinced that we had nothing to do but just announce it, and found an association or two, in order to convert all England, and usher in the millennium at once, so plain did the whole thing seem to me. I will not undertake to answer for the rest of the Council, but I doubt whether I was at all more sanguine than the majority."—Hughes, Thomas: Memoir of a Brother, p. 111. London, Macmillan and Co., 1873.

chiefly because they were not truly co-operative. Capital was loaned and workmen had no consciousness of stake; anyone who applied was taken, members being in no sense picked men; control of other people's property resulted chiefly in an endeavor to get as much as possible individually out of the enterprise. Later societies, however, profited by the mistakes of early ones and a number had long and honorable careers.

In 1852, Ludlow and Hughes were able to secure the passage of the first Industrial and Provident Societies Act, under which co-operative organizations received a legal status as trading concerns. For the next four decades, with Neale, they gave time and money unstintedly to national organizations for the promotion of co-operative stores and workshops, to working-class fraternal orders maintaining insurance features, and to independent workingmen's clubs. Their most significant contribution to these interests was the nourishment of missionary zeal among the membership. The educational and civic activities developed locally in many instances by such agencies for self-help were inspired in large part through influences set in motion by these three men.

The chief line of action through which Christian Socialists engaged themselves in the cause of labor was open-handed support of trade unionism in its struggle to exist. A strike, in January, 1852, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, one of the earliest of the great modern unions, called out the first specific Christian Socialist effort of this sort. By letters to the newspapers, lectures, discussions, pamphlets, and the raising of a very substantial strike fund, they publicly justified the demands of the men for the abolition of piece work and overtime, and the right to organize. Similar help was given again in 1857 and in 1861. Thereafter, for many years, Ludlow and Hughes were recognized leaders in the group of lawyers and literary men who acted as advisers to trade unions.

The last undertaking of the Christian Socialist Brotherhood as a group was the establishment of the London Workingmen's College. Experience with co-operative societies made it evident that the jealousies, downright incompetence, and constant insubordination against chosen leaders which characterized a considerable portion of the membership could be overcome only by education. Maurice had long dreamed of a college where all fruits of the ripest culture

might be placed at the disposal of working people.[1] Partly as an outgrowth of lectures and classes given during the previous year, and partly in fulfilment of a resolution passed at a conference of delegates from co-operative societies, the college, with Maurice and Ludlow as founders, became a reality in November, 1854. The dismissal of Maurice from King's College, London, on account of his theological and economic beliefs, had fortunately left him free to devote his splendid energies to developing the new undertaking.

A teaching staff of volunteers was obtained, which included a number of young university men who had already shown marks of high distinction, among them being Ruskin, Burne-Jones, Rossetti, and Watts. It was at once characteristic of the founders of the college and prophetic of a dawning spirit in popular education, that the quality of loyal fellowship which is so integral a part of the true college should have been sought and achieved. The marked success of the venture assured establishment of similar institutions in other English cities and brought about what was later called university extension.

Ruskin's offer of his services to Maurice in 1854 as instructor in the principles of drawing, marked one of the most significant turning-points in the whole range of nineteenth century biography. His friends found it difficult to understand his unwearied devotion to what one of his biographers calls "this rough navvy labour of philanthropy." Ruskin continued to meet his classes, however, almost without intermission up to and through the year 1858. During this period he discovered that the wonder of mediæval cathedrals was possible chiefly because the craftsmen who wrought upon them were happy and free; and it came to him like a revelation that the vast product of modern industry could be made worthy and beautiful only after a prodigious reorganization of the economic and cultural order. The burden of his message shifted from appreciation of high artistic achievement as an isolated fact to the necessity of constituting ways of national existence that will encourage the whole people to create works of beauty; to what he himself

[1] Maurice was influenced by the previous establishment of the People's College, Sheffield, in 1842, whose antecedents may be traced to the Mechanics' Institutes which go back toward the beginning of the century.

called in lectures delivered during 1857 at Manchester, the "political economy of art."

Gradually he wrought out his great thesis that the supreme function of the state is to produce "souls of a good quality," and the supreme duty of its citizens to direct all their powers both as producers and consumers to this end.[1] His attack upon the dominant economic system, which so largely excluded human considerations, brought upon him a storm of criticism; but cheered on by the elder prophet Carlyle, he resolutely applied the test of his principles to one phase after another of contemporary civilization. From this time until the end of a long life he continued to devote his marvelous analytical powers and creative vision to establishing some of the sure foundations of a more just and more beautiful order.[2]

Ruskin's early criticism of industrialism was reinforced within a decade by an attack from a new angle. Matthew Arnold (1822–1888) pointed out with a wealth of phrase and with varied and pungent insistence, the cultural poverty of modern states. He called for a type of intellectual life sufficiently disinterested to face national shortcomings honestly and fearlessly; and sufficiently well disposed to set about laying foundations for democracy by making "the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere."[3]

After 1860 the type of opinion represented broadly by Christian Socialism began to come into power at the universities, where, if it lost some of its force and fervor, it gained in range and authority. Kingsley held the chair of modern history at Cambridge from 1860

[1] "There is no wealth but life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."—"Unto this Last," Essay IV. First published in *Cornhill Magazine*, November, 1860.

[2] "The political economy of today is the political economy of John Ruskin, and not the political economy of John Bright or even of John Stuart Mill."—F. York Powell, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. Quoted in The Works of John Ruskin, Vol. XVII, p. cxi. London, George Allen, 1905.

[3] "It [culture] seeks to do away with classes; to make all live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, and use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely,—to be nourished and not bound by them. This is the *social idea;* and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality."—Culture and Anarchy: an Essay in Political and Social Criticism, p. 49. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1869.

to 1869. Arnold was Professor of Poetry at Oxford from 1857 to 1867. Maurice became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge in 1866 and exercised a far-reaching influence there until his death in 1872. Ruskin was at Oxford from 1870 to 1878, and again in 1883 and 1884 as Slade Professor of the Fine Arts. Such authority at the nation's educational centers greatly strengthened the appeal for cultural democracy, but also laid upon its exponents a distinctive responsibility. The time had arrived when the universities themselves must find some direct contact with industrial issues, when they must come into terms of continuous interchange with working-class life.

As a means to this end the artificially organized community form, which since Plato has fascinated prophets of better days to come, was not without advocates. But as the colony could include only certain select and kindred spirits, and these in an age of reality living segregated in monastic isolation, the theory failed to attract men fitted to deal with its problems. None the less, however, the starting point of all dreams of a higher order remained practically the small geographical area with its inter-related homes and its forms of associated industry. The fact that so many of the reformers mentioned were also teachers of religion definitely reinforced this tendency. Religion, as well as politics, when brought to a human scale, inevitably finds its focus in the small community. In England there was a strong tradition for developing new types of moral enterprise through extension of parish functions.

Such incitement began to stir the mind of an occasional ardent candidate for orders. Maurice had asserted that the quintessence of Christian Socialism was to be found in the combined services of clergy and laity for the whole human welfare of a given parish; and Kingsley at Eversley had made a fresh and inspiriting application of Christian purpose to the round of life in a decadent rural community. Growth of dissent, the industrial revolution, and emigration had sapped the ancient vigor of the English parish and broken down that kinship of interest which once made it a coherent and loyal unit. Although many clergymen accepted the situation and merely carried on the stated functions of religion, a few sought to embody in comprehensive achievement those elemental principles of moral statesmanship in which parish organization is

grounded. The tradition that the rector of a parish should make his home within its bounds was of course unquestioned; and almost as clearly established was the fact that in less favored communities his office should constitute him the first citizen. The new watchword was that he should see in every phase of life about him an avenue for the recovery and exaltation of the human spirit, and for advance of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

Out of the very strength and persistence of the unrest which they represented, and by means of increased educational opportunity, the broad-scale workingmen's organizations had begun to develop trained and responsible officials. Community life in working-class districts, on the contrary, showed no organized expression, no prepared and alert leadership. This was the field which presented itself to disciples of the new teaching among the younger generation not called to the church, but affected by the time-honored English sense for disinterested public service.

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH BEGINNINGS

THE middle of the century, for England, ushered in a perilous new era. A clear call arose for a revised and more adequate definition of the public duty of the educated young man. The Liberal Party, which had enfranchised the middle class in 1832, began during the sixties to unfold its program of universal elementary education as the sound basis for increased extension of suffrage. The Conservatives had opposed the earlier Liberal policy of laissez faire by carrying through the factory acts. Christian Socialists had laid down some of the principles which must guide the new order of industrial society; and they were applying the gifts of statesmanship within certain working-class organizations. Their example and influence were having a profound effect upon a growing number of workingmen leaders.

At the universities the question now was asked: How can the spiritual possessions of those favored by education be introduced into the ordinary currents of wage-earning acquaintance and intercourse? This query led to two undertakings, each redolent of the university and each proposing to carry its motive into the actual round of life in great industrial strongholds. One undertook to embody in a far-reaching system the purpose of the Workingmen's College for broader training of leaders. The other sought rather to come at the physical and moral foundations of well-being among the rank and file.

As early as 1867, James Stuart (1843–1913), then a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, began the extension of university teaching by giving courses of lectures under definite academical standards in manufacturing towns. In 1873 he was able to secure the adoption of the plan by Cambridge University; and within a short time this service had so clearly proved its value that extension lectures were undertaken by Oxford and London universities.

A channel was thus opened for an entirely novel form of contact between representatives of the centers of culture and communities of working people.

From Oxford, fostering home of great sentiments, the movement across class lines assumed a more personal and a more objective form in the work of the first actual settlement pioneer, Edward Denison (1840–1870). Denison, coming deeply under the influence of Ruskin, had swung into the now broadening current of intellectual sympathy with the aims and hopes of workingmen.[1] Looking forward to a career in the House of Commons, of which his uncle was speaker, he decided that as part of his preparation for meeting new human issues he must have some measure of personal acquaintance with the life of toil and poverty. He therefore offered his services to the London Society for the Relief of Distress, which assigned to him duties in connection with one of its East End branches.

Faithfully as he followed out the tasks appointed to him, he was very far from being blind to the fact that the causes of suffering were deeper than any distress he sought to relieve. Under the date of October 16, 1866, he writes: "These bread and meat doles are only doing the work of the poor-rates, and are perfectly useless; the chief use of this Society and of many others, in my view, consists in bringing a considerable number of persons belonging to the upper classes in actual contact with the misery of their fellow citizens, and so convincing them of the necessity of social reform."[2] In 1867, the second year of a prolonged period of industrial depression, Denison resolved to make his abode in the district where

[1] The reality of this feeling is attested in a letter written from Lausanne, September 22, 1866, in which after some observations on the International Congress of Workmen which had just met in Geneva, he wrote: "There is no good putting one's head behind a stone—martial power has had its turn—money power has had its turn—labor power is now about to have its turn. The transfer of power from the noble lord in Rotten Row to the bald-headed man on top of the 'bus has not ruined the country, nor deprived the august equestrian of any power which he has shown himself worthy of possessing and capable of wielding. The transfer of power from the bald-headed man on top of the 'bus to the man in fustian on the pavement will not be attended with more disastrous consequences. Whether or no the transfer is about to be effected, and it must therefore be for the good of the country that its rulers should be as well informed as possible."—Sir Baldwyn Leighton, Ed., Letters and Other Writings of the Late Edward Denison, M. P. for Newark, pp. 19–20. London, R. Bentley and Son, 1872.

[2] Opus cit., p. 21.

he worked as a visitor. In August, therefore, he took lodgings at 49 Philpot Street, Stepney.

Experience quickly showed Denison how large were the opportunities in such districts for a citizen with time to give to public affairs. "My opinion of the great sphere of usefulness to which I should find myself admitted by coming to live here," he writes on August 7, 1867, "is completely justified. All is yet in embryo—but it will grow. Just now I only teach in a night school, and do what in me lies in looking after the sick, keeping an eye upon nuisances and the like, seeing that the local authorities keep up to their work. I go tomorrow before the Board at the workhouse, to compel the removal to the infirmary of a man who ought to have been there already. I shall drive the sanitary inspector to put the Act against overcrowding in force, with regard to some houses in which there have been as many as eight and ten bodies occupying one room. It is not surprising that the street in which this occurs has for months been full of small-pox, scarlet fever and typhus. . . . These are the sort of evils which, where there are no resident gentry, grow to a height almost incredible, and on which the remedial influence of the mere presence of a gentleman known to be on the alert is inestimable."[1]

Denison soon came to see that men could best be helped by providing them with means of self-help. "I have been busy and muddled and worried lately," he writes under date of December 24, 1867. "Things are so bad down here, and giving money away only makes them worse. I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake, and that the real thing is to let things work themselves straight; whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build school-houses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains; but give them no money, except what you sink in such undertakings as above."[2] In Denison's approach to the problem of poverty and neighborhood breakdown there can be clearly traced, perhaps for the first time, the suggestion that an initial step in the recovery of decayed neighborhoods must be to bring into residence, in addition to the clergy, certain laymen representing the spirit of *noblesse oblige*.

[1] Opus cit., p. 37.

[2] Opus cit., p. 59.

The inherent sanity of Denison's purposes secured a significant response from the clergy. It went indeed with the motives which brought him to Stepney that Denison should have encountered a kindred spirit in the local vicar, John Richard Green (1837–1883), who was maturing the point of view for his great study of democratic origins in his History of the English People.[1] Green later confessed that he had feared the newcomer would prove only one more person given to descending on a parish for the purpose of instructing the incumbent how best to manage it. But after Denison had shown himself determined to acquire a thoroughgoing grasp of the local situation, Green joined forces with him in the fullest degree.

The inherent possibilities in Denison's venture were fully and sympathetically appreciated by Ruskin, who was seeking a living expression for his economic message. Two of his enterprises bore a similarity to Denison's, seen from different angles. In 1864 Octavia Hill (1838–1912) had applied to him for assistance in her scheme to improve sanitary and moral conditions in tenements through the influence of "lady rent-collectors," some of whom made their abode in the houses where their work lay. Ruskin at once placed a portion of his property under her care and followed the undertaking with keen and helpful interest. During these years, also, Ruskin was maturing his vision of St. George's Guild as a pattern of mutual service and loyalty among the more and less favored;[2] though it was not until some years later that it took form in a small agricultural community, with interesting industrial offshoots.[3]

It was natural, therefore, that Denison and Green should meet with Ruskin and a few others to consult about the new effort in Stepney.[4] At the time it was agreed that other young men should

[1] 4 Vols. London, Macmillan and Co., 1877.

[2] The Guild and Museum of St. George. The Works of John Ruskin, Vol. XXX. London, George Allen, 1907.

[3] Another experiment of this same sort in right community relations was developing in the mind of Thomas Hughes, who had an important part in establishing a colony in Rugby, Tennessee, in 1880. See Hughes, Thomas: Rugby, Tennessee: Being Some Account of the Settlement Founded on the Cumberland Plateau. London, Macmillan and Co., 1881.

[4] One of those present wrote: "The proposal commended itself to us mainly as establishing men of culture to influence the life of these parts by working on local

be invited to join Denison and form a colony. The university settlement thus came near to being founded in 1868 instead of in 1884. Only the failure of Denison's health within the year prevented such a definite and organized beginning.

The source of Denison's influence lay in his qualities of open-mindedness, sincerity, and modesty, combined with a sterling sense for all the implied obligations of citizenship. Although a forerunner, he mapped out the ground and forecasted important lines of action developed by his successors. More immediately concerned with relief of the poor than with assisting working people to organize their own lives happily and productively, his influence was yet wholly toward democracy. His insistence on the thoroughgoing treatment of poverty, on general popular education, on the need of civic leadership in working-class communities, and on association between rich and poor in order that each might mutually and vitally influence the other, was destined to establish the fundamental tenets of a new form of social faith.

After Denison's death in 1870, an effort was made by Edmund Hollond[1] (1841–1900), who had taken part in the conference at Ruskin's house, to continue his work. Hollond lived for a time at Stepney, and for several years was influential in developing larger plans for the improvement of conditions in East London. He was one of the founders in 1869 of the Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity, later changed to Charity Organization Society, which among its cardinal points definitely established Chalmers' "principle of locality" in connection with the administration of relief.

Meanwhile, the current of influence toward democratic neigh-

boards, to do which they were to become rate payers. Those were the days when the work in East London was almost wholly religious, in the common conception of the term. There was not the same outlet then for the philanthropy of men who, whatever their religious views, may choose the field of non-religious work."—Brooke, Lambert: Jacob's Answer to Esau's Cry. *Contemporary Review*, Vol. XLVI, p. 377, September, 1884.

[1] "Hollond was a Cambridge man, and a member of a wealthy family. His father was the Squire of Saxmundham, in Suffolk, and a prominent member of the Evangelical party. He was a friend of Denison's at Cambridge, and, on the latter's death, went to live in Stepney, on the borders of Whitechapel. He helped A. H. Hill in the Labor News, and identified himself with the beginnings of the Charity Organization Movement. He wrote many letters on the condition of the poor and on means of relief and articles on political economy."—From a letter of Canon Barnett's to the authors.

borliness, along with an increasing sense for reality in religious thought within the formal limits of the church, was steadily rising. The first important teacher and exemplar of this point of view was William H. Fremantle (1831–1916), who became vicar of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London, in 1866. His book, The World as the Subject of Redemption,[1] brought to great numbers of clergy and to many laymen the first teaching which presented life in its entirety as the field of Christian service and opportunity. It contains one of the clearest and most appealing statements ever written on the parish as a community, and the duty of the church to minister to all sorts of human needs and to elicit the assistance of all men of goodwill.[2]

In 1867 Fremantle selected for curate a recent Oxford graduate, in whom to a peculiar degree the tendencies which have been traced were to be fulfilled. This man was Samuel A. Barnett (1844–1913), who a little later deliberately sought one of the neediest parishes in London in which to spend his life in a ministry of all that was pure and lovely and of good report. It was he who finally created the agency by which there could be a continuous supply of young university men living and serving in working-class communities. Besides expressing in word and act the fulness of the Christian Socialist message, from the beginning he undertook to apply directly Ruskin's teaching that art must be made the treasure of the people.

In the course of his duties as curate at St. Mary's, Barnett was able to be of assistance to Miss Hill, whose little book, The Homes of the London Poor,[3] published a year or two later, was soon recognized as a classic by all who were seeking to pass beyond the relief of distress to its prevention. His marriage in 1873 to Henrietta Octavia Rowland, one of Miss Hill's active young co-workers, was a true union of mind and purpose. Miss Hill and Mrs. Barnett, to each of whom has come the very highest distinction for far-reaching lifelong service, stand as pioneers in a luminous line of women dedicated to modern forms of constructive social work.

In 1872, at the suggestion of Hollond and spurred rather than

[1] London, Rivingtons, 1885.

[2] Opus cit. See especially Note XXV, "The Parish as a Church," pp. 428–33.

[3] London, Macmillan and Co., 1875.

daunted by the Bishop of London's statement that it was the wretchedest parish in the diocese, Barnett accepted the vicarage of St. Jude's, Whitechapel. He at once undertook the reorganization of poor relief, public and private, and made Whitechapel an important center of the recently established Charity Organization Society. He reopened the parish school, and provided for evening as well as for day sessions, an educational work that became a vital medium of influence throughout the neighborhood. Proceeding quietly to bring about the disintegration of the worst nests of crime and debauchery, he instituted systematic measures for the protection of girls and women. The summer outings in the country that he set on foot laid the foundation of the London Children's Country Holidays Fund.

Not only because he wished to develop a ministry of all the higher sentiments of life, but because there were so many apparently humble and even repellent tasks which, as he saw them, required and gave scope for highly trained capacity, Barnett took up, almost where Denison and Hollond left it, the enlisting of young laymen from the universities. He visited Oxford at frequent intervals for the sake of putting details of life in East London before young collegians and of engaging their active interest. In this effort Dr. Benjamin Jowett, master of Balliol, lent his assistance; and it was on one of these excursions that Barnett first met Arnold Toynbee (1852–1883).

Toynbee, whose rare charm of mind and spirit was combined with a high zest for moral initiative, entered Oxford in 1873 and spent the five following years as an undergraduate at Pembroke and Balliol Colleges. He became a favorite pupil of Thomas Hill Green (1836–1882), who was both inspiring professor of philosophy at the University and faithful member of the Oxford Town Council. Under Ruskin's prompting, Toynbee joined a group of students who undertook to mend a road running out of Oxford, so as to express the nobility of even the coarsest labor. Because of fragile health he was made foreman of the gang. Leader of the finest spirits, he was so constantly to the front in urging some new enterprise in ethics and religion that he was called, only half in jest, the Apostle Arnold.

Through his acquaintance with Barnett, Toynbee on different

occasions became a guest at St. Jude's vicarage.[1] During the summer of 1875 he took lodgings nearby, participated in the club and guild work of the parish, and acted as a visitor for the Charity Organization Society. Seeking other and more direct approaches to workingmen he joined an independent society called the Tower Hamlets Radical Club. He easily made common cause with fellow members in politics but was greatly disturbed by their outspoken antagonism to religion. Speaking before this club upon industrial and religious questions, he began to feel in himself, with the stir of discovery, both inclination and power to go before other such groups on a mission partly like that of the Christian Socialists and partly like that of University Extension lecturers. His experience in East London, though limited, dominated his few but fruitful years of active service.

In October, 1878, he became a lecturer and tutor at Balliol, superintending studies in history and political economy of men who, having passed for the Indian Civil Service, came up to Oxford for a year or two before being sent to the East. At this period, according to Dr. Jowett, "he lived in half-furnished lodgings as far as he could after the manner of working-men, joining in their clubs, discussing with them (sometimes in an atmosphere of bad whiskey, bad tobacco, bad drainage) things material and spiritual—the laws of nature and of God." He became a poor-law guardian, lent some assistance in managing the Oxford co-operative stores, organized a class of workmen which frequently met on Sunday evenings at his rooms, and once offered himself as a candidate for the town council.

In 1880 he gave a series of university extension lectures on economic subjects before popular audiences in different cities, and was encouraged by his success to deliver other courses in 1881 and 1882. He agreed, in 1883, to give several addresses in criticism of Henry George's Progress and Poverty at St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, London. After the second lecture he was seized with

[1] "I first saw Arnold Toynbee in 1874, his sister being a school-fellow of Mrs. Barnett's. He came at odd times to stay with us at Whitechapel, sometimes for a night, but never for any long period. He did this at various times during the seventies, and tried a lodging in Commercial Road. But he found the noise too trying, and did not occupy it for more than a week or two."—From a letter of Canon Barnett's to the authors.

an illness which proved so serious that he had to return to his home in Wimbledon. There, on March 9, he died in his thirty-first year.

Toynbee believed in and cared for working people as men and women, and was eager that they should inherit all good and beautiful things. While devoutly religious, his Christianity reached its depths in the search for universal fellowship rather than in dogmatic forms. His contribution to the settlement lies in his insistence upon the spread of reciprocal first-hand contact between university and working men for fulfilment of the life of each as well as for salvation of the nation. This note had been struck before, but Toynbee re-echoed it with peculiar fulness and sweetness. In the minds and hearts of devoted student friends at Oxford it grew into a haunting strain.

Meanwhile, Barnett's efforts in other ways to secure a kindling interest on the part of Oxford men in the life of East London had been increasingly successful. The hospitality of the vicarage began to prove inadequate to demands made upon it, and rooms had to be found in the neighborhood.[1] Assisted by some of these envoys, he had undertaken, in 1876, to secure the benefits of a university extension center for Whitechapel. Although the initial movement came from St. Jude's, it was kept free from sectarian influence, and in October, 1877, the Tower Hamlets Branch of the newly organized London University Extension Society was formed.

The unprecedented experiment of university lectures in Whitechapel precipitated a newspaper discussion about the utility of the higher education for working people, and this controversy became of almost national importance. Not at all deterred by the doubts expressed, Barnett proceeded to carry further the logic of university extension by establishing an annual Whitechapel Picture Exhibition. Parallel with these activities, thoughtful men and

[1] "It was our custom before the establishment of the settlement, to have frequent guests from Oxford staying in the vicarage. They came generally for very short times, and made themselves useful in all sorts of directions. Five or six took lodgings, as Toynbee did (among whom were James Bonar, a well known economist and master of the Mint in Montreal; N. C. Chalmers, now permanent secretary at the Treasury; F. C. Mills, who moved into the Friary and lived on many years; and E. L. Leonard, who went down with us in 1873 and laid the foundation of the C.O.S. work on human lines). Few men stayed for any length of time. It was because many showed this disposition to take up residence that first of all the little place called 'The Friary' was established, and subsequently Toynbee Hall."—From a letter of Canon Barnett's to the authors.

women were developing a comprehensive policy for dealing with the crude handicaps of life in the district. Provisions of the Artisans' Dwelling Act[1] were enforced; model houses were erected; new tenements brought under Miss Hill's direction; a café company organized to combat the drink evil.

Thus did Barnett begin to give form and substance to the conception whose high antecedents we have traced. This plan called for nothing less than reconstruction of the conditions and interests of an entire neglected city district after a pattern compacted of what was best in English civilization in its different elements, including all of them, omitting none. It called for help from some of the nation's chief sources of power. It gave intimations of a tendency which might lift many a local community throughout the nation to a distinctly higher fulfilment of the collective well-being.

The opportunity to make a definite draft upon the universities which Barnett had long desired came in 1883. A group of young men at St. John's College, Cambridge, asked assistance in outlining and starting an educational institution for working people which, unlike the missions established by schools and individual colleges, should not be sectarian. Barnett in a letter pointed out to them that English local government is based on the assumption of a responsible privileged class, and suggested that a complement of educated people be provided artificially in those regions where the movement of modern civilization had drawn off the resourceful citizenship of the district. He advised that a house be hired where men could live for longer or shorter periods and study the life and problems of an industrial neighborhood, in order to gain that close personal acquaintance with individuals which must precede any wise public action for meeting working-class needs. This letter, expanded into a paper and read at St. John's College, Oxford, is the charter of the settlements. Its keynote is in the following quotation: "Many have been the schemes of reform I have known, but, out of eleven years' experience, I would say that none touches the root of evil which does not bring *helper and helped into friendly relations*. Vain will be higher education, music, art, or even the Gospel, unless they come clothed in the life of brother man—'it

[1] Passed by Parliament in 1875, partly as a result of the work of Miss Hill.

took the Life to make God known.' Vain, too, will be sanitary legislations and model dwellings, unless the outcast are by friendly hands brought in one by one to habits of cleanliness and order, to thoughts of righteousness and peace. 'What will save East London?' asked one of our University visitors of his master. 'The destruction of West London,' was the answer and, in so far as he meant the abolition of the influences which divide rich and poor, the answer was right. Not until the habits of the rich are changed, and they are again content to breathe the same air and walk the same streets as the poor, will East London be 'saved.' Meantime, a settlement of University men will do a little to remove the inequalities of life, as the settlers share their best with the poor and learn through feeling how they live."[1]

Response to this summons was immediate. An organization was formed, representing both universities, to raise money for establishing the proposed settlement. As the death of Arnold Toynbee was still fresh in the minds of his friends, it was suggested that the new house bear his name. After the university manner Barnett was called the warden. A small group of men, moved by an ardent and new kind of devotion and not without a touch of the Englishman's sporting spirit, took up residence in Whitechapel, availing themselves of improvised quarters in a disused public house. Ground was soon secured adjoining St. Jude's, a building was erected, and on Christmas Eve, 1884, residents first slept in Toynbee Hall.

The germinating power of the idea, and all the new contrasts and harmonies which its expression set free, had an instant effect upon the finer minds among different resourceful groups and led to establishment of similar colonies in a number of dreary London districts. The new power of devotion and aspiration which earlier in the century had come of the Oxford movement, so remarkable in quickening the inner life of the established church, was beginning definitely to seek its secular application. Oxford House (1884) in Bethnal Green was opened only a few months after the establishment of Toynbee Hall. The Women's University Settlement (1887)

[1] From "Settlements of University Men in Great Towns." (A paper read at St. John's College, Oxford, November, 1883.) Practicable Socialism, New Series, pp.104–05. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1915.

in Southwark, representing newly established colleges for women at Oxford and Cambridge, followed hard after. Mansfield House (1890) in Canning Town, four miles down the river, became the outpost of the spiritual descendants of Puritans who had lately regained an institutional foothold at Oxford. University Hall (1890) was established under Unitarian auspices by Mrs. Humphry Ward. Bermondsey Settlement was founded (1891) under Wesleyan leadership; and Newman House (1891) by Roman Catholics.

It was recognized at once among thoughtful Englishmen generally, that this unexampled enterprise was a matter of high potential significance for the nation's unfolding moral life. Aside from direct service to all human needs within a neglected community, the settlements gave hope that friendly relations between separated classes might come about. The incipient program seemed so pregnant with significance that the idea began to be considered in its widest implications. It was wholly natural that some of the pioneers should meet with Barnett at St. Jude's and set forth, under the form of a radically remodeled established church, the conception of a hospitable spiritual fellowship including all people of goodwill from parish to parish, which should constitute "the whole nation organized for righteousness."

Across the ocean, almost immediately a feeling was precipitated that the settlement was a genuine and highly important creation which, properly adapted to American conditions, could provide a new and inspiriting avenue for freer and wider dissemination of the services of higher education, and a peculiarly hopeful approach to great new problems of American cities which the American mind had hardly yet envisaged.

The fact that groups representing the best product of the universities had established themselves in neglected backgrounds of London to be neighbors and fellow-citizens, there to develop skill in study and service; to reinforce the agencies of sanitation, of charity, and of education; to give fine and varied form to the pursuit of recreation; to enter into direct and sympathetic interchange with the spokesmen of industrial unrest and to take the chances of the local political reformer; to seek to elicit for better things the collective and corporate initiative of the people, made an invincible appeal to the combined spirit of culture and of moral

adventure which was coming to be quite as eager in American life as in the maturer civilization of the mother country.

To inquirers from the chief centers of population in the United States with their baffling confusion of religious and racial loyalties, Toynbee Hall was a particularly reassuring example. Not only were its generous avenues of service being entered by workers of various forms of faith, but its residents had at once included in their sphere of influence the large Irish colony along the nearby docks, as well as Russian Jews, who, almost under the eaves of the settlement, were at that moment beginning to make Whitechapel no less than New York's lower East Side, their own.

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN BACKGROUND

IT WAS clear that the settlement expressed a certain feudal tradition and asserted profound inequalities among citizens in the very act of traversing them. Responsible Americans could hardly have espoused the project had they not been convinced that radically new departures in the direction of collective responsibility had come to be essential to national well-being. The keen self-sufficiency of the individual citizen, carried to its extreme amid the needs and possibilities of pioneer days and wrought into the fiber of our institutions, had begun on the one hand to overreach itself, and on the other to break down.

The tendencies which produced this result, and the reaction of moral forces of the community upon them, in this country are not to be traced in gradual and cumulative succession, as are corresponding factors in the classic land of modern industry, with its homogeneous population, its matured cultural and religious systems, and its gradually unfolding type of democracy. Industrialism in America came to full expression within a period of two decades, bringing in its train overwhelming and unprecedented political and moral problems. It was, however, America's good fortune to be spared many of the evils which in England accompanied the change from manual labor to machinery. A considerable share of the national inventiveness was expended in devising and perfecting farm machinery, the results of which strengthened rather than hindered our dominant individualism. In industry, successive waves of immigration served to reduce labor friction by providing new recruits continuously to perform the more disagreeable kinds of work.

While there have been numerous individual prophetic leaders making powerful appeals on behalf of specific causes, there has been no such continuing succession of statesmanlike reformers,

embodying the meaning and progress of a new human order, as England presents. It is to be noted, also, that although the American situation needed precisely what the settlement offered, and although many phases of American experience prepared the way for some such stroke of invention, it yet had to be discovered for us through the moral initiative of an industrial order both more experienced and more hard pressed.

None the less the essence of communal responsibility and control in this country was strongly alive, drawing its energy from the deepest roots of national existence. The Puritan tradition of moralized community action, New England village life out of which the fabric of our civilization was built, the town-meeting which contains the germ of American government, supplied motives the authority and power of which were everywhere felt. New England transcendentalism as interpreted by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) infused deeply into American thought the same great principles which Carlyle was so aggressively expounding. Emphasizing the forgotten first tenet of democracy, "perfectibility of human nature," and carrying it to its culmination in the broadest human fellowship, this general teaching led to the founding of several ideal village communities, of which Brook Farm[1] was the best known; inspired the ever more fully developing system of universal education wrought out by Horace Mann (1796–1859); brought about manifold scattered enterprise in charity and philanthropy; suggested the sympathetic overtures made to the incipient labor movement by William Ellery Channing (1780–1842) and Theodore Parker (1810–1860); and finally created the seemingly chimerical agitation for the abolition of slavery under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) and Wendell Phillips (1811–1884).

Precipitation of civil war as a means of solving the problem of slavery created a well-nigh complete and absolute diversion from the nation's own inherent and organic problems to one which in a sense had been artificially foisted upon it. The normal development of all issues involved in industrialism was thus delayed almost a generation. But the great common experience of the war had a profoundly humanizing influence upon the spirit of the people. Democracy came to be more than a political faith. The broad

[1] 1842–1847.

principle of solidarity in human terms was now finally placed on a footing with liberty itself.

In some respects the moral momentum of abolition projected itself definitely into issues of the future. The anti-slavery poems of John Greenleaf Whittier (1808–1893) and James Russell Lowell (1819–1891) often strikingly suited the mood of the following decades. Phillips found it a natural step to turn at the close of the war from the labor system of the South to the problem of factory employes of the North. The fact that the Anti-Slavery Society, formed in 1833, could be dissolved in 1870, its end accomplished, strongly reinforced the belief that there were grounds for Utopian hopes in American life. This reassurance not only gathered up and established conclusively the fundamental principles of human rights, but in a special degree it made consideration for human welfare an inseparable factor in the temper and spirit of the nation.

That balancing of the Puritan sentiment for reform by all that goes with the spirit of unaffected good fellowship which is so typically American found its completest and noblest expression in Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865). The natural democracy bred of the pioneering spirit, the typical capacity for, and delight in, neighborliness which characterizes the frontier, each is found at its best in him. With a special innate capacity for individualizing men and women, finding the deepest satisfaction in being among people of whatever sort or degree; sacrificing his own interest in ways small or large, almost without consciousness of personal cost; holding easily in his mind an inexhaustible range of decisive anecdote through which, by homely, humorous phrase, he brought into every situation the living spirit of human kind; he was a reformer because he was first and always one of the neighbors.

Could Lincoln have lived a decade longer, his influence would no doubt have moderated the public mind, made rigid to a degree by the appalling struggle for the preservation of the Union and filled with a formal vision of established nationality. Out of the unhappy reconstruction period, however, there came the sense of continued responsibility for the freedman. The time had arrived when to the conscience of the North the Negro ceased being a cause and became a person. From this turn in affairs dates one of the most suggestive of American humanitarian undertakings, the establish-

ment of schools designed especially to train young colored men and women for community leadership among their own people. Most to be remembered in this connection is that knightly character, General Samuel C. Armstrong (1839–1893), of Hampton Institute in Virginia.

The unparalleled resources of the country for higher education began now to come fully into existence. Hundreds of colleges were either newly established or strongly reinforced, principally by various branches of the church. Provision was thus deliberately made for the trained, adaptable initiative which the protean growth of the country was demanding. Prosperous citizens showed themselves ready in a way new to the world to furnish funds for wide expansion of advanced educational privilege. They builded better than they knew. They did not realize how different a generation would come upon the scene, after modern enlightenment had begun to have its effect, and had descried the full range of the issues of democracy. The old patriotism, in its eagerness for a large increase of liberally educated men and women, was unwittingly opening the way to the new.

The historic achievement of the third quarter of the century, however, was the opening of the West. The movement of population into the fertile unoccupied lands of the Mississippi Valley and across plain and mountain to the shores of the Pacific Ocean called out in high degree that vital flux of economic and moral enterprise which is typically American. It cannot, however, be left out of account that the building of this new part of the national fabric and the prodigious material opportunities thus presented to the nation as a whole, drew deeply upon energies which would otherwise have gone toward meeting new issues in the established communities of the East. Such loss, however, was more than offset by the broader sense of fraternity contributed by this later generation of pioneers to the national character.

Meanwhile, beginning immediately after the war, industrialism and the growth of population, in a baffling complication, were changing the face of American civilization in the East. The way had been fully opened for vast industries insistently stimulated by the seemingly unlimited resources of the country. The years between 1880 and 1890 showed all the marks of the modern economic

order. The number of employes and the value of products became twice that of the previous decade. Capital was massed and industrial management concentrated in the hands of a relatively decreasing number of leaders. Such an expansion of industry within so short a time could obviously have been accomplished only by means of an easily available and practically unlimited supply of labor. During the twenty years preceding the new century nearly 9,000,000 immigrants sought our shores, or as many as had entered the country during the previous six decades. The change in the racial character of immigration which began about 1890 greatly intensified the difficulties of national assimilation. In many cases whole districts passed in a few years from the Irish, who were typical of the early influx, to the Russian Jews, who as they landed represented the extreme of all that was in contrast with the American way of life. The need of a determined and far-reaching policy of assimilation was vaguely felt, although a strangely hypnotic optimism, a sense of "manifest destiny" prevented any adequate realization of the nature and difficulty of the task.[1]

Here, then, in a country whose dearest tradition was a common sentiment of loyalty among citizens as each confidently pursued his individual enterprise of well-being, were great segments of population at the chief centers of the nation set apart from the older elements of our citizenship. The more capable and adventurous among the native population rose rapidly to positions of unprecedented financial power; while the opportunities of American life became relatively less available to the people as a whole. The result was an anomalous class system based predominantly on income, embittered by prejudices of instinct and tradition, and becoming only more real as its existence was patriotically denied.

It was inevitable that such cleavage in status and sentiment should soon express itself in ways that were disturbing. The rise of the Knights of Labor during the late seventies, under an emotional impulse, banded together skilled and unskilled workers indiscriminately in local territorial units.[2] The recurrent conflicts between

[1] Fiske, John: American Political Ideas, pp. 101–52. New York, Harper and Bros., 1885.

[2] Hoxie, R. F.: Trade Unionism in the United States, p. 86. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1917.

capital and labor which followed seemed to the great body of citizens a thing unconscionable. The railroad strikes of 1877 taken together almost reached the intensity and dimension of a revolt. Revolutionary socialism began to appear in American cities. The Chicago riot of 1886, brought on under the leadership of a group of anarchists and resulting in the death of several police officers, registered in an extreme degree the presence of seeds of a new kind of internal strife, growth of which might cleave the very joints and marrow of our civilization.

The rise of industrialism manifested itself in our cities, as in British urban communities, by a progressively low standard of living, congestion of families in tenements, and crowding of houses on land, unemployment, nesting of vice near the homes of those least able to protect themselves, widespread misery recurring like an epidemic after every trade depression, and increasing isolation of well-to-do and poor from each other. A large part of each successive wave of immigrants sunk back more helplessly into the meanest streets and into houses that became less and less fit for human abode. Here they were left in solid masses, so far as their welfare as citizens was concerned, to shift as they might. This residual population, living in clan formation, became the fertile soil in which a uniquely powerful and corrupting political régime, with the complicity of various business interests, developed a type of municipal administration more degraded than any other civilized nation in modern times has known.

In the retrospect it seems almost inconceivable that up to 1885 only a few of all the responsible leaders in different walks of life were conscious that there was, in any real sense of the term, a social question. Every attempt at association among laborers was looked upon as an irrelevant and dangerous intrusion from out the decaying civilization of Europe. The thought of any form of control over industry and commerce by government, except through a protective tariff, was hardly in the national mind. That the municipality should assume responsibility for conditions under which its citizens lived, aside from elementary defense against disease and disorder, was considered subversive of the principles under which alone American citizenship could thrive. It was still a matter of settled public confidence that the opportunities of Ameri-

can life were sufficient for everyone and would satisfactorily assure national well-being. It is suggestive of the state of the times that Francis A. Walker, whose volume The Wages Question,[1] issued in 1876, contains one of the earliest and best statements in favor of the principle of association among workingmen, should have been even among economists a voice crying in the wilderness, and that appreciation of his book in this country should have spread as a reflection of praise more freely bestowed in England.[2]

Against the threat involved in the labor problem in general, serious and enlightened thought was appearing. An occasional suggestion arose that some new way must be found by which the old-time personal interchange between master-workman and journeyman could be restored. But the sweating system in the large cities under which great numbers of men, women, and children turned homes into workshops, as yet met with only an occasional protest.

So deep-seated had corruption of city government become that large numbers of otherwise patriotic people viewed politics with settled cynical indifference, while others sought to forget that such a thing existed, quite as honorable women have for ages ignored the fact of prostitution. The underlying nature of the difficulty had been vaguely suggested by several unsuccessful campaigns to secure a business man's government. Every effort toward reform on this basis was baffled by a detailed and comprehensive system of political patronage which readily exploited the needs and loyalties of hand workers and immigrant voters.

A responsible order of society, amid such a complication of evils, instinctively turns to its agencies of religion and education. The Protestant churches, maintained by established elements in the population, either had removed entirely as immigrants came in,

[1] Wages Question; a treatise on wages and the wages class. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1876.

[2] Walker, in 1891, indicated his conviction that American economists had been more arbitrary than the English in their use of assumptions based on the "economic man," and in the degree to which they pressed the doctrine of laissez faire. See "Political Economy in the United States," *Fortnightly Review*, 1880. Essays, p. 154ff.

The reader is also referred to Mrs. Florence Kelley's pungent account of the state of academic instruction in economics and sociology in the United States: Modern Industry in Relation to the Family, Health, Education, Morality, pp. 81–82 New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1914.

or had remained in the guise of missions holding the loyalty of a steadily decreasing number of families, and often creating resentment when they sought to exert any influence, however fairly intended, upon the community as a whole. By a sad irony, in numerous instances the church had thus become in a sense an anti-social influence. It was held by immigrant forms of faith to cherish a hostile purpose which could be countered only by the most watchful loyalty. An occasional local church undertook, through special sources of support, to initiate varied forms of service adapted to the needs of a downtown district, and was able, by means of the direct approach of resident clergy and parish workers, to discover and hold a considerable loyal following. A few of these early "institutional churches," as object lessons, had an important influence in remolding American Christianity after the new pattern of community need and opportunity. But such instances only emphasized the fact that Protestant churches were not able to bring about moral unity among distracted urban population groups.

As against a situation so baffling was the conviction in some quarters that the public schools would be a sufficient anchor of safety. Educators here and there succeeded in adapting the work of the schools in remarkable degree to their new constituency. But some leading immigrant groups brought with them their own systems of education allied to specific phases of religion. Thus one of the chief aims of the American educational system, that of building up a unified public sentiment, was to some extent frustrated.

The natural next recourse was to the agencies of charity. American cities had not been lacking in men who had striven to sustain the responsibility of well-to-do people for the extremity of need among the poor. Joseph Tuckerman in Boston, during the second quarter of the century, laid the foundations of a charitable system which should reach freely across racial and sectarian bounds. Edward Everett Hale (1822–1909), whose humanitarian outreachings had been stirred by Maurice and reinforced by a visit in 1859 to the London Workingmen's College, made the beginnings in Boston of a system of relief by districts and neighborhoods. In the seventies, as the problem of relief became vast and complicated and old methods failed, associations were formed in several large

cities for the purpose of adopting the broad and helpful principles of the London Charity Organization Society. Such undertakings, aside from their value in instituting a more comprehensive and thoroughgoing system for meeting the immediate issue, meant that not a few Americans of means and education were going across town to come in touch with struggling immigrant groups; and that separate bodies of visitors were devoting themselves each continuously to families in a given small district. Thus for one human purpose at least, a plan of voluntary service as comprehensive and exhaustive as municipal administration itself, was framed in outline and for its specific function.

The sense of intelligent responsibility for the unprivileged thus expressed was closely associated with the steady growth of a more emotional sympathy, which took form chiefly in renewed efforts for the protection and care of neglected children. Many scattered publications of indifferent merit served to stir such sentiment; all of them together, however, had much less influence on American readers than had the works of Charles Dickens. The leader in wise, far-reaching guidance of this motive was Charles Loring Brace (1826–1890), who, through the establishment in 1853 of the New York Children's Aid Society, revealed the principles upon which all sound child-saving work was later to be developed.

The whole city situation in its complexity and elusiveness was distinctively a challenge to the capacity of the American people. Fortunately, unlimited economic initiative gave promise of providing its own corrective by increasing the number of young people able to take advantage of higher education. The strong Puritan cast of leadership caused marked emphasis to be placed upon the peculiar moral responsibility of the college graduate. A succession of young men and women came under the teachings of Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, and other leaders of European culture. A broad region for moral adventure whose possibilities could not be reached by the formal ministry of religion, by established educational method, or through the specific relief of distress, began to be perceived.

A degree of clear definition and fine distinction was imparted to these aspirations by reaction from the low political standards with which the country had long been afflicted. A first fruit of emphasis on the higher education as preparation not merely for the old-

established professions, but for life, was the growing conviction that trained men must in far greater numbers than formerly devote themselves to public affairs. "The scholar in politics" was the somewhat abstract watchword under which this reform movement definitely changed the course of national administration. The same tendency becoming more objective and more human, showed itself as the earliest sign of hope in the dark scene of municipal politics.

The first news of the settlement project suggested something quite elemental in its union of simplicity and comprehensiveness. The settlement proposed that the best equipped youth in a high spirit of devotion should undertake a mission toward building up the state at the precise point of its greatest disintegration. They were to make their approach not through any sort of office, nor even through any program, but in natural, downright, continuous association with the humblest citizens.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN PIONEERS

ALL those circumstances which called for the settlement might in themselves have been powerless in American cities to bring it into existence. The impulse here, as in England, came partly out of the struggle of religious leaders to apply the gospel to the imperious demands of the new order of life, partly out of the new humanizing influences of higher education.

In the year 1879, William J. Tucker, who later became president of Dartmouth College, gave up the pastorate of the Madison Square Church, New York, for a chair at Andover, with the definite purpose of training future ministers to meet the new human problems growing out of working-class needs and strivings. There he sought to equip the missionary spirit characteristic of the seminary with means for meeting the ultimate challenge of duty in terms of human service. About the middle of the eighties, Francis G. Peabody began to offer courses in social ethics to undergraduates of Harvard College "with a view to making the burning questions of the time appropriate to a liberal education."[1] At Hartford Theological Seminary, associated with more conservative tradition, Graham Taylor made the beginning of his career as a teacher and exemplar of new forms of Christian service. Since 1892, as Professor of Social Economics at Chicago Theological Seminary, he has occupied the first chair to be wholly devoted to such teaching in any theological seminary. Felix Adler, trained as a Jewish rabbi, in 1876 organized the Society for Ethical Culture and gathered about him a rare group of young men who, though detached from religion by

[1] "I must confess that on looking back I recall little sympathy from any academic colleague. One distinguished professor said to me that he did not see how such subjects could be 'seriously pursued.' Such a view seems somewhat antiquated now that these subjects are almost the only ones which any young college man cares much to study. There were at that time no books of any general importance, and the reading had to be derived from reports, magazine articles, and fragmentary chapters."—From a letter of Dr. Peabody's to the authors.

scientific doubt, yet wished to learn, teach, and courageously apply the most significant ethical meanings of American life.

Awakening at the colleges came through the departments of philosophy, history, and economics. The organic conception of nature, humanity, and the universe; the dignity of every man as a member of society; decrease of rights, increase of duty; identity of worship and service; divine possibilities of direct fellowship with men wherever found; revelation that may issue out of apparent insignificance—these were principles instilled into the eager minds of youth by teachers of philosophy to whom the freshness of such truths gave them compelling reality. The evolution of modern England had a considerable place in the curriculum, and Green's History of the English People was often in the students' hands. Thus the new historical and ethical interpretation of economic facts began to replace the classical political economy and endless discussion of protection and free trade.

It is significant that the impulse which led to the establishment of the settlement found its first stirrings in the women's colleges. Aside from the natural outreaching of their imagination toward humanitarian enterprise, early women collegians possessed a peculiar zeal for such wider forms of service as would both justify and reinforce their admission to the realm of learning. Early in the eighties several members of the classes of 1883 and 1884 at Smith College, influenced by the teachings of Ruskin and Tolstoy, were spurred to undertake some far-reaching work of self-sacrifice. A "new Franciscanism," or world-wide order of women who should devote their energies to the service of working people, was outlined to a group of kindred spirits by Vida D. Scudder. Jane Addams, at Rockford College, Illinois, had begun to meditate in different form a similar purpose.

The first American settlement was established by Stanton Coit, a graduate of Amherst College, where strong missionary influence was fused with the new philosophy of human relations. In the summer of 1885, while pursuing graduate studies in the University of Berlin, he learned about Toynbee Hall through its first American resident, Howard S. Bliss.[1] As soon as Coit had received his Berlin degree he sought from Barnett the privilege of residence, living at

[1] Later president of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut. Died, 1920.

Toynbee Hall from January, 1886, until his return to New York in March to become an assistant to Dr. Adler. While at Toynbee, Coit determined to undertake a similar enterprise in New York, and during the spring of 1886 he spent some time in searching out that particular part of the East Side in which family life most obviously lacked the moral initiative a group of young resident educators and reformers might bring.

Coit's experience while seeking a habitation was not unlike what befell most of the founders. At first he was inclined to take rooms in a great barrack of a tenement with an especially evil reputation in a neighborhood notorious for crime. At the solicitation of friends, he visited the local police station and inquired whether there was any likelihood of danger to a manifest outsider. The officials in charge refused to guarantee a fair degree of safety. He therefore selected a smaller and quieter building at 146 Forsyth Street, which in its five stories sheltered some twenty families.

The expressman called to move Dr. Coit's goods downtown protested at first that his client was in error concerning the address, and later was inclined to question his sanity. Neighbors were hardly less puzzled. A myth sprang up that he was a cast-off son of wealthy parents, who had sought the East Side in the last descending stages of want. Popular sympathy was altogether with the supposed victim, and his family was hotly criticized for driving into such an environment anyone tenderly brought up. Only a dime novel plot seemed adequate to explain so unusual a situation as his presence in the district.

During the summer and early fall of 1886, Dr. Coit devoted himself to the cultivation of neighborly acquaintance. Picnics for the young people were his first means of securing a following. In November a group of eighteen-year-old boys, who had been meeting in the dismal living room of an old blind apple woman, was offered the freedom of his quarters. The club signalized its new estate by changing its name from the Lily Pleasure Club to the O. I. F. Club, a mystic title signifying Order, Improvement, Friendship. A banner with a lily embroidered on its ground, a cherished possession, was given renewed lease of life by retaining that flower as the club emblem. New members were recruited, and the group grew so rapidly that the basement of the tenement was rented for

a club room. Possession of this additional space led at the beginning of the new year to the establishment of a kindergarten. Shortly afterward the first group of girls, known as the Lady Belvedere Club, composed of young women between sixteen and twenty-two years of age, began its collective career.

In October, 1887, a second group composed of thirty school girls between the ages of ten and fourteen was gathered into a club. Before the winter of 1887, five clubs, each representing enterprise new and strange beyond present-day possibilities of conception, were holding regular meetings, and a federation of the young people's clubs had been organized. From this "Neighborhood Guild" the enterprise took its name.

Among the men who came to the aid of Dr. Coit as resident colleagues was Charles B. Stover. It is significant of the stirrings of the times that Mr. Stover had from boyhood desired to devote his life to the service of working people. With this purpose in mind he set aside the leadings of denominational loyalty and attended a theological seminary in New York rather than one of his own sect nearer his home. While a student he had gone into Rivington Street as a missionary and spoken in the open air. In May, 1887, he visited the Guild, and in August moved into the apartment adjoining Dr. Coit's, which he occupied for twenty years.[1]

Practical efforts toward the improvement of local conditions originated during the summer of 1887 in a campaign for clean streets. It failed because of the bitter antagonism of the small dealers in the neighborhood. A substantial amount of time was also devoted to studying the causes of political corruption, and an unsuccessful attack was made upon the local boss, popularly called, because of the precious inlay in the floor of his saloon, "Silver Dollar" Smith.

Although the original residents of Neighborhood Guild had fancied that they were burying themselves when they went to live on the East Side, newspapers found them excellent copy. The publicity which ensued led to a multitude of opportunities for presenting their points of view to individuals and societies. This

[1] Other men of this time, resident for short periods in the same tenement or in the dwelling house taken later at 147 Forsyth Street, were: Elmer S. Forbes, Morrison I. Swift, P. C. Hale, John MacGregor Goodale, Arthur B. Davies, Edward King, W. B. Thorp, and James K. Paulding.

experience registers the beginning of the attempt to interpret to the well-to-do the life of economic and racial types far separated from them. Within a twelvemonth several residents had applied their experience to problems of the organization of city life. Mr. Stover, in particular, entered avenues of large public service which he has since followed unswervingly. Among the efforts begun thus early, and ultimately successful, were those toward a businesslike municipal administration of rapid transit franchises, and the promotion of district parks and neighborhood playgrounds.[1]

From the beginning of his experiment Dr. Coit had the resourceful assistance of women volunteers, among the first of whom were Jane E. Robbins, a physician, and Jean Fine.[2] During the winter of 1887 and 1888 Dr. Robbins, stirred by stories of Russian college girls who had gone to live with the people, determined to establish herself in a tenement. In November, 1888, she rented and furnished rooms at 130 Forsyth Street, and Miss Fine, then teaching in an uptown school, joined her for week-ends. Here the girls of the Guild resorted in ever-increasing numbers for sociability, classes, and parties.

The first stage of this venture came to a sudden end one day in April, 1889, when on returning to her rooms, Dr. Robbins found a dispossess notice attached to the door. One reason given by the landlord, the notorious "Silver Dollar" Smith himself, though it was perhaps least important in his eyes, was wear and tear on the stairs. The event, however, very happily hastened further and larger developments which were already brewing.

During the summer of 1885 Miss Scudder, whose new Franciscanism had gained somewhat in definiteness, approached friends among graduates of Smith College with a plan of establishing a resident group from their number in a working-class neighborhood of a large city. In the fall of 1887 four members of the classes of 1883 and 1884[3] met in Boston and constituted themselves a committee to secure the necessary support. Dr. Robbins and Miss

[1] After two years Dr. Coit removed to London to become lecturer for South Place Ethical Society and director of Leighton Hall Neighborhood Guild. In 1892 Neighborhood Guild became University Settlement, and a new building was erected for it at 184 Eldridge Street. Mr. Stover now lives in the settlement.

[2] Mrs. Charles Spahr.

[3] Clara French, Mary H. Mather, Helen C. Rand, and Vida D. Scudder.

Fine, both Smith College alumnæ, contributed the results of direct experience. The project broadened and an association for "the support and control of College Settlements for Women" was organized, with representatives from Bryn Mawr, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley. In the spring of 1889 a house at 95 Rivington Street, New York, was leased and renovations begun. Here in October residents of the first college settlement took up their abode, Miss Fine becoming headworker. The name, which now seems so generic, was at this early stage quite definite and individual.

It was the original intention of the founders to devote themselves to girls and women, and to work largely in co-operation with other local agencies, especially Neighborhood Guild, whose headquarters were a short distance away. During the first year, therefore, residents took charge of girls' clubs which had been organized in Forsyth Street, and gathered new clubs of their own, installed two baths for the use of women and children, established a small library, and assisted in nearby Sunday schools. In spite of a resolution to the contrary, three boys' clubs could not be denied. In the second year, contacts with home interests in the neighborhood were focused in a women's club; and the momentum of the winter was carried over into a summer enterprise, the first settlement vacation cottage. In giving emphasis to personal friendly implications of neighborliness, organizing distinctive forms of work for girls, making the beginnings of a highly significant vacation scheme, and arousing the city to the significance of the low standards of life which obtained on the East Side, College Settlement rendered important pioneer service.[1]

It is only as College Settlement is considered a development of the foothold gained by Dr. Robbins and Miss Fine on Forsyth Street that its origins antedate a similar though wholly separate series of steps taken by college women representing the spirit of the Middle West. The Chicago of three decades ago, along with lively metropolitan aspirations, retained much in environment and cus-

[1] Head residents of College Settlement who have had continued influence in the progress of settlement work have been: Dr. Jane E. Robbins; Mary Kingsbury, now Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, founder and head resident of Greenwich House; Elizabeth S. Williams, head resident for more than fifteen years. Dr. Robbins, temperamentally a pioneer, has devoted her fine energies to taking charge of different settlement houses in various parts of the country for a year or two during periods of strain or transition.

tom reminiscent of the frontier. Sanitary and housing difficulties which grew out of hastily improvised equipment for urban living were further complicated by the presence of great numbers of immigrants imported to do the unskilled and peculiarly unpleasant work called for by certain industries. Manufacture and commerce, with their great stakes, held men of the city to the most exacting and unremitting attention. Women received the gift of a margin of leisure several decades in advance of their husbands and brothers, and for the time became the responsible guardians of local moral initiative. When they came to deal with the problem of immigrant neighborhoods, the group of educated young women who started settlement work applied the same discernment and the same ability to gauge and meet situations that had made their forebears winners of the West.

The most representative daughter of the Middle West, and in many senses of the nation, is Jane Addams. Profoundly influenced by the rare public spirit of her father and by his admiration for Lincoln, Miss Addams definitely determined, on graduating from college in 1881, to "study medicine and live among the poor." While in medical school her health failed, and, in obedience to a physician's orders, she resided abroad for a number of years. Her search for health was carried on no more zealously than her endeavor to discover a basis of personal relation to the outstanding human order whose inequalities and infelicities increasingly became to her a source of anxious thought.

Happening on an account of Toynbee Hall in the back pages of a magazine, she made a memorandum of its street address against a projected trip abroad. On the Continent in the spring of 1888, she explained her long-cherished purpose to Ellen Gates Starr, classmate and friend, who from that time became a spirited participant in it. Together they made a pilgrimage to see Toynbee Hall and to meet Mr. Barnett. In January, 1889, Miss Addams and Miss Starr began to look about in Chicago for an appropriate field and a suitable house. After much searching an old mansion on Halsted Street which had reached a low estate as a lodging house was found, and here on September 18 they took possession of a few rooms.

The founders of Hull House, perhaps more consciously than any

other prime movers of the settlement in America, set out definitely to share with neighbors both their choicest possessions and the ripest results of their intellectual training. Their rooms were made as beautiful as their means allowed, and the considerable stock of pictures, photographs, and books which Miss Starr had collected in studying the history of art were used to create and hold neighborhood acquaintance. Reproductions of great masterpieces were framed and lent to neighbors. Groups were formed to study art, literature, and science. The first specially erected building included an art gallery, a studio, and a library. The beginnings of a music school and a crafts guild were made within the first two years. A series of parties and festivals commemorative of immigrant customs and traditions was arranged, which drew with the ingenuity of tact upon deep springs of racial loyalty in the different groups locally represented and imparted a clear sense of common heritage in a new national fellowship.

The ministry of culture, however, far from being allowed to become an anodyne, was rather the foil against which civic neglect showed its somber and even tragic results. Parallel with organization for beauty went the relief of poverty and distress and efforts to secure proper cleaning of streets and collection of garbage. Close acquaintance with the hardships suffered by men, women, and child workers in the sweatshops, led directly to requests for protective action by the state.

East Side House, New York, in the founding of which Everett P. Wheeler, attorney and publicist, took the initiative, was the fourth settlement.[1] In April, 1890, after hearing about English settlements, the Church Club, an association of Episcopal laymen, of which Mr. Wheeler was an active member, authorized its philanthropic committee to establish an enterprise on a like pattern. It was proposed to begin, as Dr. Coit had done, with a single tenement, and to take new apartments as fast as young men could be induced to join. Fortunately this plan was abandoned in favor

[1] Maxwell House was founded in September, 1889, by the Brooklyn Guild Association as an outgrowth of work of the Second Unitarian Church, several of whose members had visited Toynbee Hall; but there were no resident workers until 1896. Two Boston centers, Ellis Memorial and Lincoln House, established still earlier as boys' clubs, gradually broadened their schemes of service and in recent years have added residence houses. Mr. and Mrs. B. Preston Clark have been volunteer leaders in the work of Lincoln House from the beginning.

of a fine old house on the river front at the foot of East Seventy-sixth Street, in a neighborhood of Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians. The settlement opened its doors in June, 1891.[1] Among its early and, at that time, novel achievements were a tidewater swimming pool and an important club of men.[2]

Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, was established in December, 1891, by Charles Zueblin. Upon his return from graduate studies at the University of Leipsic, Mr. Zueblin accepted an appointment under the Methodist City Mission, and was assigned to a locality of Scandinavians, Poles, and Germans. To understand their life and problems he took lodgings in the colony. His activities not being sufficiently evangelistic to meet the desires of his denominational backers, support was soon withdrawn. Influenced by what he had seen at Toynbee Hall and Hull House, Mr. Zueblin determined to found a settlement, and appealed to his alma mater, Northwestern University, for assistance. It is indicative of the progress of the settlement idea that Stanton Coit's book on Neighbourhood Guilds[3] was circulated as a means of arousing interest. Among Mr. Zueblin's earliest converts was a fraternity brother, Clarke Tisdale, who, with his bride, joined in establishing the settlement. Situated in what is perhaps the largest Polish community in America, the house has served as an experiment station for social work among Slavic peoples. Although for the first fifteen years of its existence headworkers succeeded each other every few years, the caliber of the men who gave themselves to the task was so exceptional that steady progress was made.[4]

The sixth settlement, Andover House, Boston (since 1895 South End House), came into being through the influence and leadership of Professor Tucker of Andover. In 1885 he established the custom

[1] In January, 1891, Prospect Union was founded in Cambridge by Robert E. Ely, with the support of Professor Francis G. Peabody and a group of Harvard students. It has always had more the character of a university extension center than of a settlement.

[2] Since 1908 the house has been in charge of Mary DeG. Trenholm.

[3] Neighbourhood Guilds: An Instrument of Social Reform. London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1891.

[4] Harry Ward, Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, New York; William Hard, a well-known magazine writer and editor; and Raymond Robins, true modern knight errant. Since 1907 the house has been under the leadership of Harriet E. Vittum.

of sending a graduate of the seminary abroad to study new forms of church work, and the report of the first incumbent under this traveling fellowship contained a brief account of the beginnings of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House.[1] In 1890 Robert A. Woods went to England as the representative of the seminary and lived for six months at Toynbee Hall. The results of his studies were given in a course of lectures at Andover and were later published in a volume which presented to American readers the first extended account of the origin and working program of English settlements.[2] The way was thus prepared for the organization of a settlement association in October, 1891, and for the opening of Andover House under Mr. Woods' direction, January 2, 1892.

The five years between 1886 and 1891 constituted the introductory stage of American settlement enterprise. The six houses which had their beginnings during this period were established by persons who were moved, on the one hand, by a separate and distinct original impulse coming out of tendencies in American life, and on the other, by the example of Toynbee Hall. Within a short time representatives of these enterprises had placed themselves on terms of helpful consultation with one another. There were not only individual settlements but a settlement spirit and an urgency to fresh endeavors. As other houses were planned, experienced leaders arose prepared to assist with advice and instruction. A measure of the compelling power of the idea is the fact that fifty-seven houses opened their doors during the second half of the first decade. The leaders who sprang up during this period received their inspiration largely from American pioneers who, from the very beginning, had sought recruits among promising undergraduates at colleges and wherever they could meet young people of ability and democratic instinct.[3]

Settlements of this second group began their existence in the midst of one of the most serious panics that has ever afflicted this country. In a sense it called them into existence. Once in being, however, it placed their advocates under severe burdens and con-

[1] Modern Cities, by Rev. Samuel Lane Loomis. Baker and Taylor Co., 1889.

[2] English Social Movements. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891.

[3] For detailed bibliography covering the history and activities of each of the houses mentioned in this chapter, see Woods, R. A., and Kennedy, A. J.: Handbook of Settlements, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1911.

tinually imperilled the supply of modest necessities for existence. This condition lengthened the stage of pioneering by nearly a decade and very definitely, in respect of hard experience, brought leaders of the second period into the same group with the founders.

Early in 1892 the College Settlements Association followed up the house in Rivington Street with College Settlement in Philadelphia, and in December of the same year opened Denison House in Boston.[1]

Wrought out with a large degree of independence and originality was the Nurses' Settlement, established in 1893 by Lillian D. Wald. Graduating from the New York Hospital training school for nurses in 1893, Miss Wald determined to devote her professional skill in personal ways to working people. While looking for rooms on the East Side, she and an associate, Mary Brewster, discovered College Settlement. Here they stayed for a short time making ready a place in which to live. The house taken later in Henry Street became almost at once a headquarters for district nursing, an experiment station in the application of nursing science to the needs of tenement neighborhoods, and an original and inspiring center for the development of local cultural interests.

The next enterprises in New York City were definite expressions of two forms of faith: Union Settlement, established in 1895 by graduates of Union Theological Seminary and since closely identified with it;[2] and in the same year Hudson Guild, sustained by the New York Society for Ethical Culture, and from the beginning infused with a rare quality of applied Americanism by its leader, John L. Elliott.

In Chicago, after Hull House and Northwestern University Settlement had represented the cause for a period of five years, reinforcements appeared in University of Chicago Settlement, of which Mary E. McDowell, another strikingly American figure, soon became head resident, and Chicago Commons, whose headworker since its founding has been Graham Taylor.[3] Growth in Boston

[1] The leaders chiefly associated with the Philadelphia settlement have been Katharine B. Davis, later Commissioner of Corrections of New York City, and Anna F. Davies, who has been in charge since she left. Helena S. Dudley was for many years head resident of Denison House.

[2] Gaylord S. White has been head resident since 1901.

[3] Both settlements were established in 1894.

came with the establishment in 1895 of Hale House, opened by a group of young men inspired by Edward Everett Hale, and Elizabeth Peabody House, founded in 1896. This latter, organized about interests of the kindergarten, was named for one of its first exponents in the United States.[1]

Meanwhile, cities of the second magnitude were assuming an important share in the development of settlement policy and influence. Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, founded in 1893 by George Hodges[2] in connection with a pastorate illustrative of the principles of Fremantle, and developed with conspicuous intelligence and determination by William H. Matthews and Charles C. Cooper,[3] has shown what may be accomplished for protection of family life in a neighborhood beset with persistent forms of degradation.[4] Whittier House in Jersey City, New Jersey, founded in 1894 and still guided by Cornelia F. Bradford, soon became an important influence for social improvement not only in the neighborhood but in city and state. Westminster House (1895) and Welcome Hall (1897), in Buffalo, were established by congregations of Presbyterians in fulfilment of responsibilities assumed under the church district plan.[5] Westminster House was, for many years, under the devoted leadership of Emily S. Holmes. Welcome Hall, in spite of the short tenure of its early headworkers, has made substantial contributions to the life of neighborhood and city.[6] In Cleveland, Hiram House was opened in 1896 by George A. Bellamy, who has shown striking purpose in providing adequate institutional resources for neighborhood education, recreation, and association.

The first ten years of settlement history in America are gathered up in the early strivings of these and a few other enterprises. Dur-

[1] Since 1908 under the leadership of Mrs. Eva W. White.

[2] Afterward dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, and president of South End House Association. Died in 1919.

[3] Mr. Matthews, now director of Department of Family Welfare of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, was headworker from 1902 to 1911; Mr. Cooper has been head resident since 1911.

[4] The population having become chiefly colored, the plant in the fall of 1919 was turned over to a group of churches which will maintain it as a Negro social settlement. Kingsley House has relocated itself in an Italian neighborhood.

[5] Devised by the Buffalo Charity Organization Society and put into operation in 1895. The city was divided into districts of a few thousand people. The needs of each territory became a charge upon the church accepting it.

[6] Since 1909 under the leadership of William E. McLennan.

ing this period the reality of the undertaking was almost entirely in its inward power. Various projects seemed to spring up out of the ground, no one of them, with the exception of those undertaken by the College Settlements Association, being connected with any other. In most cases one or two individuals came forward to assume the new and peculiar responsibility of leadership. Conferring but little with established forms of charity or education, unable in advance to make sure of working colleagues, with even the outline of their method lying vaguely in the future, they took their courage in their hands and adventured. Cherishing merely a hopeful prospect of meager financial assistance, carrying with them moral support of only a trusting few, almost sure to encounter recoil against their overtures, they none the less pressed forward. All these difficulties, partly because they had not been fully faced, seemed but to stiffen the youthful confidence of the pioneers, nearly all in their mid-twenties. They possessed assurance of faith in the human value of what they had to bring; in the kindly, considerate goodwill of many of the people among whom they were to live; in the simplicity, freedom, not-to-be-denied validity of the neighborly relationship.

CHAPTER V

THE SETTLEMENT IN BEING

FOR its foot on the earth the new project was restricted in nearly every instance to the dwelling house in which its small group of recruits established their abode. Appliances and methods were to be at a discount; the theory of work was "to be lavish of personal influence." But the cultivation of hospitality on a rather ample scale and the use of its rooms for groups which met regularly, soon began to set the household off by itself. English experience had shown that in serving some of the purposes of a communal establishment the settlement, through the command of ample quarters, could attain a certain marked distinction and dignity. But at every American settlement there was jealous watchfulness to keep the house as far as possible like a family residence and to prevent institutional developments from embarrassing any overture made by those who had come above all to be neighbors among other neighbors.

In an enterprise definitely committed to be in the nature of a measuring rod applied to industrial society the unbiased fair-mindedness, intellectual freedom, and moral initiative of its responsible exponents are a first consideration. Canon Barnett held that men of independent means, university training, and social vision living in a kind of residential club, would escape both suspicion of class affiliation and the tendency to degenerate into a charitable machine which goes with the necessity for soliciting funds. Hardly less a cause for asking residents to live at their own charges was the feeling that young college people would receive in knowledge of life and training in human association more than they could repay in service. Leaders of early American settlements set out to recruit associates among men and women not under the necessity to earn their living or whose regular occupations left them a substantial amount of free time. Miss Addams suggested that there were in every large

city a number of educated and well-to-do young women languishing for occupation and for participation in the workaday life of the common people. The settlement was to be a means through which these healing desires might find outlet.

American sentiment was, however, peculiarly intolerant of those who seemed to be stepping aside from the established careers upon which the main growth of national life depends. The new form of service, therefore, had soon to be placed upon a vocational basis. After the first few years, new residents were drawn quite largely from among recent graduates, with their living to make, for whom a modest financial provision was necessary. This development, disappointing though it was in the beginning, has been not without advantage. Most settlements shortly included young men and women who had grown up in the wholesome intermixture of acquaintance that goes with the typical American town or village and had the zest of it upon them. Residents who had the gift by nature were now to develop its potency in wholly new directions.

Those who came of their own initiative or through informal ways of solicitation to fill out early resident groups were nearly all urged by the same wave of feeling that had aroused and stirred the founders. In the beginning it was the residents as individuals who felt out after right approaches to be made to a strange and suspicious neighborhood. Only gradually did the headworker emerge as leader; though, even then, the principle of free initiative on the part of residents of differing experiences continued strong and clear.

Very early, also, the question arose whether the privilege of service in a settlement should be restricted to college graduates. The issue was a real one, because it was of the essence of things that higher educational institutions should feel responsible for the project, and that the novel conception of life among working people as opportunity for persons of highest training should lose none of the sharpness of its edge. The matter settled itself out of hand by the necessity under which settlement groups found themselves of drawing on the knowledge and skill of all sorts and conditions of people in order to meet continuously emerging needs. Kindergarten teachers, nurses, graduates of normal and art schools, representative working men and women, were invited to residence or themselves sought entrance. It was soon felt that the term "college"

or "university" settlement could be retained as indicating a motive and a standard without offering a rebuff to qualified persons. Hull House, however, avoided the academic epithet, substituting the descriptive term "social" settlement which ere long began to have a certain measure of general use. The present tendency is to dispense with any qualifying word.

The proportional share which men and women were to take, and the methods by which they should work together were naturally questions of much interest. For the first decade, with a few slight exceptions, households were restricted either to men or to women. After that, in many instances under the lead of western settlements with their co-educational traditions, resident groups were made up of men and women. Houses which had been composed entirely of men soon felt the necessity of help from the other sex, and all of them in one way or another gave up their policy of monastic isolation. In this country women have played a larger part in the development of settlements than in England; from the beginning the number in residence began to exceed that of men, and new houses were in most cases opened by them.

In these early days there were men and women who, while living in well-to-do neighborhoods, yet spent much time in sharing the round of work and administrative responsibilities of the settlement household. Many of these non-resident colleagues belonged among the charter members of the settlement to which they were attached. The original situation required members of boards and large donors to be flexible-minded and receptive to new ideas. Such supporters committed themselves to face whatever a strange admixture of reagents might reveal: they accepted in advance a pace to be set by the growing and creative vision of a group of young people through whom indications for action must come. These early friends in the background not only gave strength to the settlement but much of its vital freedom.

Although getting its specific clue from England, the American settlement was compounded of qualities and sentiments distinctively of the soil. The first of these was religious, freed of intellectual fetters and focused on character and service. Then came closely related aspirations toward unaffected human intercourse and outreaching mutual aid. Next, ardor for the pursuit and dis-

semination of the results of higher education. Finally, faith in American political principles and assurance that their thoroughgoing application would bring a higher and better order of society. These convictions enveloped the undertaking like a luminous atmosphere.

Original American settlement groups, in nearly all cases, came to their tasks under the dominating religious motive of the Kingdom of God as a new earthly order to be built out of broader and deeper human relationships. Adaptation of the religious motive to objective conditions of everyday life was doubtless hastened by the intense heart searching which during these years the conflict between science and dogma compelled all thoughtful young people to undertake. The very fact that tenets of faith could be shaken so profoundly served to shift the emphasis to life; and life they felt must adapt itself to the terms upon which its fellowships can proceed. Yet new devotion had its ultimate analysis of duty as truly as the old. Habitat and ties were to be uprooted quite after the manner of the foregoings of those sent on a mission. The inner life of long and far separated brethren was to be mutually revealed so that their hearts should burn within them; the signs of the times and the hidden aspects of contemporaneous history, rich in spiritual content, were to be discerned and made manifest.

It was to be expected that an enterprise of devotion calling for the actual sharing of life among the people should manifest a leaning toward asceticism. Some of the first residents of Neighborhood Guild attempted to approximate living conditions in the district by limiting their furniture to the scantiest, allowing themselves only such food as local shops provided, and eating it from coarse utensils. The original group at the New York College Settlement "came to the work not only with a desire to serve, but in a spirit of real abnegation." It seemed to them entirely appropriate that they should carry on the greater share of the housework. Such practice, however, was viewed in a larger light than that of self-discipline, being intended to manifest the nobility and spiritual healthfulness of every form of labor, as well as to reduce the difference between the settlement and its neighbors in the scale of living. Here and there a few persons went so far as to pass from the

settlement house and make their abode in a nearby tenement. It soon became clear, however, that the most generous service could be rendered and the most natural response secured by those living under what to them were normal conditions.

In the midst of all their new ethical problems and aims, early residents had the staunch and unqualified support of many progressive leaders in different branches of the church. They were compelled, however, to endure the cold aloofness if not the outright opposition of representatives of the great majority of religious people. In season and out of season they were met by eager evangelicals with the imputation of disloyalty to denominational standards. Somewhat scornfully their enterprise was referred to as "a philanthropic picnic in a wilderness of sin." At best, they were charged with overemphasizing the incidental phases of the Christian life to the neglect of its higher, more decisive appeals.

A slow and often anxious process had to be gone through before founders were able to convince their own households of faith that the vast arrearages of human service and fellowship found in city working-class neighborhoods were, on the one hand, a natural responsibility of the educated and well-to-do, and on the other, a clear call for a new type of dedication and special form of loyalty. They were ere long, out of their own experience, able to show doubters that not until profound changes had been wrought in the outward ways of such communities could summons to higher, inward purpose find access; that, instead of merely plucking brands from the burning, they were endeavoring to put out the fire; instead of seeking to lead a scattered few to righteousness, they were striving toward a more abundant life for all.

The central and essential significance of the new movement resided in the interpretation and application of the Christian principle of the dignity of human nature, which had been set forth with strong and even thrilling emphasis in the progressive religious teaching of the day. In establishing a home among working people, residents sought to be on a basis of respectful familiarity with them. It was often repeated that what men and women of the settlement undertook chiefly to do in their new environment was, in the full sense, to live in it; to enter with perception of high privilege into its daily walk and conversation. And this not merely as a means to

some worthy end, but, with its implications, as the end above all others.

Two special qualities of democratic fellowship as taught by pioneers stand out because of their effect on settlement structure. One was a certain restless curiosity about the life of which they had become a part. Residents were to throw their full being into the neighborhood interplay, to seek the shock that comes from inward revelation of the life of exacting toil, of straitened resources, of hard-fought purpose. They were to submit themselves to be tested mercilessly by local standards, that there might be free trade between them and their neighbors in the costly products of experience. This fresh interchange, continuously growing and deepening, stimulated by the surmounting of barriers of race and religion, was more than anything else to give form and body to the human democracy of the settlement.

The second quality was a conviction that each element of culture might be made a means of grace; that every good gift among things of the mind and heart should be imparted freely and broadly to the people. The settlement was almost as much an expression of intellectual as of moral striving. It seemed to the founders that evils which exist in working-class neighborhoods are as serious a reflection on universities as upon church and industry. Where culture is reserved chiefly for the pleasure and aggrandizement of the well-to-do, it is likely to become narrow and exclusive or fortuitous and bizarre. Its results are uninteresting to a large portion of the community, and may even be despised by the majority of virile and productive people.

These incipient phases of a new humanism at once had the sympathy and help of persons of literary and artistic tastes representing the new type of goodwill. The ministry of culture began to win to its cause men and women who had never been attracted to the work of relieving the poor, who had been waiting for the sort of service which should deal in the maximums rather than the minimums of human desire. As exponents of truth and beauty they rejoiced to appeal to the finer instincts of human brotherhood, without requiring either the disclosure or invasion of the subtle reserves of personality which makes the religious approach of man to man at best so difficult.

The settlement was to carry the university into the heart of the city's industry. As true representative of the higher learning, members of its family would naturally both observe their neighbors and learn from them, quite as they stood ready to impart from the settlement's stores. To secure acquaintance and knowledge so complex, detailed, and intimate meant involving one's self with people sufficiently to be taken within the reserves of family and neighborhood life and thought. It called for accurate and minute familiarity with the local pattern of streets, houses, and institutions, as well as sustained participation in many-sided associations and interests. Science itself demanded that such an onset be characterized not only by alertness but by sympathy. Only those who can go among men and women with affection can understand the tissue of objective causes and inward motives which bind people together. Scientific disinterestedness calls for, not the separateness of the observer, but suspended judgment in the midst of action. The explorer of society must gain his facts largely as a by-product of humanized participation in enterprises formerly quite alien to him. For the time being residents were to identify themselves so directly with their problem that by a new method of penetration they should be in and of it.

Early residents brought to their tasks special educational equipment. Many had carried on graduate studies both at home and abroad. They represented the first generation of students whose thinking was molded by the principle of natural science that the mass is to be identified and affected through the molecule or atom, and the living organism through the cell. They were prepared for a similar point of view in social science. This appeared in the treatment of the ancient village community as the nucleus of state and civilization. Such teaching, far from minimizing the significance of the family, marked it out in its community setting. The city neighborhood had already been recognized as a distraught survival of the ancient communes, which were in a real sense the menstruum in which family life might float. It was "the family of families," when its present-day mysteries were penetrated, that was to become the reinforcement both of character and of citizenship.

At each of the settlements in American cities were men and women who not only had visited London houses, but had learned

at first hand of other vital phases of English social readjustment. Especial interest was felt in the sympathetic participation of residents at Toynbee Hall in the labor organizations which grew out of the great dock strike of 1889. Charles Booth's painstaking examination of working-class living conditions for a great city district, family by family, house by house, block by block; and his minute analysis, graphic representation, and statesmanlike treatment of results imparted strength and inspiration to struggling American students determined to be thorough in understanding their neighborhoods. The Fabian Society, a direct outgrowth of Christian Socialist influences, espousing specifically a type of municipal socialism which should undertake to prove its case experimentally, step by step, was distinctly a factor in rousing and guiding certain American residents amid dawning issues of more humanized city government. The visits of William Clarke and Graham Wallas to this country brought illumination and inspiration to more than a few hard-pressed leaders. The work of the London County Council suggested a policy for the recovery of standards of administration and of citizenship in our large cities through a downright, humanly serviceable development of civic democracy.

The patriotic purpose of the settlement carried with it a new method. The war for the Union had overcome the danger to the nation inherent in geographical sectionalism. The new threat lay in the isolation of classes and nationalities. The settlement intimated that the problem might be approached on the basis of an inner understanding of those human facts which conduce to evil political conditions. In this connection residents received profound encouragement from the example of Theodore Roosevelt, who became police commissioner of New York in 1895. This was the first notable attempt by a university man to administer municipal office in a spirit of good sportsmanship directed to the fulfilment of ideals, and the clear purpose of serving those elements of the people least likely to be taken into account.

The settlement conception of an educational program for citizenship included inculcation of our historic national principles and preparation of new citizens in immigrant districts for the honorable exercise of suffrage. But it also encouraged tenement dwellers to demand and to secure from city governments just and necessary

consideration of their living conditions. At first, improvement of these seemed to need only more efficient and more equitable administration of existing laws. It soon appeared, however, that a much broader and more human type of municipal administration would have to be devised. The era of the individual's reliance upon his own initiative, based on the assumption of illimitable opportunity, was coming to an end. Residents of settlements were among the first to see the patriotic necessity of applying public resources to meet a great body of new collective needs.

Study of industrialism as represented by working-class individuals, families, and neighborhoods was approached by early residents with two prepossessions. The first of these had been expressed in Ruskin's axiom that industry should be organized so as to conserve and build up human life. For certain residents the clear wine of the English prophet's idealism was tinctured by Tolstoy's stringent doctrine that each person should devote part of the day to manual labor, as well to know his own soul as to relieve the intolerable burdens of others. The desire that everyone should find work at once congenial and humanly developing, yet without neglect of necessary hard and distasteful tasks, remains among the most compelling and influential undercurrents of settlement thought. The second prepossession, in the minds of nearly all settlement people of that day, was more radical than the first. It was nothing less than the belief, at first taken over from England but quickly confirmed out of experience, that workingmen not only have the right but are in duty bound to organize for the protection of their interests as wage-earners.[1]

The panic of 1893–1897, which compelled residents to devote themselves so largely to problems of unemployment, brought significant relations on the one hand with broad-minded employers, and on the other with leading representatives of the American Federation of Labor, then coming into large success through the linking of trade unions. The distress with which settlements were so con-

[1] "The residents came to the district with the general belief that organization for working people was a necessity."—Hull House Maps and Papers, p. 184. New York, Thos. Y. Crowell Company, 1895. The Articles of Association of Andover (South End) House includes the purpose "to co-operate with . . . . labor organizations, and other agencies acting for the improvement of social conditions." 1891.

stantly concerned during this long and bitter period naturally aroused much socialistic agitation. The ineradicable sense of necessity for profound change which the situation wrought into the consciousness of settlement workers was goaded by exponents of radical working-class opinion with whom, for the first time, educated young people came into direct intellectual conflict. Through such contacts settlement houses came to be known as hospitable meeting places for all sorts and conditions of men.

Confirmation of emotions aroused by daily experience came from continental prophetic spirits as varied as Mazzini, Damien, Millet, Zola. Henry George, with his warnings against the encroachment of population upon the land and increase of poverty, was having in his own country that recognition which for some years had been accorded him in England. Richard T. Ely had presented the first American academical interpretation of the labor movement and of socialism. Edward Bellamy had set forth a vision of Utopia in terms of Yankee mechanical ingenuity. Albert Shaw was interpreting the new type of municipal enterprise growing up in Great Britain and on the Continent. Jacob A. Riis at the beginning of his long career was indicating through the actual *mise en scène* of life among tenements what the anti-tenement strategy must be. John Graham Brooks, patient, discerning analyst of a particular present which foreshadows the future, was becoming known as peripatetic catechist and counsellor. Henry D. Lloyd was embarking upon his truly prophetic mission as exponent of good and evil in the modern synthesis, whether of trust, industrial co-operation, governmental enterprise, or the shaping of an unexampled national culture to include contributions from all the racial instincts and traditions of the world.

Aside from the general sense of interest and responsibility which, as forward-looking citizens they felt in broad programs of social reform, residents had a definite belief that settlement work would spread to large numbers of city neighborhoods similar to their own, and that the idea would find expression in many other sorts of communities. They dared to hope that an influence might be created which would affect church, university, industry, and politics.

The various but related motives which underlay the settlement

enterprise, running counter as they did to some of the most cherished habits of prevailing evangelical Christianity and to some of the deepest convictions of the dominant economic individualism, could not but seem questionable to the majority of prosperous people. The idea was tolerated because the motive of renunciation through service made an exceptionally strong appeal on ethical and patriotic grounds to important centers of opinion. The dangers in the situation were mitigated to the judicious observer by certain outstanding facts. Each settlement was deliberately and persistently involving itself in the affairs of a single neglected neighborhood. With the interests of this neighborhood it must rise or fall. Here was the constituency by them to be won, by them in some sort to be led in the ways of a better order.

CHAPTER VI

THE LOCAL IMPRESS

THE choice of a territory in which to locate, although in each case the subject of some study, was never so seriously entered upon as later and fuller experience would have suggested. There was a well-defined tendency to select the district most notorious for extremes of misery and even of crime. The widest reach possible to the new enterprise was needed to satisfy the moral imagination of certain founders. While it was thoroughly understood that each settlement would, in considerable degree, be made by its immediate environment, it was not understood that in some cases the settlement would be compelled to undergo radical transformation in order to adapt itself to conditions which were gradually to appear.

This laying hold upon a neighborhood in the city for purposes of deliberate community reconstruction was the inspiration of Stanton Coit, who effectively adapted the English parochial concept, with its ecclesiastical suggestion, to American conditions under which religious prejudices were in danger of bringing local responsibility to complete disintegration. He clearly saw that it was through the home that neighborhood no less than church must have its being and make its growth. Conversely, the endeavor to understand and compass the family gradually emphasized the fact that sound family life depends, in large measure, on extraneous forces. The family was by outside acquaintance either supported in its loyalties and standards or its foundation was being undermined by them. Where wholesome neighborly relations were lost, it was almost inevitable that family morale should go with it.

Among the causes of local disintegration, weakening of the instinct for fellowship in cities has always been recognized as important.[1] When, as in the case of certain parts of Boston and New

[1] "It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech: 'Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either

York, 1,200 people are crowded on an acre, it is difficult to individualize one's immediate neighbors sufficiently to be on human terms with any considerable proportion of them. What is more significant, perhaps, is the fact that many families do not stay long enough in one place to establish neighborly relations, even if other conditions are favorable. The extreme specialization of modern industry makes great numbers of human beings almost interchangeable. Constant readjustments in economic organization, fluctuation in economic prosperity, and the spirit of enterprise and ambition have created a class of nomadic factory hands who form no neighborhood ties, join no local associations, and involve themselves in no effort for community betterment. In many districts the yearly rate of movement as shown by changes in the public school enrolment approximates one-third of the entire population. In such a case the small proportion of families who remain are likely to think of themselves as living on tiny islands in a more or less swiftly moving stream.

But the peculiarly American cause of disintegration in neighborly relations, which seems to sum up the others, is immigration. Even in the nineties it was not uncommon for a working-class district to contain representatives of more than twenty nationalities, each with its own dialect, customs, manners, prejudices, fears, loyalties —racial, national, and religious—degrees and types of education, and outlook on the world. Deep-seated antagonisms, bred through centuries of provincial as well as national experience in Europe, created to the outsider almost incomprehensible currents of feeling.

Appreciation of the fact that great populations, far from being freed from the need of neighborhood relations are even more dependent upon them than villagers, was the basis of the settlement program of local organization. It recognized, however, that urban achievement of the blessings of local life was decidedly difficult. It soon was evident that tenement people were evolving a form

a wild beast or a god' . . . . . But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: *Magna civitas, magna solitudo* (a great city is a great solitude); because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship for the most part which is in less neighborhoods." Bacon's Essays. Of Friendship, p. 106. London, Macmillan and Co., 1887.

of society adapted to the precise conditions of city life; and that in spite of all untoward influences there was in every instance a real substructure upon which to build. Amid the struggling, bewildered immigrant humanity there survived a keen sense of the villages out of which members had come; and, by a curious irony, the intense inter-village rivalries which they brought with them emphasized their readiness for neighborly approach. In smaller or larger sections given over to particular foreign nationalities the beginnings of neighborly initiation for scattered families of other racial antecedents were discernible.

The fulfilment of a program calling for systematic spread of democratic fellowship from person to person, house to house, and street to street, demanded the creation of instruments capable of the utmost variety and nicety of application. In seeking to meet this challenge two motives, both freighted with weighty, though at the time largely unrealized possibilities, were introduced into the science of city organization. One involved all those varied forms of acquaintance and voluntary responsibility that may go with life in a local community.[1] The other looked toward ends political and administrative.

With the purpose of comprehending so far as possible all people within a given circuit, it was obvious that the invitation must be to underlying, universal motives, and not to those which for better or worse were exceptional. Prejudices must be crossed and recrossed with activities having an unmistakable appeal. Racial and religious ties which set people in groups apart must all be respected, but there must be deliberate cultivation of such general interests as give reality and identity to the neighborhood. This purpose compelled the settlement to avoid having its influence restricted within any shade of economic distinction. It could not give special attention to men and women goaded by hard necessity; on the other hand, the temperamental interest of founders in the ambitious student or toiler met a radical corrective as it grew clear that only a thin and loosely attached upper crust would be reached through them. Thus gradually and by a somewhat bitter dis-

[1] Directors of missions and institutions had sometimes lived in the buildings in which their work was housed, but they were propagandists and specialists who centered their interest on a single issue.

ciplinary process, the settlement became above all an enterprise in appreciation and exaltation of common human loyalties.

Members of the new and peculiar households were accepted by one neighbor and another on that basis of human give and take which informs the neighborly instinct. Children, with characteristic curiosity and venturesomeness, entered into parleys, and ere long were ready to storm the house as they became conscious of welcome. And through the children, residents began to be accredited to older brothers and sisters, to mothers, and sometimes to fathers.

It was soon discovered, however, that though it is relatively easy to establish human relationships with a few adults and with groups of children, a solid residuum of the inhabitants would with difficulty understand why persons should live in a district less agreeable than that warranted by their incomes. The most frequent and confident guess was that the newcomers were missionaries. The inquiry, "When is the prayer-meeting snap to be turned on," represented a common defensive attitude. Almost without exception it was taken for granted that an ulterior motive existed. In certain immigrant sections residents were accused of being government spies. Even worse possibilities were whispered. Settlement households of young women were in several cases visited by local roundsmen with a request for hush money.

As soon, however, as a representative group of people had satisfied themselves about the good faith of the newcomers toward local moral, religious, and economic loyalties, their response was, almost without exception, kindly and generous. Naturally enough, a certain fraction both of neighbors and residents lacked the sympathy, capacity for sustained experience, freedom and flexibility of spirit needed to work out the possibilities of this delicate situation. Almost unperceived, racial, class, and religious prejudices occasionally wrecked or greatly embarrassed the beginnings of enlightening acquaintance and effectively organized activity. In every neighborhood some people held aloof just because the overture came from a different region of life. Often this attitude commanded respect. It represented a constant and wholesome challenge to residents to cultivate a broadly human attitude.

As, at first, a program only very gradually came into being,

workers with peculiar eagerness struck out directly into relations which should bring them into the atmosphere of common humanity with their neighbors. The fact that working people have few intellectual devoirs and are not much concerned with questions of property causes their talk to circle about the great primary relations and experiences and the direct impact of personality on personality. Mere residence automatically gives the right of first-hand comment about local interests, traditions, and prospects. The exchange of details about the health, achievements, and hopes of local acquaintance made residents, as it were, sustaining partners in neighborhood affairs. Those with the special gift of discovering the simple downrightness of home life in back streets set it forth as a precious contribution, racy of the soil. A quite definite tendency to form groups on the basis of immediate contiguity was disclosed. Broad, flat methods of approach, if ever considered, were abandoned in face of the differentiated human texture of things.

On occasion, however, all separative classifications disappeared. The settlement was often unable to dispose of the smouldering apprehension that its presence was casting aspersion over the entire face of the neighborhood, or that it cherished a covert purpose of opposition to local industrial interests or racial traditions. That pride which is strong even under the most untoward conditions could almost overnight contrive a united resistance which, for a time, baffled all overtures. One of the essential facts in the situation was that the settlement had given exceptional hostages to fortune. It stayed on, to realize that there was in such nascent gregarious power the indispensable underpinning for neighborhood reconstruction which was the very substance of its hopes.

Advancement of first-hand grasp and mastery of neighborhood facts came largely through every sort of casual interchange; though from the beginning, systematic and comprehensive pursuit of local data through some sort of undisclosed canvass, with persistent gleaning of information from responsible and well-informed local citizens, was not lacking. Sources of information compiled in broad terms by municipality or state were forced, usually through dint of great labor, to tell a local story. Graphic exhibits showing distribution of nationality, income, and institutions were prepared as a means of visualizing local problems and recording progress.

Early studies were largely engaged with the meaning and methods of the people's self-supported and self-managed collective undertakings. Residents had already pledged themselves to participate, so far as they might find welcome, in the major institutions of the neighborhood. They shortly came to know in terms of actual life how deeply family, racial, and national traditions are grounded in the doctrines and symbolism of the church; how multifarious are the forms of help which individuals and households striving to meet economic hardship, to solve moral difficulties, or simply to enter into the sense of fulfilment which is the reward of common devotion, draw from clergymen, teachers in religious schools, leaders of sodalities, guilds, and other parish societies. They observed the actual process through which Catholic parish organization preserves and builds up local standards of temperance, clean speech, and chastity; and the degree in which celebration of Jewish feasts and festivals holds parents and children together under the stress of different rates of adjustment to a new civilization. They watched the church unifying immigrant groups during the trying period when its members are as a people without a country. Deterioration or breakdown in the structure of religious tradition and practice was seen carrying tragedy in its train.

The theory of sectarian neutrality with which founders started passed beyond the mere attitude of laissez faire: it became a positive sentiment of respect for and sympathy with each different form of faith, and for the ties by which its followers are held to it and to one another.

In somewhat the same way, racial and national loyalties found in the neighborhood were seen as something amiable and precious, instead of quite apart from, if not hostile to, that Americanism of which settlements were exponents. Here, then, was the promise of spiritual interchange between settlement and neighbors which the harshness of religious differences forbade; and the vague foreshadowings of native American culture substantially diversified and enriched by what immigrants might bring began to seek expression and embodiment.

Often following racial lines, but in any case creating a stern new alignment, the organization of labor presented combined challenge and appeal to those who in large measure had come to put them-

selves, in ethical terms, in the workman's place. It was among the most cherished hopes of early residents that the tradition of good-will between democratically inclined university men and trade union organizers which obtained in England, might be duplicated in this country. Friendly approaches were therefore made to leaders of city federations of labor. Some of these welcomed the sympathy and intellectual companionship of educated people, and opportunity to discuss, with a certain measure of detachment, broad questions of economic reform. A few among this number affiliated with settlement households. They pointed out to residents sore spots in the administration of industry and the exact conditions under which injustice pressed heaviest. They also showed how the local union supplies fellowship, lends a helping hand in distress, serves as an employment bureau, helps immigrants to become acquainted with some of the fundamentals of American life, and creates that feeling of power behind an industrial group without which the individual is alone and lost. This first-hand contact with the "pith of working-class intellect" gave those who experienced it an illuminating sense for the angle of incidence which establishes the distinctive labor view of affairs.

Residents, on their part, were able to be of assistance to such leaders by interpreting the longer course of economic thought and industrial history, and specifically by pointing out some results of English trade union experience. Beginnings were made in collecting material on the history of American trade unionism and in securing data about industrial conditions at home and abroad for use by trade union legislative committees. Labor leaders were drawn into the residents' larger range of interest in the general community.

The arena of the labor leader, as a rule, is not within the neighborhood. Another sort of leader, with authority at once more compact and more varied, filled the center of the distinctively local scene. For some time it was felt by the settlement that the ward boss was a man almost of different nature from others. The fact that local improvement so largely depended on political action drove workers deliberately to study the sources of political power in their localities. Meanwhile they acted with such wisdom as they possessed. It was clear in the great strongholds of ward machines that headway toward improved municipal administra-

tion would proceed with painful slowness. The need for it was appealingly expressed in districts inhabited by a great mass of docile and helpless immigrants, where such public influence as the resident group gained was eagerly drawn upon by occasional men or women seeking help under intolerable burdens.

These demands brought settlements into productive working relations with the organized beneficent resources of the city. The parochial tradition, so important a part of the settlement impulse, caused pioneers definitely to constitute themselves a clearing house to which puzzled and distraught neighbors might apply for guidance. They interpreted to these, in terms of the fullest and most friendly appreciation and understanding, the various specialties of service in district and city. The fact that their motive embodied a revolt against institutionalism caused residents to be specially sensitive to the temper and spirit of local administration and the thoroughness with which each agency met the human needs it was set to satisfy. The shortcomings they observed were inherent in any scheme for the treatment of human beings in aggregates unless carefully safeguarded. Men and women who applied to local charitable agencies, both public and private, were often emptied of individuality and thought of as "cases." As the scope of their undertaking became increasingly defined in the minds of managers, and stereotyped through inertia and precedent in staff practice, originality and ingenuity of treatment often disappeared and with it due personal consideration of the recipient. The more residents saw of philanthropic institutions, the more they were impressed with the fact that lack of economic power to enforce one's right to be regarded as an individual is among the bitterest hardships of poverty. The loyalty and regard, raised into tradition, which neighbors displayed for the few doctors, clergymen, educators, nurses, and relief agents who dealt with men and women as human beings, and met unusual situations with inventiveness and resource, constituted an impressive criticism of the opposite practice that so often prevailed.

From this point of view, settlement work and study began to measure the degree in which popular leaders were expressive of the local mind. Once residents had learned to distinguish between the apparent service of a buccaneering politician or saloonkeeper and

that of a truly representative officeholder or responsible citizen, they set out to secure greater scope for the better initiative. The multiplication of organization, the broadening of interests, the increased demand for detailed and disinterested public service which developed in the settlement was directed so as to call forth this sort of leadership and to offer it opportunity to demonstrate its capacity.

It was discovered, however, that people were but little concerned with any form of secular organization. Even their indigenous societies were chiefly in control of outsiders or of self-constituted dictators. Collective initiative in many tenement communities was on the way to be altogether stifled. The reaction of a stubborn environment had a surprising effect upon such theories of reform as early residents brought with them. First made more radical by the pressure of the great need around them, they found themselves urging policies that were not only unsupported by working people but presupposed capacities not yet apparent. Neighbors were disappointingly unready for responsible, continuous endeavor. The process of associated action, which was the matter and stuff of their program, was by test long and slow. Theoretical conclusions had to be reshaped from a new point of view.

The conviction that it was possible to establish neighborly relations with many in the locality came to pioneers with a sense of new power. The informal brotherhood which grew out of detailed knowledge of men and women in their daily walk and conversation made an increasing circle of people unwilling that their comfort should be based in the hardship of their fellows. It left them anxious and unhappy unless they felt some part of the burden of contemporary life resting down on them. Members of the first small households were privileged to become the nucleus of this life-giving tendency. With the devotion of a new age upon them, domiciled within the shadow of hardships and confusion which it had brought, with their minds strangely reoriented by initiation into industrial unrest and aspiration, tinctured with alien outlook upon their native land, straitened with the sense of an urgent mission to those groups out of which they had come, they urged forward their pragmatic appeal for the more human administration of education, industry, and government; for the "nationalization of good."

II

NEIGHBORHOOD GUILD

CHAPTER VII

CLUBS: BOYS AND MEN

HAD they been left to their own choice, the newly arrived settlement corps would doubtless have continued for some time to give prior claim to what they considered their more important function of meeting with men and women who were accredited leaders of neighborhood sentiment, and after that, seeking acquaintance with young people and children. But they were not. Boys approaching adolescence welcomed so eagerly any overture that might be interpreted as friendly, followed up acquaintance with such unwearying persistence, and teased with such winning good nature to be included in whatever good times were arranged, that they gained the freedom of the settlement almost against the underlying desires of residents.

In the first instance settlement work among boys differed little in intention from that of the mass clubs which had already been established as separate organizations in a few cities. The negative purpose of juvenile recreation expressed in the watchword "get the boys in off the streets" was adopted bodily. As soon as boys were admitted to the house they were assigned to groups, more or less arbitrarily, by residents. These groups from the very beginning were kept small. It was a general conviction of the founders that it is better to know a few children well than many superficially.[1] The educational productiveness of the small group under the guidance of leaders of character and ability has always been appreciated. Certain institutions, notably Protestant Sunday schools, had employed the principle with conspicuous success. But quite apart from any theory, space was limited. The necessity which most

[1] "Stanton Coit . . . . . had been really eloquent on the subject of forming close friendships and of grappling these young people to us with hoops of steel. We caught the idea and as a result some of these twelve-year-old girls have grown up to be our closest friends."—Robbins, Jane E.: First Year at the College Settlement. In *Survey*, Vol. XXVII, p. 1,800, 1912.

settlements were under of holding meetings in dining room, parlor, or even in bedrooms of the residence house meant in each case a close circle. It also indicated inactive occupations such as parliamentary law, debating, table games, story-telling, singing, and general conversation. The intimate relations fostered by such recreations led boys to boast of their adventures, to discuss the rules which governed their dealings with one another, and thus to reveal the way their minds were made up. Deep-seated hopes and aspirations were laid bare in the plans they outlined.

The desire of boys to invite their friends to these meetings shortly threatened the practice of arbitrary assignment to the several groups. To permit them to choose their own mates meant "gangs." Thirty years ago boy gangs were in most tenement localities, as indeed they are still in some, a menace both to their members and to the community at large. The slogan, "break up the gang," was not only a principle among boys' workers, but an article of faith among harassed citizens. Even residents, in their short experience, had come to realize how thoroughly demoralizing such groups might be, and they were to learn vastly more. Three discoveries turned the balance in favor of the boys' own form of association. The first was that practically all boys were members of gangs; the phenomenon was almost universal. Experience revealed the fact that not all gangs were bad; certain sets of boys were attracted in a body to the settlement because it represented something high and unusual. Participation in boys' groups made clear beyond possibility of doubt the capacity of the gang to create loyalty, to become an actually going concern. Here were a series of facts that educator, moralist, and student of society could not afford to neglect.

Organization of the natural group or gang is the outgrowth of untold generations of experience in what constitutes workable association. An average membership of from eight to fifteen is prescribed. Members are usually of equal age and live within a short distance of one another. A certain like-mindedness and correspondence of powers is generally discoverable, offset by differences based on capacity for leadership, skill in games, and possession or control of materials for common enterprise. The activities of any specific gang are marked 'out by the immemorial interests of

adolescence, by the opportunities which environment affords, by the natural instincts of leading spirits.

Adoption of the alliance which boys make for themselves as the most satisfactory foundation for group activity, and appointment of an adult leader for each group, who shall be a real participant in its life, constitute the two distinctive principles on which the settlement club is based. Resourceful directors recruit clubs by commissioning boys with a burning for leadership to gather their own groups, or by offering directly the facilities of the settlement to gangs gathered in from cellars, alleys, or street corners. Experience has shown that all stages of the process of testing out one another, through which prospective members of a new organization finally reach working agreement, are best carried on without adult interference. Some settlements, indeed, admit clubs to house privileges only after they have elected officers.

Agreement upon rules of conduct and the exercise of embodying them in a constitution mark the passage of a gang into a club. The almost universal tendency on the part of individuals to take a stronger ethical position before others than in the privacy of their own souls or in the presence of a single boon companion, usually leads members formally to adopt as a basis for government the highest moral ideal known to them.

Effort to live up to a standard written into a constitution and subscribed to, sets in motion new and compelling influences. A little experience makes it evident that distinction within the group depends on effectiveness with one's fellows; that he who serves leads. The cost of untruthfulness, irresponsibility, and lack of application, especially in others, is seen in deeper blackness when silhouetted against group interest. The fact that the club is financially responsible for the action of individual members creates a new attitude on the part of the majority toward wanton destruction. The weak are bolstered, the strong confirmed, and the rebellious coerced by the most telling force members know, the publicly expressed judgment of a group of their peers. In the club, the fact that the moral law represents the sole practicable scheme of human intercourse, finds demonstration in the understood terms of life itself.

The raising of money, possession of a surplus, the setting aside of

funds to pay for rent and other privileges, investment in common property, the organization and financing of feasts and good times, represent profoundly unifying experiences and are important factors in the beginnings of true teamwork. The real rise of the club into collective selfhood may be said to take place when members learn that by acting together in harmony they can accomplish results in quantity and quality above the range of their total individual efforts. Once the moral principle that the whole is more than the sum of its parts is definitely grasped, club members jointly and severally have a practical motive for co-operation, the intrinsic force of which is never thereafter lost.

Independence, self-control, and courtesy, when called forth under conditions of enjoyable self-expression combined with self-imposed restraint, develop often with surprising and rewarding rapidity. Out of the discipline acquired from constant meeting comes power to check one's impulses, ability to retain ideas in solution and to state them with tolerance and respect for an opponent, willingness to acquiesce in the judgment of fellow-members, a new feeling for order in human relations, capacity to unite easily and to work swiftly and surely. Each recognizes that his associates become by virtue of the common bond and the common accomplishment, a new and special loyalty. Organization is thereafter seen as a system of broadened and deepened responsibility. A club which has held together during several years demonstrates the actual capacity of its members to steer a straight course in elementary good living amid the multiplicity of counter-currents in city neighborhood life.

The winning of ends so desirable as these depends in very large part on the generalship of club directors and leaders.[1] Under a leader lacking in force and skill the average group explodes into mischief and destruction, or wastes away because it can find nothing worth doing. Right counsel and incentive are necessary to help members make productive use of energies through discovering their common desires and interests.

The personal qualities needed in the man who sets out to be

[1] The word "director" is used to designate the resident in general charge of organized club work. See pages 86, 344 ff. "Leader" indicates the volunteer, resident, or paid associate who meets regularly with the club.

guide and friend to a club of boys so nearly exhaust the virtues that a catalogue becomes meaningless. Certain qualities are indispensable. In addition to well-marked individuality, such a man should be fond of people for their own sakes, able when the situation demands to generate enthusiasm for high interests, and capable of dealing resourcefully with each new situation on its merits. Beyond all else he must be genuinely concerned with the happy moral growth of youth.

The successful leader steeps himself in the activities, hopes, fears, dreams, and endless conversation of his charges, and is thus prepared to encourage each one in the several most vital aspects of his life. By visiting the boy in his home environment, and getting that almost certain response from parents which comes of sharing their concern for their child; by bringing the club within the range of his personal interests and sharing to the greatest possible measure his own family and friends; and by establishing between club members an ever wider range of reciprocal human intimacies, he builds up standards and sanctions which make the club a watchword of safety and an abiding stimulus to a higher ethical life.

Constant consideration has to be given to the influence of natural leaders and the tendencies of cliques in club membership. Two contrasted qualities which grow out of the awakening of different individualities during adolescence have serious effects on both boy and club; namely, a tendency toward too precipitate seizure of responsibility and a too lagging faith in actual and potential powers. The first type of boy assumes a degree of authority beyond his years and his capacities. He mistakes whim for conviction, and jumps heedlessly from one impulse to another. He often drags his companions after him into ill-considered adventure. The influence of the second type of boy on his fellows is almost worse than that of the first. Childish, timid, conservative, uninventive, he checks the progress of his mates by clinging to a program of infantile mischief and badinage. The presence of several boys whose individuality is undeveloped or arrested constitutes a serious danger for normal boys of the same group. It is sometimes necessary to encourage the abler associates to form a new club, though it is a clearly acknowledged part of settlement duty to follow up the cases of those who seem to be temporarily or

permanently incapable of meeting the demands of club membership.

It may be put down as among the important results of settlement experience that membership of clubs of adolescent boys must be well unified as to years and interests. Clubs frequently solicit too large a membership, in which case two groups, formed on the basis of age, develop. Or the split may occur because new members are accepted without due regard to their fitness. Boys from twelve to sixteen have a way of becoming new creatures overnight, as they are caught in some powerful current of awakening life. The emergence of interests which call for readjustment and expansion should be anticipated and met almost before club members are conscious of them.

Home, school, and industry are important factors in determining the kind of work and association adolescent boys require. There are in most tenement neighborhoods a group of households wherein the standard of family care for childhood approaches that of the best type of middle-class home. Parents retain mastery of their children's leisure, scrutinize their companionship, and limit their activities away from home. Boys from such households usually go through high school, and are, therefore, better disciplined mentally than working boys of the same age. For this type of boy many of the programs devised during the past decade by organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Woodcraft League, Young Men's Christian Associations, and by teachers of classes in mechanical and artistic activities, are successful. The major proportion of youth, lacking continuous family oversight and discipline, already involved in gang association, are not easily captured for education.

To his working brother the high school boy, as a human being, seems immature and amateurish and his interests and activities academic and dull. The industrial recruit, projected without transition or preparation into an unaccustomed and perplexing environment, finds himself forced to meet and to solve a great number of highly disturbing situations. He makes a whole series of new acquaintances with experiences and standards different from his own. His time for recreation changes from day to evening. The range and scope of his adventuring after pleasure are enlarged by the possession of additional income. He evolves new tests for

opinion and conduct based on what he regards as a more worthy and successful order of things. Association with those passing through like experiences is greatly craved. Exploring fields hitherto unranged by himself or his fellows, and discovering new things about himself, about others, about industry, and about the world, he is anxious to exchange data concerning these fresh and vital phenomena.

Comparison of the gang, club, and home life of working and high school boys makes it clear that the economic dependence of children between fourteen and seventeen years of age is far more normal than the precocious worldliness of the employed boy. The increased investment which parents are called upon to make automatically assures him greater oversight and care. The added training he secures in school helps to develop initiative and makes him more of an individual. He comes to have definite worthy interests, capable of being justified against the gang. He meets boys from different parts of the city and from other economic classes and discovers new types and standards of success. His knowledge of reality is thus broadened at important points and becomes a factor of the utmost significance in his picture of the world, its responsibilities, duties, and pleasures.

Among the most recurring phenomena of gang and hence, in its early stages, of club activity, is the tendency to break into something which approaches anarchy. Outlet must be provided for the superabundant energy of boys and youth in order to secure the best results that come from quieter forms of association. The back yards of settlement houses in the early years were fitted up with simple playground apparatus, and the cellars, attics, and sheds adapted to indoor sports. Club meetings began to be prefaced by a series of exercises. It soon became abundantly clear that athletic games, especially when reinforced by group loyalty, duplicated on the side of action the moralizing training that comes through participation in meetings. The boy learns, under a new set of conditions, to curb his impulses, control his appetites, respond to orders quickly, accurately, thoroughly, and to understand the meaning of fair play. Citizenship, not less than soldiery, secures an important part of its training on the playground.

Before the settlement, the gymnasium was a luxury, maintained

outside of colleges and clubs of the well-to-do only by religious agencies whose facilities in effect were limited to a relatively small constituency among business and professional men. Settlements placed gymnasium privileges without restriction of creed within reach of working-class children and young people. Money for such equipment, in the beginning, was secured with difficulty. Even the most liberal and humanly disposed givers were inclined to feel that children under fourteen were amply occupied in public school, and that employed boys were sufficiently exercised by their work. Not until 1900 did settlements find themselves able to erect gymnasium buildings.

Settlement gymnasiums have come to be centers of personal hygiene for the expansion and fulfilment of physical health and power throughout local neighborhoods. All boys using the floor are examined by a physical director. Instruction is given about diet, bathing, sleep, posture, and regimen. Abnormalities are corrected through exercise. Boys found to be in need of medical treatment are directed to proper clinics and followed up to see that they go. The foolhardy attitude of contempt toward physical defects and ailments which many boys affect is gradually overcome by kindly interest and reasoned argument.

Possession of a gymnasium makes possible that training in the technique of federated action which is so important a motive in settlement education. Competition between clubs very shortly leads to organization of house athletic leagues.[1] Acting in an advisory capacity with the gymnasium director, the executive committee of the league establishes regulations governing the conduct of all who use the floor or compete at meets, arbitrates disagreements between contestants, organizes and manages teams, holds dances, receptions, or parties both for the pleasure of such events and in order to raise funds. Members are frequently delegated to act as leaders of gymnasium clubs of small boys; and prizes are offered to be competed for by afternoon clubs. In several instances a league has rendered important service by creating public opinion in favor of a municipal playground, or has helped to secure temporary use of vacant lots.

[1] These organizations date from about 1903. Each club elects delegates to an executive committee.

Settlement athletics are not, however, without their difficulties. The lust for prizes which characterizes modern athletic contests is constantly encountered. Competition with outside teams also presents many of the difficulties inherent in intercollegiate athletics; and as in the case of colleges, there is a well-directed tendency to reduce outside competition and to increase inter-club and inter-class contests. This plan increases the number of participants in certain forms of physical activities. Some houses encourage individual effort by giving badges which represent a particular standard of physical attainment, thus providing for competition with one's own record.

For almost a decade there was a marked divergence of opinion between advocates of the mass boys' club, which received large numbers from a considerable radius into general rooms and provided rather broad forms of recreation and instruction, and settlement advocates of a neighborhood boys' organization made up of natural groups each under an adult adviser and leader. A considerable number of mass club leaders now agree that the natural group offers great possibilities of close and thorough acquaintance with boys, influences association, gives access to those spontaneous neighborhood interests by which the lives of boys are conditioned, provides an easy and natural approach to the home, exerts an influence in establishing standards through participation, and educates the public through the first-hand interest of volunteer leaders. Settlement club leaders on their part recognize that good equipment, a wide range of activities, contagion of large numbers, and the technically skilled leadership of the mass club are properly attractive to boys.

The effort to combine both types of club is gradually making headway. The plan first tried by certain mass club leaders of dividing membership into small bodies was, of course, unsuccessful. Resort to the more natural method of asking boys to form themselves into small groups has had a measure of good result. Increased equipment, influence of the mass club, growth of expert leadership, and the departmental tendency within the settlement itself are now leading to an organic type of boys' club which takes the natural group as unit and makes the larger body by affiliation of gangs. This development represents the latest

results of long thought and effort, and in its full significance belongs with the growths of neighborhood consciousness described further on.

Practically all tenement districts show a considerable series of loosely organized groups of young men in their late teens and early twenties which meet occasionally and give one or more semi-public dances during the winter. Profits are used to pay rent of a shack at some nearby resort or to finance a series of good times, or they may be divided among members. These clubs are the creation of a somewhat capable minority among youths of the locality, and while their activity proves the possession of initiative and a degree of ability to carry out common enterprises, the by-products of unregulated association are often far from happy.

Most neighborhoods also have a few associations sufficiently resourceful to hire a store or a tenement suite for use as a club room. Groups which manifest this degree of organizing capacity are likely to be approached by local politicians and their party loyalty solicited through gifts or subsidies. The usual fate of such clubs is that the rooms attract a few confirmed loafers who live on the sufferance of parents, brothers, and sisters, or on their wits; in which case the more thrifty, finding themselves providing in undue proportion for the comfort and convenience of a parasitic group, finally withdraw and the club dies.

These indigenous groups have marked influence in the neighborhood, not alone because of the number of boys who belong and are influenced during their formatiye years, but because younger boys regard such associations as highly desirable and take them as patterns. It is, however, an important part of settlement policy that the general director of clubs should keep in close touch with all other boys' groups in the neighborhood, whether self-formed or graduated from the house. Assistance is given to such extraneous clubs in arranging parties, athletic meets, and summer outings. The settlement, in return, calls upon members for help in organizing athletic events, in securing local improvements, and in efforts to raise the moral tone of neighborhood life. The loyalty of these groups toward the neighborhood is thus kept in greater or less degree worthy and productive.

A growing number of settlement directors of boys' work are con-

vinced that it is sound policy to provide quarters, at rental slightly lower than the local price of rooms, for the exclusive use of a club of working boys. In a few instances houses have taken a tenement or dwelling and let rooms to their own clubs as each became able to assume the financial burden. Most groups are more than willing to include a volunteer leader in their membership, and the settlement as landlord keeps informed about the standard of activity reached by its tenants. Such a building makes a center of wholesome and forward-moving interests among older boys and young men.

The young manhood of the neighborhood, almost more than its adolescent youth, captured the imagination of early residents. Several among them had high hopes that it might be possible to establish clubs for workingmen in their early twenties which in time would be analogous to the associations that have proved, on the whole, so important a phase of progress in England.[1] While a few such clubs prospered, the majority after a few years failed. Although several more or less obvious reasons, and others not so clear, are advanced to account for this lack of success, no attempt at a thoroughgoing analysis of the interests, the amusements, and the associations, local and otherwise, of men has been made. The prevailing type of settlement men's organization, so far as it exists, has come to be a mixed recreative and civic club, with rooms of its own open at least during the evenings. Lines of gang loyalty having faded, members are taken in under a broadly hospitable test. The number who belong varies from thirty to a hundred or more. The question of equipment, beyond that of a modest degree, is less important than leadership and the public work undertaken. Experience of a few settlements which have had the gift of elaborate and costly quarters, pervaded as these are bound to be by an atmosphere of resource and largesse, has not been altogether happy. Workingmen are most at home in surroundings not too unlike those to which they are accustomed.

[1] It is a fact to be remembered that the idea of the workingmen's club was imported from England, where there is a large number of such organizations. Though the initiative was originally given by the Christian Socialists, the clubs are now usually independent. In this country independent men's clubs are extremely rare, showing that American workingmen do not incline to them under any conditions. The British workingman's love of debate is to a large extent the secret of his liking for the club.

Athletics is still usually the chief interest of such a club, although billiards and pool, a small library, occasional lectures, dances, and an annual picnic constitute an important part of the recreational program. Some members are likely to be influential in ward politics. The club usually takes a hand in local improvements, and often supports the better candidates in reform elections. A regular duty of distinctive interest to members, such as editing a newspaper, managing boys' clubs, or initiating and carrying on athletic competitions, is often placed on the group as a continuous responsibility.

The most difficult question which promoters of a settlement men's club face is that of administration. Financial agreements must be crystal clear and set in writing; otherwise groundless complaints may break out into open antagonism. The club should have a range of control over equipment and activities corresponding to the financial responsibility which it assumes, but no more. Residents are concerned, as we have seen, not merely in providing a resort for a group of individuals, but in building up a semi-public instrument for mutual aid in a soundly motived and well co-ordinated movement of neighborhood life. The settlement must, in order to protect itself, carefully guard not only its equipment but its aim. If a club conducts its affairs in the interest of a few members, becomes self-centered and intolerant, or develops bad habits it is a failure as a settlement enterprise.

The heart of the workingmen's club is that small but potent minority among the rank and file which is actuated by high ideals of fair play and instinct for public service. The chief duty and opportunity of the settlement is to discover in the neighborhood individuals of this sort. When the proportion of this type of members is large enough, and it need not number more than five or ten per cent of the roll, and constant enough in its attendance, the club succeeds. While capable volunteer guidance is decidedly useful, it should be ingeniously tactful. A leader who fails to win and deserve respect of club members is a constant thorn in the side of club and of residents. Perhaps the most decisive word to be said in this connection is that the kind of man able to sustain workingmen's clubs at a proper pitch has hardly yet caught the vision of his opportunity.

Men of middle age and beyond have been formed into clubs at a few settlements. Experience has shown that the majority of fathers of families are unwilling to belong to organizations that even by implication seem to call for frequent and regular attendance. A large proportion of workingmen are so tired at the end of the day that they gladly stay at home. An occasional excursion to a "movie," church entertainment or lodge, satisfies their desires for extra-family sociability. Another large proportion will attend required meetings of a trade union or monthly gathering of a lodge or benefit order. Such men will also be found at occasional political rallies and at settlement gatherings for celebration of holidays and festivals, or for discussion of public questions. Most fathers of families can be depended on to be spectators at performances in which their children take part.

All neighborhoods contain a small proportion of men who are natural mixers. Some are active in the district political machine, in which connection they also make it a point to be part of other local associations. Running through these various groups are always a few men with the instinct for public welfare who can be drawn out only by some specific demand for their services. They will assist in managing and carrying on parties and celebrations, and will meet during a limited period for the accomplishment of some practical end, such as obtaining a neighborhood bath or playground, or bringing about improvement in public service. Most settlements every few years organize such groups, which meet regularly so long as there are actual things to be done. Once these thin out, interest weakens.

Many residents believe that the time is ripe for a new attack on the problem of local organization among men. In numerous settlement neighborhoods a generation of boys trained in the art of working together has already matured. It is now easier to set apart quarters free from the presence of women and children. The elimination of the saloon is putting millions of men in possession of their faculties for the first time in their adult lives. It has not been an accident that the response of women to finer interests and their capacity to co-operate has been greater than that of men. As long as so many men were alcoholized after work to a point below the level of continuous team-play, little in the way of group

action could be expected.[1] Much of the effort which might have gone into devising association for men has had to be devoted to helping the victims of inebriety. Manhood in possession of its powers will, in some normal way, be ready for responsible neighborhood loyalties.

In the evolution of the settlement program, preadolescent boys were last to be considered. The desires and needs of boys between five and eight years differ hardly at all from those of little girls. At the seventh or eighth year small boys exchange the loose gregariousness of mixed groups such as the kindergarten band and children's play classes with their gentle suggestion, for the male herd. The boy's individualism increases, and with it his aggressiveness. He frequently desires to pull against the group. He becomes interested in construction and finds outlet for his powers in carpentry, clay modeling, drawing, and other forms of handwork. He likes to do these things with his fellows, however. His games, though in the group, are of the intercepted sort, filled with interruptions, with splits, with dissensions. Training in formal association begins at the settlement through group games played with a ball, boxing, and sometimes dramatics and dancing. During the latter part of this period the small boy finds that his desires increasingly accord with those of certain among his fellows. He makes a beginning of carrying out common enterprises with them. He strikes out the idea of a gang or club long before he is able to manage the actuality.

The importance of this period to the neighborhood organizer grows increasingly evident. A large share of the mistakes and failures of adolescence can be traced to conditions which were final for good or evil in preadolescence. No analysis of the needs of little boys under city tenement house conditions comparable to those which deal with his adolescent brother has yet been made. More scientific and thoroughgoing study and experiment constitutes a next stage of pioneering in social-educational enterprise.

Neighborhood organization calls for the discovery and training of men who will make organized activities among males a profession. Twenty-five years ago the type of club director most sought was the man who by virtue of physical strength, personal magnetism,

[1] Exception must be made of the Jews, who are notable for temperance and capacity to get together.

and that ready understanding and sympathy which grow out of ability to recall youthful feelings and experiences, knew how to keep boys within bounds and to direct their desires. In the period of getting acquainted, which all neighborhood agencies have to go through, these qualities have paramount value.

As clubs multiply and resources become more adequate, the educator in the field of social work comes to the fore. He must be acquainted with the findings of modern psychologic research and pedagogic experiment, able to apply the lessons of these sciences to group work for all ages, and to train staff assistants and volunteer associates who will carry out his program. He undertakes a neighborhood census of group activities, and knows where the several gangs are likely to be found at almost any hour of day or night, the relative mentality of each, and the quality of its inherent leadership. He follows up younger boys who manifest signs of power to direct others. As work to be done develops, he keeps recruiting his forces. He discovers the exceptional men who can play games, sing, perform on instruments, tell stories, make a speech, assume responsibility, organize group meetings, create public opinion; and induces them to give regular or occasional service in the organized life of the neighborhood.

The enlistment in increasing numbers of men with the personality, training, and devotion needed to appraise the human capacity of a tenement district and to direct the powers of individuals and groups toward wholesome fulfilment, constitutes one of the most important adventures of the second quarter century of settlement work.

CHAPTER VIII

CLUBS: GIRLS AND WOMEN

ASSOCIATED action among women, down to the founding of settlements, was almost non-existent. Membership in organizations other than those connected with the church was regarded as conferring not honor but mild reproach.[1] The settlement, especially in the United States, in itself represented an important outreaching toward a broader sphere of activity and influence. It brought forward under a distinctive motive the early beneficiaries of that spiritual emancipation which followed the opening to women of the treasures of a liberal education. It was natural to expect, therefore, that these exemplars of what was best in the possibilities of progress for their sex should loyally seek to impart something of the new spirit to women, and perhaps even more fully, to girls, of the neighborhoods into which they went.

Early girls' groups, though dignified by the name of clubs or societies, were in nearly all essentials classes. The special faculty which women have of uniting work and sociability gave to such groups an aspect of joyous good-fellowship which seemingly met not only the needs but the desires both of girls and young women. More important still, girls themselves appeared to manifest little interest in organization. There had been no local collective formation among girls and women comparable to that found in almost all neighborhoods among the opposite sex. Feminine sets or cliques were composed of fewer members, were decidedly less coherent, less

[1] Before 1880 the chief outlet of women into the world was through church auxiliaries and through charities usually connected with the church. Women's clubs, beginning about 1870 among the moderately well-to-do, were for many years hardly different from an adult modification of school-day literary societies. Gradually, however, these associations began to give expression to the woman's instinct to protect and refine her special vocation of housewife and neighbor. Early in the eighties a few useful recreative clubs for working girls were established. The rise of the auxiliaries of the Knights of Labor, and in some measure the movement for equal suffrage, began to indicate the will of a growing minority of women to protect their interests in property and industry.

resourceful, and more ephemeral than those of their brothers at like age. Self-government, therefore, was not considered an ideal to be striven for or taught. Training in rules of order, committee work, and group activities had taken so little share in the life of women leaders that it seldom formed part of their plans for settlement groups.

The emphasis placed upon some directly useful form of training, which at a later stage became so powerful a motive in the organization of boys' work, from the beginning occupied the minds of women residents. Such a policy was practicable partly because girls are more amenable than their brothers, and partly because it was not difficult to secure reasonably capable volunteer teachers. Leisure, and with it culture, is one of the most important prerogatives of American women. The number of college trained women increased greatly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the goodwill of graduates and undergraduates responded to almost any real call for service. It was certainly an innovation in education to have a teacher who would play with pupils, who might be met by them at odd times in the neighborhood, who invited them to her home, who gradually became an informal and welcome guest at theirs, and whose acquaintance was valued by older members of families. Thus out of the thick of what might have been a high and dry instructional scheme, was elicited a distinctively human relation between teacher and pupils, among pupils themselves, and between the teacher and the homes from which pupils came.

There is, in the matter of fundamental domestic activities a community of interests among all womankind which constitutes a precious and powerful public asset. The program of work among girls and women established by early workers was far more comprehensive in its range and far more intensive in its practical application than was that devised for the other sex. Two chief causes were responsible for this superiority. One had to do with equipment; the other with leadership. The settlement in its first stage was primarily a home and only secondarily an institution. Residents found it difficult to tolerate with equanimity the excessive wear and tear on household furnishings which is inevitable in boys' club work.

The residence house provided, however, not only the traditional background for feminine interests, but one just different enough from the homes of the neighborhood to pique the interest and stimulate the imagination of those who came in. Cooking, sewing, dressmaking, music, conversation, even committee work, gained through the atmosphere of domesticated hospitality which members consciously created. It is an interesting fact that the development of girls' work has been in constant reaction against the institutional background brought in through laboratory kitchen, gymnasium, and public hall. An environment as nearly as possible like a home, meets the deepest instincts both of pupils and teachers.

By the end of the decade, however, it became clear that there are in every neighborhood two types of young girl: one who prefers to be occupied about the traditional concerns of women; a second, hoydenish and adventuresome, who desires to express herself actively among masses of her own kind and to whom traditional forms of group work are far from satisfying. This latter type shook residents out of their complacency, and led to the development of a program fitted not alone to her needs but to the latent and unexpressed powers of her gentler sister.

Boys have benefited in high degree through the fact that, whether for good or evil, get together they would. The cost to householders, in property and nervous force, of gang activities, reinforced in no mean degree the more usual arguments in favor of playgrounds, gymnasiums, and clubs. The delinquencies of the girl, on the contrary, were not directed against property, and hence were not reported in police dockets, newspapers, and statistical tables.

Retardation of the social impulses of adolescence in the case of girls between fourteen and sixteen, even more than of boys, is a fundamental motive of group work. Most settlements, therefore, seek to hold the interest of girls just entering young womanhood as far as possible in handicraft and other forms of occupational activity. Children are usually not permitted to attend evening clubs until their fourteenth year. Girls of fifteen and sixteen are encouraged to find interests among themselves. Their social instincts and outreachings are satisfied through the dinners, parties, exhibitions, excursions, and dances incident to courses in home-

making, art, music, literature, dramatics, and pageantry. During this period the soundest preparation for actual association with the other sex is transmutation of girlish sentiments into womanly ideals.

The creation of an adequate program of association and recreation for young working girls in their seventeenth to twentieth years provides one of the most difficult problems of the neighborhood organizer. In addition to disadvantages which grow out of a congested environment and early wage-earning, already mentioned in the case of boys, the girl developing into womanhood labors under certain handicaps which affect her with special seriousness. Lack of vocational training is even more pronounced than in the case of her brother. The strain of new and unaccustomed tasks in her work, and the carelessness of industrial managers in arranging conditions under which she performs them, frequently make her the victim of hardship and temptation. A low standard of family life, with overcrowding, poor and insufficient food, and lack of privacy undermine bodily strength and character. The girl, too, is more subject to neighborhood moral traditions than the boy, and finds it more difficult to rise above them finally and definitely in so far as they are bad. Lack of sufficient recreation, the necessity to rely upon men for costly and desired pleasures, easily become a cause of moral breakdown. The seriousness of the situation lies in the fact that the girl is a more sensitive subject than the boy, has not so many chances to rehabilitate herself if she slips, and must be depended upon as the chief factor in establishing standards of life which shall govern her own future family.[1]

It is the consensus of opinion among club leaders that the most useful service they can render adolescent girls is to hold them together in forms of effective associated action. Home ties with which the girl may have reasons for being impatient are dis-

[1] Until 1910 there were no studies of the desires, needs, and difficulties of adolescent girls as detailed and thoroughgoing as those made for boys, and no broad-scale program of work in their behalf. A comprehensive investigation of this problem was carried on during 1911 and 1912 by the National Federation of Settlements, and published under title, Young Working Girls. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913. Harriet McD. Daniels made a study for the New York settlements, published under the title, The Girl and Her Chance; a study of conditions surrounding the girl between fourteen and eighteen years of age in New York City. New York, F. H. Revell Co., 1914.

criminatingly reinforced, and the attempt is made to focus about her all worthy neighborhood traditions and attachments. Alert, sympathetic direction is provided for her new personal and occupational outreachings. The larger and finer interests of life, elevating thoughts, and noble ideals are made existent in her own terms.

The extreme individualism which girls manifest during this period makes them desire either a small clique or a large and general club. The most successful clubs have a membership of fifteen and upwards, the nucleus of which is a few charter members with whom acquaintance on the leader's part was well established during the members' childhood. In a club of this size there is opportunity for congenial spirits to fall into those shifting sets or cliques of two or three which are the girls' form of natural group, and sufficient native ability and natural leadership to assure entertainments by home talent. Those in charge of work among girls must be able to perceive and meet continuously and resourcefully the developing needs and longings of members, resolve inner dissensions bred of absorption in personal hopes and heart burnings, foster establishment of a generous policy in admitting new members, and secure the growth of a broad, genuine club spirit.

The desired qualities in club programs are variety and unexpectedness. The main energy of the group usually goes into dramatics, dancing, parties, and vacations. Some form of class work is likely to be included as part of the club program, though attendance is often optional. Possessions such as membership pins, club furniture and fittings, and a formal enterprise like a co-operative vacation scheme, are valuable adjuncts. Several settlements stimulate competition between clubs for originality and excellence of entertainments, plays, and parties, pitting girls against boys of similar age. Opportunities for group altruism, through gifts of money, entertainments for parents, good times for small girls, have a particularly beneficent influence. Every possible chance to turn the girl's attention from herself to the outer world should be utilized.

Although adolescent girls do not manifest the desire shown by boys to combine in considerable companies, many club leaders believe that the effort should be made to assure them this form of discipline. The informal method consists in reserving the entire settlement on one or more evenings a week for girls. The first

hour is devoted to small group meetings for education and business; the remainder to a program of entertainment, dancing, and sociability in which all mingle, responsibility for carrying out the program being assumed by different small groups in turn. This plan works best in fairly homogeneous neighborhoods and presupposes thoroughgoing work by the settlement staff during at least half a decade. Once accomplished, such an informal alliance offers wholesome chances for that somewhat sporadic acquaintance, observation, comparison, and stimulus which is the girl's method of encompassing facts of human environment. It mitigates economic and race prejudice between groups having different standards and nationality. In its broader action it even serves to overcome the little snobberies of adolescence. As the ablest girls of each group come into larger responsibilities, they are brought under the leader's special influence without danger of favoritism and help to draw out and mold collective sentiment. By playing up limited club interests into something generous and human, each organization becomes a real factor in deepening neighborhood spirit and in creating a sense for a well-knit and wholesome common life.

Since 1910 an increasing number of settlements are providing formal training in federated association by organizing girls' club councils. These fix rules governing admission of new clubs, dues, discipline, and other matters of detail affecting the girl, her club, and the settlement. Committees of the council organize entertainments, parties, dances, plays, picnics, and groups for discussion with other houses.

The uphill progress made in endeavoring to interest young working girls in their industrial problems, combined with new pedagogic insight, gradually brought settlement workers to realize that in the future women must be assured some of the same vigorous initiative in working together through which the power of association is passed on among boys and men. The foundation of training and influence must be laid in those years when the whole being is "wax to receive, marble to retain"; when a priceless clarity of feeling may be surely confirmed or hopelessly clouded. Experience and experiment gradually showed that between ten and fifteen years of age the sense for group loyalty is ready to be aroused, and that under proved leadership girls delight almost equally with boys in

drawing up constitutions and by-laws, electing officers, serving on committees, carrying on meetings, and planning new work. Since this interest tends to weaken during later adolescence, it is clear that preadolescent girls should be encouraged to form clubs just as soon as they desire to play group games; that such clubs should be homogeneous as to age, station in life, and range of powers; that membership should be kept small.

The Girl Scout and Camp Fire programs are based on instinctive desires for loyal ends which characterize preadolescence; and many settlements organize groups under both of these systems. There is, however, in every neighborhood a large number of girls to whom the rituals do not appeal. Their independence dislikes to be labeled, their self-consciousness forbids success under such conditions. For these the settlement club provides a form within which imagination, creative ability, love of law and order, responsibility and self-government can develop untrammeled by too much detailed control. The majority of residents feel that the tenement girl particularly needs the training secured by belonging to a self-governing group.

An important result of continuous interest in children is the conviction of residents that a more precise adjustment of community resources in leadership and equipment to the needs of little girls between the ages of six and fourteen is called for. A study carried on during the years 1915–1919 by the National Federation of Settlements made clear the effect on physique and nerves of overcrowding within the home, lack of proper medical and dental care, bad habits uncorrected. Failure of true neighborhood vigilance makes it possible for certain types of loafers to mark the little girl as their prey. Her apparent attitude of mere spectator before the pageant of street, entrance to motion pictures, dance halls, and amusement places has been wrongly interpreted as passivity. Actually, she is storing impressions, assimilating them in reverie, making plans to put dreamed of ideas to the test. Case work with adolescent girls who have fallen into evil ways shows how great is the influence of suggestion received in childhood. Clean youth can be nourished only in clean neighborhoods.

The very heart of the little girl's need is enough house room to preserve the bloom of innocence and the sympathetic mothering

that surrounds her as with a wall against unclean and harmful suggestion. Small groups under leaders of attractive personality must be multiplied. Along with friendship must go a full round of recreation specifically devised to meet the little girl's instinct for active, but at the same time imaginative and sociable, play. Much more in the way of miniature home-making, entertaining, spontaneous and self-expressive dramatics and pageantry is called for. The unfortunate absence of relationship between the teaching force and the mothers, and a lack of kindly interest on the part of Sunday school workers who are also neighbors, removed a source of potential guardianship and incentive. No merely public care for children can take the place of that conspiracy between family, teacher, and friends through which well-conditioned households safeguard the delicacy of a child's perceptions and her relationship with others. The settlement must continue its work of protecting her goings and comings. The neighborhood must be combed of loafers and degenerates, of coarse men and women. Shopkeepers who assist children to deceive parents must be publicly scored.

As the facilities and staff of the settlement became increasingly adequate, girls often have the privileges of a gymnasium and playground.[1] Athletics in the old days found no ready-made demand, and always encountered some special problems.[2] Today, however, the playground-trained girl takes readily to the gymnasium, and possibly because she has had play exercise in the years just previous she takes more and more kindly to formal floor work and marching drill. After the eighteenth year all gymnastic interests center around basketball. Programs of inter-club and inter-settlement games hold the athletic girl until she marries.

With the advancement, through childhood and adolescence, of such a program as that outlined, the likelihood is enhanced of a

[1] Girls from six to eight enjoy the vigorous enacting of stories and the running of relay races; from eight to twelve, drills of any kind, marching, simple floor work, and folk dancing; from twelve to fifteen, drills with Indian clubs and wands, folk dancing, apparatus work, ball games of all kinds, and the like.

[2] A frequent source of administrative embarrassment is found in the fact that girls and women insist upon larger lockers and a greater degree of personal privacy within the dressing rooms and shower baths than a gymnasium built for men ever provides. The matter of gymnasium suits sometimes creates difficulty, which may be solved by buying material at wholesale and letting the girls make the garments under the direction of the settlement sewing teacher.

normal approach to womanhood. The years between nineteen and marriage are pre-eminently a time of hunting the other sex and of being hunted. The vision of a home of her own is a recurring and disturbing factor in work, in recreation, in family and social relationships. The undirected girl becomes increasingly individualistic, and although she enlarges the variety of her associations they are likely to be less purposeful, less responsible, and less continuous. As instinct and experience indicate that in the great adventure of matrimony those who enter the lists boldly and stake something on the event most often bear off the prize, and as the very spirit of romance itself involves reaching out into the unknown and unexplored, the girl is inclined more and more to range away from her home locality.

Club organization, in its program and its accomplishment for girls in this latter period, is still relatively undeveloped. In a general way its postulates are that dancing and dramatics furnish desired and valuable recreations, that the sense of responsibility properly appealed to brings response, that the feeling for beauty lies near the surface and is readily engaged, that initiative is not lacking and comes almost for the last time within the scope of educational encouragement. The best settlement leadership follows many clues in order to keep about these young women personally, in their small sets and in their relations with young men, as much as possible of the atmosphere of wholesome camaraderie. It is a question whether in most cases continued association of considerable companies of girls by themselves is to be expected at this stage. Group organization inevitably breaks under loss of members through marriage or other forms of life activity. The gradual disintegration of the group leaves members with an unsettled feeling which hastens the end. Even where a portion of the group continues to meet, its grasp is broken; it either dies of an unconscious dissatisfaction or develops an aloofness from the neighborhood. A contributing factor in this general evolution is the natural sobering of the girl's interest. The method of federation which is interesting girls in the larger group, the neighborhood, and city may in the future save these shattered clubs. At present their only hope is an open door policy which shall bring in new life as fast as the old goes out.

At nearly all settlements are one or two clubs of young women in the third decade of their lives who have long been affiliated with the house and, not marrying, are encouraged to keep an unbroken connection with it. Fear is occasionally expressed that these members represent a type with standards apart from the great majority of people among whom they live. Power to appreciate and to enjoy the best sometimes increases more rapidly than capacity to earn that wherewith to gratify it. The upshot of this maladjustment may take the form of a deep-seated sense of dissatisfaction and unhappiness in present surroundings and of recoil from the type of home life which the future offers. As time has gone on, settlements have become keenly alive to the situation, and, while still encouraging self-development and aspirations, strive to turn members' minds toward exceptional achievement with the given facts of life. In any case these young women work out the best possibilities of their lot, as they see it, nearly always with nobility of character, and regard their club experience as a reinforcing influence to that end.

So much for the fate of the girl who is left behind; the girl who marries has her own problems. For many young women wedlock marks the transition from a way of life unduly exciting to one which is, in comparison, prosaically and even painfully dull. The years before mating are compounded of work amid scenes of restless movement, expanding standards of pleasure, adventure of varied association with the other sex. The comparative tameness of home life in a tenement with its routine of unaccustomed housework, cut off from working associates and gaiety of dances and parties, frequently carries the bride back into the factory. Since club members when they marry are, as a class, likely to establish themselves elsewhere, so young wives of the district often come from other localities. Thus a restricted lot is often made harder for the newcomer by a feeling of isolation. Settlement residents are therefore inclined to seek out young married women in their neighborhood and to include them in the more general activities of the house. Here and there clubs have been formed devoted to sociability and to the discussion of problems vital to novices in homemaking.

Young married mothers are, in most cases, tied down to home

and babies and must be reached as individuals. The resident nurse and the staff of the baby hygiene and children's dietetic clinics maintain cordial professional and personal relations with them. When the oldest child reaches the fourth year they re-enter group life through the kindergarten mothers' club. In immigrant neighborhoods the club reaches newcomers with small children and does much to establish families in right relations.

In every settlement a number of mature women find the club form rich in possibilities for developing collective capacity and responsibility. In early settlement days the rather simple beginning of group life was made through what is sometimes called a "poverty club." Members were stolid, apparently indifferent to one another, unsure of their surroundings and of themselves. Leaders impressed into service were hard driven to create interest and to secure even a grudging response. Had not the settlement decisively given hostages to fortune, despair might have had its way. Crude activity such as weaving rag rugs or making over old garments, and very simple forms of recreation in which cake and coffee played an important part, were the chief interests. Gradually the sense of release from the tenement into an ampler, more restful and genial atmosphere, created in individuals and finally throughout the group an attitude of response to the leader and of confidence toward one another. No one can watch a process of this kind without being profoundly impressed by the evolution and emancipation of character which it produces.

Somewhat the same experience holds among groups of recent immigrant women of one or another nationality, struggling to maintain the sanctions of their homes against the sweep of a new and alien order. In an atmosphere of appreciation residents draw out memories and traditions of these new acquaintances, and provide them with allies both from their own race and from the new civilization. They listen to hopes and fears for the welfare of children, and assist mothers to understand and deal with problems of education and recreation. Frequently they are able to clear away some of the misunderstandings and obstacles which beset strangers in a strange land, cut off from opportunity of learning new ways by the necessity of staying within doors.

These rudimentary and provisional forms of association among

mature women are designed to lead members toward participation in what is generally referred to at most settlements as the Women's Club. With an ample nucleus of relatively more alert and capable mothers, this organization undertakes to bring tenement housewives within range of the substantial central interests of the great modern women's movement, creates a circle wherein closely tied and hard-working women may cultivate the amenities of life, and even on occasion revive with almost forgotten abandon some of the gaieties of girlhood. Its meetings offer intelligently framed information about newer aspects of housework, rearing of children, methods of reinforcing the school, jobs for present and prospective wage-earners, relations between mother and daughter when the two are, as sometimes happens, at least an era apart.

Pioneer women residents very generally made adult mothers their special charge, and in consequence women's clubs in the main have had the most resourceful leadership, professional and volunteer, which the settlement has possessed. It would be impossible to overestimate the value of services rendered by a number of able, broad-minded women who have maintained their connection with such clubs year after year. As a result it is perhaps true that a more careful and capable analysis of the married women's interests and outlook has been made than of any other phase of neighborhood life.

Being generally a large group, with increasing diversity of interest, the club often breaks up into smaller homogeneous sections for carrying on enterprises such as co-operative buying, canning, sewing circles, and dramatics. From time to time the club makes special contributions of money and service for enlarging the equipment of the settlement, especially as it affects the welfare of children.

The club has its recognized ways of honoring ability and character in its ranks. A sense of the dignity of motherhood from beginning to end is created even against a pitiful cynicism. A spirit of tolerance and mutual respect gradually replaces the backbiting and worse which can so easily go with the general atmosphere of mean streets. Members return to their households from club meetings with a new confidence based upon knowledge, sustained by a common sentiment, freed from some unrealities of the old status but disclosing more surely than ever its deep essential meaning.

CHAPTER IX

MIXED COMPANY

DURING the first decade of their adventure settlement workers seem hardly to have envisaged the range and complexity of things about them which had to do with the interplay of sex. Residents were chiefly young and unmarried; local sentiment and that of society at large debarred them from direct consideration of such problems. But though they might not speak they could not but observe the behavior of youth on the streets, in dance halls, and specifically at picnics and parties which they undertook to supervise.[1]

The establishment of reasonable rules of deportment for gatherings at which youth of both sexes were present, and their enforcement once defined, inspired early residents with something approaching dread. The American standard of association for adolescent young people, with its considerable freedom of movement and its minimum adult oversight and interference, was worked out in a homogeneous village society. It was based on early maturity of powers growing out of participation in productive labor, early assumption of moral responsibility, early marriage. During the eighties, among better-to-do classes in cities, the period of tutelage and education lengthened, and conditions under which young men and young women associated were scrutinized more carefully, their indoor play surrounded by safeguards,

[1] "As an illustration of this difference in standard," wrote Miss Addams in Twenty Years at Hull House, "I may instance an early Hull House picnic arranged by a club of young people, who found at the last moment that the club director could not go and accepted the offer of the mother of one of the club members to take charge of them. When they trooped back in the evening, tired and happy, they displayed a photograph of the group wherein each man's arm was carefully placed about a girl; no feminine waist lacked an arm save that of the proud chaperon, who sat in the middle smiling upon all. Seeing that the photograph somewhat surprised us, the chaperon stoutly explained, 'This may look queer to you, but there wasn't one thing about that picnic that wasn't nice,' and her statement was a perfectly truthful one." New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910.

their traditional liberty away from home decidedly curtailed. Enlightened parents united in the endeavor to create restricted circles with regulations and chaperonage suggestive of older civilizations.

In tenement neighborhoods, on the other hand, the tendency was all the other way. Immigrants coming to America with traditions about guardianship of youth found them currently looked upon as outworn. Boys and girls, leaving school on the hour permitted by compulsory education laws, absolved themselves with their first pay envelope as much as possible from family control. The passing of the home as a place of entertainment for young people made contest with the situation a baffling one. The trying out which under normal conditions the girls' male acquaintances are compelled to undergo at the hands of brothers and sisters, as well as of father and mother, was disappearing. While many parents were cognizant of the significance of these facts, the majority lacked spirit to rebel and accepted all too easily a situation which left them hardly participants in the fate of their children.

Decay of family responsibility was paralleled by breakdown of neighborhood moral standards. Communal resources for recreation were in the hands of irresponsible persons who organized them solely on the basis of money making. Play increasingly took the form of mass gatherings. The serious consequence of this change was not alone the poor quality of recreation provided, but loss of the power which young people gain through organizing and carrying on common enterprises. Serious damage would have remained even though commercial recreation places had provided satisfactory environment and worthy performance. But they did not. Standards of conduct in public resorts, with the connivance of proprietors and baser patrons, had sunk to a level just above that required by police regulations, or even below it where officers were complacent. Lurid melodrama, popular songs with sappy words carried to the edge of vulgarity and linked with puerile melodies of barbarous and insistent rhythm, dance halls where sex suggestion was often reinforced with liquor, seemed created but to play upon ill-curbed instinct. At best, the recreational atmosphere of working-class localities had become surcharged with sensuousness. Even giving full weight to the fact that manual laborers marry from five to ten

years earlier than professional and business classes, and that the sentimental cycle in some measure must be set ahead, it nevertheless remained true that the emotions of tenement young people were overstrained and coarsened.

The necessity for alternatives which should have real drawing power became increasingly evident as personal acquaintance between residents and neighborhood young people enlarged. Themselves fresh from participation in college festivities and adventuring, residents understood in peculiar measure the innate recreational desires of adolescent boys and girls. They recognized the degree in which play-going, novel reading, gossip, intense and voluble discussion of moral problems, may be made to reveal means for the expression and fulfilment of romantic affection.[1] They were able to anticipate questions about the spirit and procedure of love-making that youth hesitated to ask. They welcomed understandingly that favorite device of adolescence for tapping incognito a possible source of counsel, the hypothetical instance, and answered questioner not less than question.

Some years passed before settlements definitely took what seemed to be the plunge of making positive provision for young people of the two sexes to meet together. After a preliminary stage of small gatherings of a more or less serious sort, it appeared that the activities most avidly sought were those which afforded the largest possible variety of acquaintance with the other sex and with the community at large, such as dances, parties, picnics, and dramatics. Dancing, because it was at once the most desired, most active, most hazardous, and most commercialized form of recreation open to tenement bred young men and women, became the crux of the local program of play.

The early attitude of settlement residents toward dancing ranged from antagonism, through rebellious toleration to complete acceptance by a small minority.[2] It finally became clear that the question

[1] Settlement residents are frequently asked to recommend a book "that will tell you how to make love properly." The success of "Advice to the Lovelorn" column in daily papers and women's magazines shows how widespread is the desire for help in this vortex of human association.

[2] At present there are three attitudes toward dancing. Houses founded and maintained by some religious bodies rule it out altogether. A second group of settlements tolerate it as little as possible, while the great majority of houses, which includes all those best known, now offer a reasonable amount of dancing.

whether or not young people should dance was academic; dance in any case they would. The sole issue was in what surroundings and with what associates they should disport themselves. Dancing therefore began to be permitted at practically all settlements. Some of the simple rules adopted were that responsible chaperons or residents in sufficient number to deal with any emergency should be on hand and that guests must be known to residents or be introduced by a responsible club member. Standards of cleanliness, neatness, deportment, courtesy, and position required by reputable dancing instructors were insisted upon, and reproof and discipline for infringement of rules exercised swiftly and freely.[1]

Entering whole-heartedly into this form of recreation and becoming, at first, part of a scene which leaves very much to be desired, the settlement director suggests by humorous by-play, emphasis of approval or suggestion, increasingly pointed rebuke if need be, and above all by thoroughly alert, absorbed, personal example, one gradual move after another toward better and finer standards of speech and conduct. In the publicity of a chosen group, the instinctive impulse of young people to be correct gives the resident in charge especial leverage. Under the head of deportment, points in character can often be made which no deliberately ethical attack could ever reach. A strong tendency gradually develops to have dances become ranking, and to a degree exclusive, affairs, in which persons or attitudes of the baser sort are, to say the least, unwelcome. This is an instance where settlement policy of reaching out toward all sorts and conditions in the local community is honored in the breach. Some houses, when this stage is gained, institute under the residents' full control and under the sanction of obvious hospitality, a type of party which embodies standards that obtain at a college "prom." The list, on such occasions, is likely to be made up more tolerantly than that of the usual small dance, and it is often both encouraging and amusing to see less responsible guests seeking earnestly to get the pace.

With growth of clubs and increase of organized responsibility on the part of the neighborhood, young people are permitted and even

[1] The problem of objectionable forms of dancing, for which sanction of the rich is always alleged, is at best a difficult one. In general, complete prohibition is placed upon them.

encouraged to arrange and conduct dances. First essays in self-management usually show a lamentable falling off from settlement standards. Those that follow often err on the side of too crude enforcement of rules. In time, however, floor managers learn to impart to the dancing company much of the same tone as that which obtains under direct settlement guidance. The high importance of such parties grows out of the fact that the code of adolescent manners in any locality is set not by outsiders or adults, but by actual procedure of the most admired peers. By making their dances ranking events settlement young people are themselves held within a high range of conduct and their accomplishment sets the pace for other groups in the house and neighborhood. It has become a widespread custom to allow clubs the use of the settlement hall for one, two, or three parties each year, to which they invite the guests and supply music and refreshments.

Once the negative stage of providing an alternative to objectionable dancing resorts has been passed, the settlement naturally turns its attention to offering good instruction in the art for the next younger groups. Quite as athletic games train boys and girls in that co-ordination between thought and movement which is the basis of physical grace and precision, dancing affords a like adjustment between the physical and emotional impulse and those forms of speech and action which impart ease of relationship with one's kind. Boys discover that the degree of cleanliness and neatness expected by dancing masters is not only a matter of regulation, but is enforced by feminine possessors of clean frocks. The girl on her part, as she masters the code of manners taught in the dancing class, becomes more restrained in speech and actions, more critical of boorishness, more self-respecting. The forms demanded by instructors often crystallize into habit and character.

As a rule, settlements carry on at least two dancing classes a week; one for beginners, and an advanced class which meets as a social club. These classes, open freely to the sons and daughters of new racial types, help to bring a properly democratic view into neighborhood society. By the time the season's lessons are completed strangers are often able to qualify in the minds of the established circle for full participation in clubs and in general recreative gatherings. As a rule, also, those who have learned to

dance well, feeling some of the responsible loyalty of the young graduate, go forth prepared to uphold on all occasions the teachings of the class.

Practically all localities contain a minority, sometimes very considerable numerically, which seeks to play under conditions approaching license. In tenement districts the number in this group is increased by the kind of training given at commercial dance halls. Several settlements, so situated, carry on public dances. These bring residents into contact with some of the community's least disclosed problems. It gives the director of work with young people a basis for the extension of personal acquaintance. On the other hand, constant endeavor is required to enforce proper deportment, and the possibility is ever present that a small number of irresponsibles may demoralize an otherwise orderly assemblage. Patrons have frequently to be asked to leave. Gradually a sifting process takes place as required standards come to be understood and gentle but persistent pressure is kept up toward better things. Once this stage is reached, the dance hall becomes a definite instrument for raising the tone of local recreational interests.

Among successful activities other than dancing which have demonstrated their suitability for groups of young people, are charades, debates, visits to museums, theater parties, attendance on lectures, and dramatics. Clubs of young men and women which meet regularly and carry on a variety of activities, educational and recreational, are fostered at a few settlements. The success of such groups depends on the quality of supervision and on the resourcefulness of director and leaders. The leader must be discerning, gentle, and facile in planning games and other occupations that have a common interest, but still firm on questions of deportment.

Mixed clubs are not regarded with favor by the majority of residents who feel that unjustified risks have to be taken in bringing young men and women together regularly, not because of what may happen while members are with the leader, but because it is inevitable that those least self-restrained will arrange to meet when there is no supervision. On the other hand, the tendency is growing to provide occasional gatherings between boys' and girls' clubs for informal entertainment and choral singing. In some settlements,

clubs of boys and girls take turns in entertaining one another. In a few instances a room in the settlement house has been set aside where girls may receive young men, a plan successful under especial conditions of chaperonage and club loyalty.

The creation of a sound and fine setting, protective, spirited, and absorbing, wherein those whose minds are converging toward the great adventure of establishing new family groups may proceed to the rightful exultation of their heyday, represents to the settlement a special field for delicate effort. The solution is not essentially different from that devised by matrons of the city's elect. It involves a round of enterprises capable of thoroughly and continuously engrossing, while they are together, the mental and physical energies of a selected but gradually widening constituency of young people. It calls for the presence of adults, some of them matrons of the neighborhood and mothers of house members, pledged to see that these functions are managed wisely and carefully, and that something of positive idealism respecting human relations is elicited. Such a program seeks to exalt the neighborhood circle and to set it against the lure of the downtown commercial amusement center. The fact that each person is known to chaperons and to participants, that his or her behavior is watched and commented on with the possibility of a report to parents, recaptures the moral quality which runs through well-conducted village life.

At the very best, however, accomplishment in the difficult field of association between young men and young women falls short of what residents would wish, and considerably below their dreams. As in so many other matters, they find themselves seeking to train a generation of children which shall exemplify as adolescents a more finely attuned intelligence and a soundly romantic emotional life.[1] Such work involves starting as nearly as possible at the foundations. Little children between four and eight years of age need for their proper physical and moral development opportunity to participate in a rich and varied scheme of games. Not least among the deficiencies of a tenement environment is the poverty-stricken play tradition handed on to boys and girls. It would be hard to invent a commentary on a civilization more caustic than the episodes dramatized upon the streets by little children. Lady Bum and

[1] See Appendix, p. 409, Note 1.—Sex Education.

Cop, Police Patrol, Burglar, the latest crime or sex scandal, are significant not so much in their immediate vulgarity as because they are material with which mind and memory are being outfitted.

Settlement residents have their own evidence for believing that it is unfortunate when custom, through toys, stories, and precept too early centers the interest of girls on games of the quieter sort. During this period they have much the same instincts, desires, and modes of expression as little boys. It is a growing custom in settlements to bring small boys and girls together in active play. Those in charge of playground, playroom, kindergarten graduates' club, game room, story hour, and similar enterprises teach the immemorial pastimes which have nurtured childhood. Pains are taken, in the midst of such activities, to explain the principles that should rule the relation between boys and girls and girls and boys, and to see that they are exemplified.[1]

A somewhat late development, getting its motive partly out of the logic of work with adolescent boys and girls, is the children's dancing class. It is a commonplace that those forms of education which involve active co-ordination of muscle and mind are best taught as early as training can profitably be given. Establishment of good canons of conduct, worked into the child's muscular and nervous system partly by his own keen and eager choice, partly by importunity of elders, provides firm safeguards against the future. In well-to-do communities the dancing school directly under the patronage of parents and neighbors has long been an important instrument for juvenile discipline. Settlement workers believe that similar instruction for tenement children is among the most valuable instruments for bringing out the attitude and sentiments which should go with the relation of the sexes. It is one of their hopes that the folk dancing which constitutes an important part of all children's classes may have some real effect upon future dancing forms.[2]

The years between eight and twelve are distinguished by high individualism and by a certain apathy rather than attraction be-

[1] A few houses have a loan collection of games from which materials for play are withdrawn for use in the settlement and at home. The game room frequently becomes a recruiting station, where new acquaintance can be made with children and new groups formed.

[2] See Appendix, p. 411, Note 11.—Playtime Activities for Children.

tween boys and girls. The work of the educator is fulfilled by providing that modest degree of association called for in festivals and occasional gatherings. This lull immediately before the stormy weather of adolescence is therefore best given to training boys and girls in separate groups. The experienced club director, as this stage nears its close, anticipates the crude re-establishment of acquaintance on street corners by arranging parties, plays, or picnics.

Such a program demands a very considerable degree of resourceful supervision on the part of residents and directors of club work, and can be accomplished only when the settlement has come into close quarters with its locality and knows a good proportion of neighborhood children intimately. It also involves a scheme of club and class work which progresses from stage to stage and offers a variety of interests. Where there is a parallel scheme of boys' clubs and girls' clubs, and right collective sentiments have been established in dancing classes and large-scale events, the transition usually comes about naturally enough, though even here there is always need for careful work with exceptional individuals and groups.

Minds of children and youth are in important, though by no means overwhelming measure, formed by adults with whom they are surrounded. The narrow traditions and undeveloped sentiments which so generally govern relations between husband and wife in tenements came to early residents almost with a sense of shock. The policy of trying to involve both father and mother in the affairs of their boys and girls was struck out not merely to help the child, but through him to discover motives that appeal first to each parent and then to both together. Adult life centers to a peculiar degree about its hopes and pleasures in offspring. While the child finds it difficult to understand his elders, the adult comprehends in himself all that has gone before. His nature craves some echo of former experience. Separated from the activities of their children, parents are too likely to relapse into something approaching stagnation.

Progress in bridging the gap of years continues to be discouragingly slow. Attendance on meetings with the younger element is in the main a monopoly of mothers. It should be said, however, that in many cases the father is committing himself to the situation

by spending the evening at home taking care of smaller children. When so much ground has been gained a way is opened by which the tactful resident can begin to establish a direct personal foothold with men, which often leads in informal ways to more or less continuous consultation and co-operation.

The cumulative effort of years to bring boys and girls into rightly conducted association is having an effect on adult recreation. A few houses carry on dancing classes for parents. Clubs, the membership of which goes by families, and the program of which includes music, talks, games, as well as dancing, are in existence at a few houses. The parties which so generally go with club dramatics are participated in by adults as well as youths. Parents of boys and girls affiliated with the house are in the course of a year brought into relations with one another. Festivals, old home parties, New Year's, and other holiday celebrations often bring large numbers of adult neighbors of both sexes together. Under stimulus of old music and traditional dances the company revives, oftentimes with astonishing accuracy and *vivre*, the spirit of its own youth. These red-letter events for the elders keep alive a glow of fellowship among like conditioned and give recurrent evidence of the settlement's reach in the neighborhood. Some efforts are made to induce that sort of comradeship among young married couples often so delightful a phase of life in well-to-do communities; but this seems to presuppose a kind of relation between men and women of which, as has been suggested, even the beginnings are rarely found in tenement neighborhoods.

As the settlement program broadens and deepens, coming into close touch with husbands and wives in their problems of physical well-being, of livelihood, and of general local good, their readiness to enter jointly as neighbors into plans combining entertainment and sociability grows by what it feeds upon. In this number, almost universally among the settlements, are at least a few couples who, as club members from early childhood, have risen through a full ascending scale of purposeful group life. Marriage has been the culmination of happy association in varied interest which brought together young men and young women. Different couples who have gone through this succession of experience, more or less as contemporaries, begin to constitute a convinced and

ready supporting element, not only for promotion of occasional liberating gatherings of younger married people, but for all that is undertaken at the settlement toward the creation of a wholesome and enlightened scheme, in the sense which this chapter suggests, of neighborhood society.

CHAPTER X

SUMMER IN THE CITY

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the attitude of many Americans toward tenement neighborhoods during the summer was comparable to that of an Oxford undergraduate who opened conversation with a member of the Toynbee Hall Men's Club on a day's outing in August by asking, "Are there many people in town now?" "Only about five millions," was the laconic reply. From June until October the well-to-do, and those middle-class families whose comings and goings were governed by the educational year, transferred their consciousness into the country. The machinery of religious, educational, and philanthropic organization which they controlled slowed down or stopped altogether. In the beginning, settlements, with some notable exceptions, partly acquiesced in this procedure. Club and class meetings were discontinued early in the spring, a considerable proportion of residents left the city, and there was a tendency to mark time until autumn.

Fortunately, through human interest as well as obvious duty, responsible leaders stood by. They quickly became aware that among the tenements summer is pre-eminently "the season." Family life is transferred to windows and doorsteps. Streets and particularly public squares become general evening rendezvous. People visit friends and relatives, seek out popular beaches, amusement parks, and open-air dance halls. With endless variations youth sets out on the great adventure.

The quality of geniality and expansiveness which goes with outdoor life offered a precious opportunity for initiation into some of the freest and most spontaneous manifestations of working-class sociability. Residents who paused to offer a first hesitating salutation at the doorstep, found the way opened to acquaintance with families as families. They easily came to be on speaking terms with other households domiciled in the same or adjacent buildings.

The structure of family life and of neighborly interplay took on new reality in the open. Summer revealed itself an ideal time for carrying on those forms of unconventional influence which are best imparted in the course of small talk, anecdote, and personal reminiscence.

The settlement motive of sharing experience and opportunity, during seasons of extreme heat became a positive and even a painful actuality. The burden of high temperature, lifeless air, foul odors, never-ending noise, and worst of all, the depressing sense of adjacent privation, suffering, and shame was accentuated by thoughts of the open country. While winter activities were in part determined on the basis of reflection, the summer program sprang out of downright fellow-feeling.

Several very simple forms of helpful overture directed toward lessening, particularly for small children, the physical discomfort of heat, were an important means of bringing residents into working relations with neighbors. The affinity between children and drinking water is proverbial. The cup having once been literally offered, boys and girls congregated about the front door in continuous supplication. Among the first pieces of special equipment at most settlements were drinking-fountains. Young and old who drank were usually ready for their part in further enterprises. Residents and neighbors joined in successful overtures to civic organizations and municipalities for the establishment of public fountains.

Hardly, if at all less obvious, was the necessity for bathing facilities, with the habits that, under training, go with them. Hot, dirty, uncomfortable children playing about settlement doorsteps were haled in by sympathetic residents and bathed. Use of the settlement tub was offered to a few neighboring women and their broods. Where room could be found extra tubs were installed and a small charge made to cover cost of soap and towels. The educational result stood out unmistakably. The habit of cleanliness is most easily established at a time when its opposite is physically very uncomfortable. Once the body registers its satisfaction in soap and water, the momentum of an inner impulse in favor of a clean skin has been created.

Difficulties experienced by children in playing games constantly interrupted by traffic, and the aimlessness of that major proportion

which made no attempt at vigorous self-expression, led residents to open their back yards to small boys and girls. Swings, hammocks, sand-piles, and simple toys were provided. Members of the staff took turns in teaching games, settling quarrels, and exercising that normal human interference which children not only need but crave.[1] Children found their way into the settlement kitchens, and the authorities in charge remembered the cookie-jar. Residents turned envious eyes on all unused land in the neighborhood. Yards and basements of schools, idle behind high fences during the hours between the close of school and darkness, on Saturdays, and throughout the long summer vacation, belied the fostering spirit which they were supposed to embody. Trespass signs about old and disused burial grounds, in the light of the crying need of children, conveyed a Chinese sense of the dead crowding the living.

Among the first important undertakings of most of the settlements was the creation of one or more good-sized semi-public play spaces. Founders of East Side House, New York, laid out a half acre about their fine old mansion as an athletic field, one of the earliest in the United States. Residents at Hull House persuaded the owner of a block of tenement property to remove the houses and turn the land into a recreation ground. Possessors of vacant lots granted their use to children when residents offered to grade and supervise the property. Space about churches, factories, and public institutions, basements of large buildings, unused docks and boats, were laid hold upon as opportunity offered. Land in nearby suburbs was borrowed for athletic teams.

In early appeals for playgrounds it was often intimated that if only land and apparatus could be secured, children would care for themselves. Experience made it clear that under city conditions unsupervised spaces are merely an extension of the streets. Settlement playgrounds became experiment stations on which to test forms of open-air activity capable of producing educational results. Sand-bins, swings, and material for games were provided for small children, who were placed under direction of kindergarten instructors; while for older boys and girls there were trained leaders,

[1] Rear yards continue to be maintained for the use of small children, and provide for a few of them that appropriate and exclusive opportunity which the science of city planning must somehow manage to make available to all.

special apparatus, and athletic leagues. At night the grounds were lighted to meet the needs of employed young people for vigorous recreation. Later progress is strikingly exemplified by such enterprise as the playground city at Hiram House, Cleveland. It combines training in self-government with instruction in craftswork and homemaking, many carefully organized forms of active games, evening band concerts, and outdoor motion pictures.

Effort to make connection between open country and tenement began with the birth of the settlement. Residents customarily brought back wild and garden flowers from week-end visits, which were distributed among the sick and bedridden.[1] During the decade of 1890 a number of houses formed committees to solicit blossoms, and suburban and rural gardens were regularly drawn on. The organization of state and national societies to collect the flowers freed settlements to attend to the work of local distribution.[2]

The ethical by-products of such work were discovered to be not less important than the direct pleasure conveyed. Residents learned to depend on that fairylike charm which flowers possess to clear the mind, strengthen the better emotions, uplift the imagination, and refine manners. Much necessary running about incident to their distribution is undertaken by club members, who suggest the names of sick, aged, shut-in, and especially appreciative people. Children and young people thus experience a sense of participation in generous service and gain a wholesome feeling of being junior colleagues with the residents.

Finely potent as is the distribution of cut blossoms, it has definite limitations. The next stage in promoting the influences that go with the possession of flowers is to help neighbors to raise their own. Here, too, there are deep-seated instincts to count upon. The impulse to grow things is almost ineradicable. A sickly gera-

[1] Expansion of this motive owes much to the late Jacob Riis who, while a reporter on a New York paper, brought blossoms from his garden for children who waylaid him at the ferry wharf. The custom of sending flowers used in the church service to sick and shut-in members of congregation and community is very old, and that of asking young women's organizations of the church to be responsible for gathering or procuring flowers hardly less established. Only a slight extension of motive and organization was therefore needed. With characteristic human impetuosity Mr. Riis called on such societies as the King's Daughters to extend the service broadly, and it quickly became a very typical religious philanthropy.

[2] The National Fruit and Flower Guild was organized in 1896.

nium struggling against fate in a tin can is as much a standard tenement furnishing as palm, rubber plant, or fern in middle-class living room. The window box, sold with loam and a choice of seeds, brings to children an instance of that dramatic suspense and discipline in patience which work with plants affords. It likewise makes an appeal all its own to country-bred parents. In certain neighborhoods so considerable a share of householders display window boxes that for several months streets take on an almost festive air. Thus the people of the locality, having bought at a common source and compared experience and results, have a fresh sense of the possibilities of collective action.[1]

In a few cities the creation of flower and vegetable gardens in rear yards has been encouraged. Unfortunately, private rights in produce are so highly uncertain that truck gardens have not had the success they theoretically deserve. Strangely enough, however, the instinct for common land makes it possible to establish school and community gardens with a much greater measure of good result. Ground is borrowed, an instructor secured, and small plots assigned to individual children or to households. Neighbors find in the tilled plot a common interest, and an additional focus is created about which community consciousness may form.[2]

Acquaintance with child life in the tenements revealed to residents the hazard which follows the sudden discontinuance of regular school routine. Dowered with a wealth of leisure beyond profitable use even from their own point of view, children ran wild and sought mischief as a relief from idleness of mind and hand. The vacation so earnestly desired in the spring became a burden before September. Some form of enterprise that not only reduced the risk of demoralization but offered a wholesome and happy outlet for child activity was called for. Since attendance would be voluntary, occupations must be attractive and be directed by teachers who could accentuate their appeal. An extra term of kindergarten work was arranged for small children, and handwork, spiced with music, entertainments, and picnics for the preadolescent child.[3]

[1] See Appendix, p. 412, Note III.—Window-Box Gardening.

[2] See Appendix, p. 413, Note IV.—Vacant Lot and School Gardens.

[3] The pioneer vacation school in the United States was started in the old First Church of Boston in 1866. Later, Providence, Newark, and New York all tried the

The settlement summer school put into form a variety of departures in matter and method of instruction; brought residents definitely into counsel with a considerable group of parents; and surprised children with the discovery that school and pastime, teacher and playmate, are not mutually exclusive ideas.[1]

With the achievement of specially designed settlement buildings, roof gardens became an increasing resource. Situated above street sights, smells, and noises, these aeries enable children to enjoy the fascination of a prospect over ranges of roofs, increase their sense for topography and its historical and more immediate associations, and afford a little better acquaintance with the sky. During the day the garden is set apart for ailing babies, for kindergarten, or for quiet games followed by a story hour. The various methods through which flowers and even vegetables are grown to make the roof a garden, become matters of keen common interest among a large circle.

Thus, after long experience, settlements find themselves able to maintain a series of group interests during hot weather sufficiently varied to provide for most of the preadolescent children in the immediate neighborhood. Such a program requires some form of kindergarten, a vacation school, a playground with a large-scale scheme of educational play and properly directed athletic contests.[2]

That an equal recreative scheme for working boys and girls must also be devised has gradually become evident. Physical relaxation in warm weather and its almost inevitable accompaniment of lowered capacity for moral response, together with suspension of all

experiment. It was not until 1895, however, that the idea began to spread to other cities. See Appendix, p. 413, Note V.—Vacation Schools.

[1] During the past fifteen years parents in well-conditioned localities have begun to ask that schools dismiss earlier in June and begin later in September that children might have the advantage of a longer stay in the country. In working-class localities the instinct of parents is in the opposite direction. Settlements in several communities have given expression to this desire by protesting against projects to reduce the school year.

[2] An original and interesting scheme of this sort was devised in the summer of 1907 by Dr. James H. Hamilton, headworker of University Settlement in New York. Six large clubs were formed, called after days of the week. Three were for boys and three for girls. No limit was placed on the size of the club, every applicant being registered without question. Each club met for practically the whole morning, and the program included a lesson in calisthenics followed by a bath; a club meeting, made as entertaining and instructive as possible; and a motion picture show as a closing event. This last attraction kept up attendance and carried other portions of the scheme.

opportunities for sociability under restraint at the precise moment when association is most desired, constitute in themselves a series of positive, if unwitting, calls for assistance. Added to these dangers is the fact that the romantic suggestions of spring and summer are thoroughly exploited by commercial amusement resorts.

Settlement residents have learned that the craving of young people for purposeful association is not an exclusively cold weather phenomenon. The unrest that precedes discontinuance of class and club work was found to be more induced than real. Groups of boys and young men continued to gather in the gymnasium at certain times for exercise and talk. It was not the desire for association that was affected by the season but its forms.

Slowly, but very surely, a series of activities were developed to meet the special dangers, without and within, which beset youth. Once playground privileges for children had been secured, several houses planted their rear yards with shrubs and flowers for use of young people and adults. Open-air concerts, planned and impromptu, were frequent, the audience on such occasions being limited only by window capacity.[1]

Desire to meet perils connected with unsupervised summer dancing induced several settlements to provide semi-public dances either within doors or on a platform in the open air, undertakings successful only when accompanied by exceptional supervision and positive and responsible support by a strong nucleus of neighborhood young people. Experience gained from these ventures makes clear beyond doubt that the moral welfare of young life in any community can only with great difficulty be safeguarded at even the best managed public dances. As a partial foil to such attractions the plan of keeping open house one or two evenings a week for girls, and an equal number for boys, known to residents, has been adopted at some of the houses. One evening a week both boys

[1] Settlements have occasionally given band concerts on special occasions such as the opening of small neighborhood parks. Several settlements offer weekly band concerts and picture shows on the local playground. Greenwich House, during seven or eight years, provided an outdoor concert in front of the settlement on Saturday evenings. Auditors gathered from all about the neighborhood. Children danced in the street and the young people on the smoother floor of the settlement house. The custom had finally to be given up because roughs from other communities congregated and made it difficult to keep order. Since 1918 it is becoming a custom for orchestras connected with settlement music schools and departments to conduct a summer series of outdoor concerts.

and girls are invited to meet together. Clubs for adolescent young people, at a rapidly growing proportion of houses, are organized on a twelve-month basis.[1]

Along with the work of building up a summer scheme of wholesome educational recreation within the neighborhood goes organization of day outings. To most settlement workers a poignant deprivation of tenement life is its isolation from the engaging, harmonizing, and inspiriting influences of nature, and from the high stimulation of a green and growing world. Pioneers who made a point of taking groups of young people on excursions to beaches and summer resorts remember with peculiar pleasure that they cemented lasting ties under such genial conditions. Practically all settlements arrange one or more outings under supervision of residents or volunteers for each of the various clubs and classes, and to mothers, infants, and small children offer a summer-long series. A number of houses also organize an annual neighborhood picnic or field day, patterned on the excursions so distinctive of local churches and political bodies. An important educational advantage of settlement outings is the experience which participants acquire of city recreational resources. Working people are often ignorant of all but the most advertised commercial resorts and public parks. The quieter places, if known, are neglected because they are supposed to be dull. In this matter as in others a last fruit of intelligence is both to desire the best and to go forth and seek it.

The other side of the story is the failure of responsible community leaders to advertise outing resources and to interpret the pleasurable experiences they offer in a way to attract wage-earners. Settlements have made a beginning by passing the word about with respect to such opportunities, and by piloting selected groups to new places. An essential part of this work is, by spirited comment on the part of the leader, to prepare people emotionally to understand and take advantage of the finer kinds of outings. The great majority desires to be reinforced in its opinions; it craves an accompaniment to action not unlike the chorus in a Greek drama.

Many settlements supplement their day expeditions by assemb-

[1] University Settlement in New York kept the house open as early as the summer of 1894.

ling groups to take advantage of the boat rides and excursions provided by newspapers and fresh-air societies. Others refuse to distribute tickets or make up parties unless a full complement of leaders chosen by the settlement accompanies those selected. There is always possibility that unchaperoned children and young people may come into touch with lurking sources of evil, the influence of which easily outweighs any gain to health or any increment of happiness.

A number of houses solicit the use at stated intervals of carriages or automobiles in which aged and infirm are driven to city parks. A few have regular use of a carryall for crippled children. While effort of this sort is not large in bulk it is a real and satisfying element in neighborhood organization. The goodwill of the community concedes the desirability of some slightly luxurious recreation to brighten the specially hard conditions of hampered age or childhood.

The best day outing, according to settlement opinion, cuts across class lines and enlarges the experience of all who participate by making them acquainted with other types of individual, family, and community life.[1] Pioneers hoped that the English custom whereby owners of country estates offered the hospitality of their grounds to city dwellers might be substantially duplicated. Though these expectations have been realized only in part, the response of college societies, women's clubs, church organizations, and informal suburban and village groups has been generous. Hospitality offered year after year by the same hosts and enjoyed by the same guests holds people of varied fortune together. Many men and women among the professional and business classes through this means have gained an increased sense of underlying kinship with working people and are more ready on occasion to make common cause with them. The tenement family on its part, as various members enter into this heritage of hospitality, comes to have one more delightful and unifying experience. Fellow club members and neighbors, with this experience in common, find

[1] Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, in 1902, tried the experiment of sending boys to act as caddies on a suburban golf links. The boys thus spent the day out of doors, made a little money, and came into contact with men who sometimes helped them to get a start in industry. After several years the scheme was given up because the settlement was not in a position to exercise proper supervision.

that it draws them together and makes the city neighborhood, in this degree, more coherent.

The experience of three decades in meeting problems of the hot months in tenement neighborhoods has transformed the attitude of the settlement. The summer is now regarded as a time for gathering up results of the winter's work and for starting new forms of enterprise. Schools, sports, and outings afford stimulating opportunities to test new educational ideas and methods. Casual clues discovered by residents and club leaders in regard to the desires, aims, and capacity of the people are restudied and sifted. Above all, participation between parents, children, and club leaders in the co-operative intimacy of parties and outings creates a genuine and pervasive flux of understanding.

CHAPTER XI

COUNTRY VACATION CENTERS

WHEN the original settlements approached the problem of their first summer they found themselves in a certain community of interest with fresh-air societies which had been providing vacations for some local children. Residents sought such privileges for members of their own classes, and in many instances accompanied groups to assigned vacation houses or farms. But the instinctive desire for a scheme more personal in its care of health, its organization of recreation, and its associated activity than that provided by centrally organized fresh-air societies early led them to establish rural resorts of their own. Where large numbers are cared for, individuals inevitably are taken more or less at hazard. Additional members are sometimes introduced at the last moment into carefully formed groups. Occasionally the sending agency is not aware of undesirable changes which have taken place in moral standards prevailing at recommended places in the country. Or children coming from the better homes of a neighborhood are lonely and lost among the rougher element.

The settlement vacation house, demanding relatively high standards of cleanliness and manners from prospective guests and charging fees closely approximating cost of food, has much of the quality of an experiment in consumers co-operation. Difficulties were not lacking in the stage of establishment.[1] Parents accustomed to send their children to the country through existing agencies hesitated to pay for what they had never thought of as a possible charge on income. Families, more self-sustaining, who also

[1] A few settlements have organized and developed large-scale camps similar to those maintained by newspaper and other fresh-air societies. Such camps draw their constituency from all over the city and hardly come within the range of the distinctive neighborhood ventures of the typical settlement. Most of them, however, have incorporated something of the settlement method of payment and supervision. The most important among such camps is Lillian Home, maintained by Kingsley House, Pittsburgh.

had a limited sense of the meaning to children of a taste of rural life, recoiled at first from what had been associated in their minds with charity. Gradually through actual test of experience, the first mentioned parents have learned to find privilege and reward in meeting a substantial share of the expenses for an outing; the others, meeting all essential costs, have, in the main, gradually come to be loyal adherents of the settlement vacation scheme. In fact it soon appeared that boys and girls themselves, given a sense of personal stake in the vacation center and moved by the contagious enthusiasm of clubmates, easily contrive with the help of parents to save money enough for the adventure. During July and August, the run on stamp-savings banks furnishes a warm weather counterpart of the Christmas withdrawal.[1]

Preparations for the outing period which go on both at the settlement and in the homes have an exceptional and far-reaching influence. Nature study and camp cooking classes are formed in early spring, and typical phenomena of the countryside about the vacation center are explained and commented upon. Excursions are made to near rural resorts. The necessity of talking over finances, clothing, cleanliness, medical care, time and place of departure and return, general regulations and personal duties at the country house, give residents a kind of leverage both with children and parents which hardly develops in any other phase of their work. Meetings of mothers are held to explain the reasons for various rulings about clothing and regimen. Each prospective camper is examined by physician or trained nurse, and neglected ailments or uncleanliness debars until conditions are remedied. Thus before the vacation begins and quite aside from what it may

[1] Charge for the summer outing varies according to the city, house, and expense of running the plant. It is a general aim that charges shall cover cost of food and service exclusive of supervision. A few houses reduce costs to guests by paying for work they do in the garden or about the place. The following rates per week are based on a large number of cases and represent pre-war prices. They do not include the cost of transportation:

Babies		Free
Children under	6 years	$1.00
Children,	6–10 years	1.00–1.50
Children,	10–12 years	1.00–2.00
Children,	12–16 years	2.00–2.50
Young people,	16–21 years	2.50–4.50
Adults		3.50–5.00

later mean in itself, fresh interests are cultivated, higher sanctions of conduct adopted, and a more downright responsibility assumed for health and well-being.[1]

Settlement vacation centers in point of actual layout and administration are of three types. A few houses provide special camps in different localities for each of three or four age and sex groups.[2] The majority, however, maintain a single camp, to which children, young people, and adults go in succession. A small number of settlements are in possession of a sizable estate upon which are separate houses and camps for various groups. These three forms of equipment subdivide again with respect to continuance of tenure. The permanent establishment has very decided advantages over a base changed from time to time, although experience has shown that the part of wisdom is to go through a preliminary stage before making final decisions.[3]

There are several attitudes toward the practical side of vacation house organization. One group of settlements favors making the camp as simple and inexpensive as possible. The main thing, they believe, is to get people into the country; conditions at camp are incidental and are considered mainly with the dominant end in view. Shelter consists of rough shacks, with not too much attention to sanitation. The enterprise is purposely kept extremely primitive.

In contrast with this point of view, a small group of houses endeavors to reproduce a type of home life in the country which approximates the American standard of living. Buildings are well constructed and cared for and the tone of association is kept high.

[1] Most houses distribute printed or typewritten lists of necessary articles of clothing, directions for reaching the vacation house, the requirements of the camp, and suggestions concerning the order and spirit.

[2] The problem of the sexes in arranging summer vacations is a serious one. The most pronounced tendency is to send boys and girls to separate places, or if to the same place, at separate times, though this rule is not invariable. A few houses as a matter of policy send groups of older young people of both sexes to camp at the same time, with strict oversight and chaperonage.

[3] Settlements have made some interesting experiments with unusual types of property; one adapted the grounds and buildings of an agricultural association; another a mansion on a municipal reserve; others have utilized stores or other large buildings. Hull House for several years conducted a summer school in buildings of Rockford Academy. The term lasted six weeks, instruction being furnished by academy teachers and University Extension lecturers. A few persons have opened their homes to settlement groups; and a number of settlement boys' clubs have been the guests of a boys' camp connected with an academy or preparatory school.

A third group, and the largest, takes a midway course. Equipment corresponds to that of the average lower middle-class summer resort, sanitation is carefully guarded, and as much distinction as possible given to the tone of group life.

The fact that the settlement seeks the full advantage to be gained from association within the group and between members and leaders, naturally conditions the organization of the vacation center. Wherever possible a tried and responsible resident is in charge, with an assistant for every ten visitors. Care is taken that at least one leader shall have known nearly all the guests in their city background; very often a regular director of winter clubs is in attendance. The atmosphere of the camp is thus analogous partly to that of a friendly boarding house and partly to that of a school camp managed by cultivated men and women who are in some measure hosts and hostesses.

For the purpose of the settlement it is a vitally important fact that club directors attain a wholly different stage of insight and influence at the country center. Young guests, under the emotional impression of a strange yet appealing world, are at first nearly always homesick. Regarded previously as of another and perhaps a somewhat alien order, the host suddenly turns out to be to them the one adult who is near and dear. They become susceptible and confidential to a degree. The relation is a stirring one to all concerned; and when a happy return home is made, the system for which the settlement stands is seen with new eyes and with some measure of convinced appreciation.

The unconscious training in order and cleanliness, in good manners and kindly service, which goes on through unaffected expression of the director's personal standards, is an important part of the results of camp life. Old and tried rules of human intercourse are seen as more than a stiff veneer for special occasions; they justify themselves on a working basis. As members of a given club eat and sleep and work together day after day, they try out one another in a variety of new ways and with a certain intensity not attainable in the city. Increased goodwill makes itself felt thereafter in all the ordinary relationships of life. So true is this that the settlement as a training school in personal and group relations is having perhaps its completest measure of fulfilment in the country.

The settlement camp, like an army, moves on its stomach. The majority of houses plant gardens which supply small fruits and vegetables.[1] The menu, dressing of the table, conversation while eating, are planned to exemplify a stimulating standard of living; while among guests, the articles of food provided, methods of cooking, and quantity placed upon the table receive a degree of attention both penetrating and sustained.

Although the time of children and young people should be organized, almost all camp leaders believe that too much can be done in this direction. Visitors should have some free hours at their disposal to fill from their own resources. Picnics, walks and berrying parties, field days, and entertainments are favorite recreations. Some camps provide a simple course in nature study. A number of houses have swimming and wading pools; a few are in possession of boats and vehicles.

The season at most vacation camps is opened by kindergarten children and mothers. Certain settlements transfer the kindergarten, with all its teachers and as many mothers as possible, into the country for the last ten days of June. Nature work is carried out under ideal conditions, mothers are trained in some of the simpler procedure of the kindergarten, the life of the camp is made an object lesson in care of children. A few settlements have country houses which are reserved for babies, small children, and their mothers. Boys' groups and girls' groups between the ages of seven and twelve years are usually sent to the vacation house separately, and often alternately. Children in this stage need constant fostering care and oversight, and the director of children's work at the settlement usually accompanies them.

As boys and girls approach adolescence, camp procedure accommodates itself to their increased physical powers. Boys eagerly crave a suggestion of wild freedom and rough adventure which goes with life in a tent or shack. By dividing camp work among them the per capita cost is materially reduced and the problem of discipline more easily met. In many cases, under the stimulus of direct

[1] During the war a number of settlements planted considerable areas to root crops, which were in large part cultivated by the visitors. Excess fruits and green vegetables were canned. Both winter vegetables and canned goods were later sold to neighbors.

contact with nature, boys take readily not only to chores but to the rudiments of camp cookery. A settlement often, therefore, carries on a separate camp for boys even when it owns a country house. New sites are selected from time to time both to meet the boys' desire for untried places and because of the changed control of land. A few houses, however, have permanently located boys' camps, with well built shacks and a regulation camping outfit.

Particularly for boys, the two-weeks' vacation period represents a lower limit imposed by necessity rather than in any sense an adequate time unit. Various means have been devised for lengthening the period without making the cost prohibitive to parents. Several settlements conduct "travel camps," the boys walking through mountains or other interesting country finding their expenses by giving shows or picking fruit. The director of clubs accompanies the hikers, supervises their occupation, and organizes recreation.

Hale House, Boston, has for twenty years, through the interest of one of its trustees, cared for an "all summer" squad of boys who show mental or moral promise, in the belief that their vacation is an investment toward larger future usefulness. A certain number of delicate boys are always included. The camp is organized under the best military standards. A bunk house is so arranged that campers sleep practically in the open; while a shack can be converted into a rainy-day dining and lounging room. Leaders selected from recent graduates at the universities are in charge. Careful records are kept of physical and moral progress. These, confirmed by later results, show that the all-summer outing is a highly important agency for bringing tenement house boys to a distinctly new outlook on life.

An all-summer plan which lightens the problem of financial support has been developed by South End House, Boston, which since 1907 has supplied caddies for several hotels in the White Mountains. The boys earn their expenses and a varying money bonus. Leaders devote themselves to managing the camp, overseeing boys on the links, consulting with players in the boys' interest, carefully supervising financial relations, arranging sports, entertainments, and whatever may conduce to make the summer beneficial. The fruits of this work are seen in a distinctly better set-up and more manly type of neighborhood youth and young man, in an enlightened

gang loyalty which has been instrumental in developing a more unified neighborhood spirit and a more responsive citizenship.

When settlements came on the scene thirty years ago, young men's political and social clubs occasionally hired a week-end shack at one of the nearby summer resorts. Settlement clubs of older boys and men sometimes maintain headquarters of this sort, and they evince an increasing tendency to offer hospitality to boys, or even to manage a camp for the younger generation. In a few instances, houses in possession of a large tract of land allow young men's clubs to set up shacks of their own. On the whole, however, organization of vacation outings for members of this age group has not proceeded far. Some form of week-end camp at a not too great distance from the city and with accommodations that permit intermittent coming and going, seems the best provision for working youths, and a few settlements have undertaken to provide such camps.

Separate vacation centers for girls and young women are not uncommon. Where capacity of the settlement's single country house is limited, it is likely to be reserved for children and their mothers. Several settlements so situated are in possession of a camp devoted to school girls. Guests are usually in charge of the director of girls' work, assisted by various club leaders. Living arrangements are kept as simple and wholesome as possible, with insistent emphasis on lively outdoor activities.

Young working girls are not very enthusiastic over a resort pointedly organized to meet needs of parents and children. Imbued with orthodox doctrine about the inherent rights and powers of the "summer girl," they have an eye turned toward adventure and even seek to create it if it does not appear. The city girl benefits most from holidays in which she experiences nature in its more primitive aspects, while they also meet her natural demand for variety, romance, and excitement. The problem of the chance male acquaintance is an ever-present one, and often means that a new location must be found. Certain settlements fall in with the girls' demand for novelty by hiring cottages at different resorts from year to year. An increasing number of older girls' clubs rent and manage cottages within easy reach of the city. One of the

girls' mothers or a neighbor is in charge, the settlement merely assisting with advice and some slight degree of supervision.

A few settlements reserve cottages for families. In several instances the women's club leases a house and members go in rotation. A considerable measure of success has attended the few experiments of this sort. Wherever possible, the settlement encourages families to seek out their own vacation places. Boarding houses in the vicinity of the camp are drawn upon to care for parents of club members.

The most interesting type of plant provides adequate land and equipment for different age and sex groups. Return to the same place season after season gives in a high degree a sense of participation in the natural life of the country. Working people are thus enabled to experience some of the satisfactions which more prosperous classes seek through long-continued residence at summer homes. Absorption of the chief characteristics of a country landscape, ability to join freely with family and friends in a different mode of life, the sharing of new and vital customs, are certainly among the most profoundly influential of all human experiences.

Home life, too, receives valuable reinforcement. Mothers and children are enabled to take a vacation together, and where the country house is within easy reach of the city, fathers participate during week ends. Fresh effort toward reciprocal forbearance is necessary where members of the family meet together under strange conditions. The fact that parents, brothers, and sisters have had the same stock of enlivening interests creates a fund of memories which continues to refresh and reinforce the common sentiments of the home.

As the proportion of people in a city community attached to a vacation center increases, the content of experience becomes richer both for individuals and neighborhood; and the readiness of both to do their part becomes unmistakable. Women's clubs contribute funds for house linen, dishes, cooking equipment, and sometimes provide for children who could not otherwise be included. Boys' and girls' clubs combine to raise money with which to finance improvements such as a water system, a wading pool, or play apparatus. Substantial pledges of work and funds are likely to be made in connection with reunions of vacation groups during

the winter. Wherever possible, fall and spring week-end parties to the country centers are arranged.[1]

Relations of leaders and guests with rural life at the permanent country house are often mutually helpful. The settlement sometimes lends a hand in developing community interests of a nearby village through organizing entertainments, helping to secure a visiting nurse, a recreation center, or some other public need.[2]

The effort to create a country home for the house membership is in many settlements accompanied by attempts to outline a program of vacation opportunity for the neighborhood at large.[3] The practicability of a plan so comprehensive depends, in any particular instance, on the thoroughness with which residents know the locality, the resources of the settlement, and the variety and efficiency of city fresh-air agencies. A number of houses endeavor to make sure that as many school children as possible, without regard to whether they are enrolled in clubs and classes, are offered the opportunity to go away either to the settlement vacation center or to places provided by fresh-air societies. When the settlement staff seeks the aid of other agencies it commonly assumes responsibility for the selection of candidates, for their preliminary physical examination, their cleanliness, and the adequacy of their wardrobe. Parents are encouraged to take the initiative in seeking vacation opportunity for their children and in meeting all necessary conditions, a procedure which, though at first expensive in time and effort, is justified in a higher standard of life. Where hospital camps are available,

[1] Among camps which deserve special mention are those maintained by College Settlement, New York; Hiram House, Cleveland; Hull House, Chicago; Hudson Guild, New York.

[2] Thus, Yorktown House of Henry Street Settlement has taken the lead in arranging entertainments, the proceeds of which are used to maintain the district nurse, and in community improvements of various sorts.

[3] While it is undeniable that all neighborhoods should have the advantage of a thoroughgoing organization of country work, the limitation of settlement resources does not generally permit it. Certain houses confine themselves to providing for those registered in clubs and classes, and make no effort to arrange vacations for children not enrolled. Where a selection within the house membership has to be made, certain settlements take the sickly or anemic children; others make the choice dependent on conduct at clubs and classes; in most instances the exigencies of each season determine who shall go. A few houses find the neighborhood problems within the city so engrossing that they have energy to send away only the sick. Day trips, care of a playground and summer school, the problems of the child out of school, study of the local situation with a view to its betterment, absorb all available strength.

their skilled care is solicited for convalescent, anemic, and handicapped children. Such accommodation even in the largest cities is still far below demand.

Settlements see in the result of vacation work, even on the side of finance, an opening toward a really engaging and productive type of associated action. Nearly all young people and many adults find their powers more thoroughly stimulated and tested in recreations than in other aspects of life. Here lies the opportunity to use momentum that comes of joint effort as a starting point toward only dimly glimpsed objects of desire. The contribution, at this point, of initiative and leadership on the part of educated men and women is among the most genuine reinforcements which they may bring to working-class life.

III

CULTURE AND REALITY

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

THE strictly educational aspects and possibilities of clubs were not at first apprehended. They were held to provide a positive and indispensable alternative to the glare of front and the gloom of back streets, and to afford a measure of undiluted joy with which slightly to tinge a drab environment. The range of educational opportunity, aside from that covered by the public schools, seemed therefore to fall into certain limited periods. These were: the half decade between entrance upon work and marriage; afternoons and evenings of school boys and girls; and the years between three and six.

In their search for an educational method sufficiently human to confront each child as an outreaching personality, flexible enough to allow emphasis on obviously needed forms of training, and adequate to establish living ties with home and neighborhood, early residents turned to the kindergarten.[1] Kindergarten exponents, on their part, were quick to appreciate the profound reinforcement which settlements offer to educators. Acquaintance with local affairs, understanding of the child's world which comes from varied participation in family concerns and from co-operation with other social workers, afford invaluable reassurance to the teacher who seeks to be a creative artist in life. Heads of several kindergarten training schools entered into affiliation with settlements; in a few instances normal classes were established in neighborhood centers. Associations of kindergartners founded settlements or financed kindergartens, and a large number of individual teachers were generous with time and service as volunteers. It is conversely a significant fact that Mrs. Quincy Shaw, pioneer in bringing about assumption of kindergartens by public authorities in Boston, once

[1] The first settlement kindergarten was opened in January, 1887, at Neighborhood Guild, and practically all settlements have maintained one or more kindergartens during at least part of their careers.

this result was secured, began a process which converted her former kindergarten centers into settlements.

Kindergartens under public auspices have increased in such numbers since 1900 that there are many neighborhoods with adequate provision for all children. In these localities the settlement relinquishes or transfers its groups. Where public school classes are still insufficient it continues to maintain its own kindergarten. In general, while every neighborhood house studiously avoids even the appearance of competition with the public system, there are substantial reasons for continuing kindergartens until the neighborhood need is fully met.[1] Such classes represent an important means of approach to the family on the part of a group of educators, who will then continuously and in varied ways remain in friendly relation with its members. They serve as experiment stations for trying out projects such as the visiting kindergartner, summer nursery, and playground kindergartens. Aside from direct practical considerations, there is a peculiar unity between the Froebel system of thought and that which has taken form in settlements as the result of their way of laying hold on life.

In much the same spirit settlements were among the first to turn with hopeful interest to Maria Montessori's experiments in arousing the little child's inner interest and training him in self-directed activity. Residents desired to secure the benefit of such instruction for children of their neighborhoods; and as far as possible to make use of the assured results of the new method in their educational enterprises for older children and young people. Montessori associations in several large cities have established houses of childhood in connection with settlements.

Even before settlements had resources with which to install so ambitious an educational project as a kindergarten, households commonly pooled their books, solicited additions from friends, and raised money to buy volumes which seemed especially desirable. Founders believed that masterpieces of literature should be made a common possession; that good books should be an integral part both of the accustomed environment and intercourse they were setting out to create. It was with the loan of a book that early resi-

[1] In a few instances settlements house a public school kindergarten under their own roof.

dents cemented some of their first acquaintanceships with children and adolescents. The majority of houses shortly came into possession of a small but carefully selected lending library, the resources of which, known and loved, were talked over and passed on with full conviction.

As the collection increased, a number of forms of library extension were devised. Local schools, churches, and clubs were sought out, and volumes of special interest placed at their disposal. Books for supplementary reading recommended by teachers of neighborhood public schools were secured, and exhibits illustrative of class work in literature, history, geography, and science placed on view. Sub-stations of the settlement library were opened on playgrounds and in summer camps. Home and block libraries, each of which included a reading club based on the plan outlined by Charles W. Birtwell, of the Children's Aid Society of Boston, were formed.[1]

Branches of the public library, which have increased greatly in number since 1905, have made it possible for some settlements in large cities altogether to discontinue systematic lending of books. Many houses, however, still maintain their collection for the purpose of luring into the habit of reading those children and adults who have not yet learned to seek the public library. Two devices are common and successful. One works on the instinct of possession. Classes in technical and artistic subjects are induced to raise money with which to purchase works of reference. Women's clubs frequently vote sums with which to buy books on topics connected with household management and the care of children.

The other appeal is by means of group suggestion. Boys and girls who have recoiled from school readers are reconciled to the library through story hours, exhibits, and entertainments. By a variety of means, such as open shelves, display of attractive illustrations, decking good books in engaging wrappers, posting the names of children who have read certain volumes, boys and girls are introduced to a few of the varied resources of literature. Some settlement librarians make a practice of visiting the homes of their young clients; this connection is further followed up by club leaders.

[1] The first home library was established in January, 1887. The emphasis of the plan on locality, the natural group based on house and block fellowship and spirited adult leadership, was fundamentally sound and anticipated settlement experience.

In due time the child is referred to the local branch of the public library, some member of the settlement signing the required guarantee.

Story-telling is the great resource for encouragement of good reading on the part of children. In the beginning almost a specialty of settlements, this modern minstrelsy was ere long taken up by progressive public library administrators as an effective means of increasing circulation in their children's departments. It continues to be pursued systematically at many settlements as perhaps the most important cultural influence, both direct and indirect, which can be brought to bear upon preadolescent children.

The motive of bringing the university to the tenements was strong at all houses established before 1895. Classes were offered in grammar, mathematics, rhetoric, the languages, literature, history, government, political economy, sociology, constitutional law, drawing, painting, modeling, history of art, biology, chemistry, and many other subjects. Hull House and Denison House anticipated the work of university extension in their cities, and attracted specially alert and earnest young people from different working-class neighborhoods.

The spirit and technique developed in these classes had a profound influence on the educational work of settlements. The necessity of presenting the course so as to hold the attention of young people employed during the day, led to innovations both in class organization and subject matter. Instructors endeavored to put truth in forms to win adepts to the good and beautiful; to make acquisition of knowledge a zestful pursuit. The demand of pupils that topics under consideration be linked with their personal experience, their historical and institutional loyalties, was respected. The preference friend feels for the presence of friend even in the class room was deferred to. It gradually became evident that the heightened intellectual and moral sensitiveness which characterizes the club is capable of being turned to uses of formal education. Each member of a natural group is stirred by the spiritual force kindled in others; each more easily shakes himself free of lower physical centers of laziness and indulgence; each is stimulated to manifest whatever he possesses of essential originality and to carry this power to some definite significant expression.

These classes in the higher education represented a personal adventure on the part of their leaders. Partly because the instructor unconsciously attracted those minds which aspired to his own plane of vision in the republic of letters, and partly because the matter and method of instruction were so largely fruit and essence of personal character, each had something of that quality of intellectual ardor and fellowship which pervades college interests at their best. Such groups held together through the glamor of fresh intellectual pursuits, and drawing freely upon the services of a considerable body of educated men and women, were so real as experiments in eliciting a sense for culture, were so undeniably symbolic of the national attitude toward educational privilege, that some of the more optimistic and successful teachers dreamed of laying out a highway over which working people, despite all handicaps, would gladly enter into the privilege and power of the intellectual life. They had faith that the settlement would soon justify itself as an agency for "connecting the centers of culture and the centers of industry."

Much to the disappointment of residents and their associates, it soon appeared that the hungry-minded young people who formed the first classes were the cream not merely of neighborhood and district, but of the metropolitan industrial community. The success of settlement classes was an argument, not so much for their continuance at a neighborhood house as for the establishment of centrally organized university extension courses and public evening high schools.[1] In a few cases a particularly inspiring teacher, reaching out broadly through a large district, has been able to hold together groups of kindred spirits year after year for the serious study of art and literature. Miss Starr, at Hull House, long continued to thus embody the best teachings of the English founders, and Thomas Davidson for years was inspiring instructor and leader of a considerable group of rare young spirits among Jewish immigrants on the lower East Side of New York.

Gleaning here and there, settlements continue to discover the eager student of books, bring him into the atmosphere of thought

[1] Courageous efforts, dating from this period, to promote university extension on the basis of city-wide appeals among working people, ended in a few years in failure.

and inquiry, encourage and assist him in following out some considerable course of higher instruction. The total of such persons who have thus passed through high schools, colleges, art and professional schools is large and grows ever larger. Those for whom such a venture is too taxing are urged to take advantage of short courses offered by high schools, technical institutes, and correspondence schools. In certain districts largely given over to recent immigrants, the settlement usually follows up its elementary instruction in English and civics with advanced courses for students of strongly intellectual tendencies not yet ready to take their place at the centers of popular education.

Although systematic instruction in higher studies soon came to an end, a considerable body of people were discovered who appreciated friendly association with educated men and women and who were eager to be in the atmosphere of taste and fine achievement. A few residents dreamed of something approaching a salon. Thus began a succession which has never ceased of well-informed, humanly minded persons glad to meet groups of working people and to play or sing, or to talk of some interesting results of study, travel, or experience.

As members of clubs and classes matured in experience, multiplied in number, and grasped the principles and technique of organization, residents saw that nothing so promotes assimilation of knowledge as participation in organizing educational enterprises. Responsibility for selecting subjects, writing to speakers, and providing an audience was increasingly transferred to officers of clubs and classes. Many adult groups carry on from one to four program meetings monthly, most of which are addressed by outside speakers. Agencies of education, health, commerce, and recreation are drawn upon to explain their purpose. Committee meetings bring small bodies together to counsel with experts. Addresses to larger gatherings of young people and children are frequent. The calendars of some settlements show meetings of this general quality in excess of five hundred a year. Such schedules represent a degree of intellectual activity on the part of citizens of working-class neighborhoods far greater than that in many more favored localities.

So far as consecutive application to accepted cultural studies is concerned, full disclosure of the facts shows comprehensive lack not

only of background but of latent instinct. Among people whose powers are fundamentally manual and whose prospects lie chiefly in the direction of those powers, educational service must necessarily be turned into channels of industrial training. The whole realization of the life about them, as settlements continue to confront it, shows that education for fulfilment in productive work and in recreation must be provided almost wholly in ways other than in those of the approved curriculum of school or college.

The situation brought perhaps the most bitter disappointment which the settlement fellowship has had to experience. Seemingly they had begun to reach the high meanings of life with considerable groups and had ventured to expect that these were but forerunners of larger numbers. Some start had been made upon the responsible study, with working people, of the great aggressive issues of work and wages. Even in the fields of ethical instruction and inspiration, where necessity for an unsectarian attitude set severe restrictions, hopes had been raised in connection with courses in literature and biography. The disappearance of this higher range of opportunity caused a distinct falling off of interest on the part of colleges in the settlements. A number of residents and associate workers who would have been delighted to give service and money to a settlement university extension center lost their sense of attachment. Those who remained were compelled to draw deeply upon resources of creative power which a liberal education had opened to them.

The effort to vindicate the spirit of the university even more thoroughly than by reproducing, however vitally, its form of instruction, led, on the one hand, to the promotion of training in association as a means of building character in preparation for the demands of democracy, and, on the other, to the more thoroughgoing development of instruction in handwork, drawing, and music. A most important outcome of the process of readjustment was the realization that within the manifold dramatic process of the neighborhood itself were hardly dreamed of potencies; that the type of education offered by the settlement must be determined by the neighborhood's common needs.

This is the educational policy which for the last two decades has been everywhere, more or less consciously, characteristic.

CHAPTER XIII

TRAINING IN HANDWORK

THE working age fixed by the compulsory education law in tenement neighborhoods comes to be regarded as the meridian line, authorized by fate, between youth and maturity. Children look forward to it as the far-off event which will justify abandonment of lessons for the romantic possibilities of a job. Hard-pressed parents welcome it as the birthday of a fellow wage-earner and a new contributor to the family income.

So universal was the desire of fourteen-year-old children to begin work, and of parents to have them employed, that pioneer residents, almost before they were aware of what was happening, found themselves deeply involved in the hopes and trials of job getting. Trustees, board members, contributors, and volunteers were importuned in favor of protégés. Every settlement soon treasured a list of employers who were relied upon to take recommended boys and girls. Young people thus launched began their industrial careers a level or two higher than they might otherwise have achieved, and the settlement household rejoiced at the superior wage scale, more inspiring work, and ultimately better home conditions made possible. Such efforts embodied, however unsatisfactorily, some amends to youth so largely deprived of longer preparation. Yet the question kept rising whether individual strokes in the way of securing positions did not represent a subtle form of favoritism, and whether in the larger view of the problem any real gain was made.

The aimless wandering from one unskilled and low-grade occupation to another of many boys whom they sought to help, brought members of the settlements into mental and spiritual revolt. It seemed clear beyond possibility of doubt that the difficulty which many tenement children experience in occupations that require coordination of mind and body and capacity for sustained mental

effort, was due to the failure of public education to provide even that elementary training of faculties needed to meet the challenge of conditions in store or factory. Inquiry showed that as soon as a false sense of freedom following escape from school and the glamor of earning wages had passed, many boys felt a profound dissatisfaction with their preparation and a deep-seated desire for additional training. Classes in sloyd, carpentry, printing, garment cutting, cobbling, chair caning, plumbing, and bricklaying were organized, with the expectation that they would assist employed youths to make progress in their trades.

Actual trade training, because of multitudinous unanticipated difficulties which arose, never became a representative settlement pursuit. Children could not be prepared for a calling within their leisure time. Trade unions were more than suspicious of what the venture might signify; and efficient teachers were almost nonexistent. Cost of equipment and running expenses where actual apprentice instruction was given proved to be too serious a drain on the settlement's limited resources. Most important of all, the community unit of trade training was seen to be district and city rather than neighborhood.

Particular experiments in trade training have grown naturally out of settlement work. In several houses printing classes have developed into shops which print programs, periodicals, and annual reports for their own and sometimes for other agencies. Boys are paid for service rendered, and by this means induced to work year after year until they learn the trade. Hudson Guild, New York, has a full-fledged school of printing which receives pupils from all over the city, as do other trade schools.

An important function of trade as of professional training is to orient the recruit, with respect to history and organization, in the industry of which he is a part. Human culture consists largely of accomplishment in such primary crafts as spinning and weaving; working clay, wood, and metal; and applying decoration. With characteristic ingenuity Miss Addams set out to show, through actual exemplification of industrial processes by means of tools and contrivances from the most primitive to the most advanced, supplemented by charts and lectures, relation between the origins and present development of the more important industries. Hull

House Labor Museum thus helps young workers to see their tasks as part of a long, human, historic process. It presents a stimulating suggestion of what must be part of the educational resources of every city. The settlement attack upon problems of trade training, however, meant much more than these small outward results suggest. Its efforts were of substantial service amid a strangely undeveloped situation in placing the issue decisively before the public; through these efforts a group of settlement leaders assisted in the movement to establish public vocational schools.

While the rapid growth of mechanics' institutes and evening trade classes for employed boys and young men in the large cities during the nineteen hundreds released neighborhood houses from the direct necessity of carrying on such training, handwork continues to be taught both because it affords a kind of discipline which prepares the mind for wage-earning and because it reveals to children and their elders vocational instincts. Parents who are also educators know better than any other group the degree in which skill, taste, and tendency awaken only after contact with material or tools. Whole reaches of working-class talent and capacity go to waste for lack of this sort of stimulus.

Most useful of all, however, is the opportunity such contacts gave for drawing out those innate, spontaneous interests which carry children over difficulties insuperable within a formal educational scheme. In its own right, even simple handicraft demands accuracy, neatness, order, perseverance, initiative, and through the attainment of these habits, strengthens the will; while appreciation of property created by one's own labor brings about a new attitude toward thoughtless destruction.

The matter and manner of settlement craftswork is therefore adapted to attract children and hold their interests sufficiently long for the discipline of tools and material to do its thorough work. Teachers are tolerant of crudities and mistakes provided they are accompanied by personal initiative. Objects of the size and design desired by the child and his family are chosen rather than small and finely finished models embodying a series of pedagogic points. The boy is permitted to discover himself through his work even at the cost of time, material, effort, and disappointment.

Last, but by no means least in importance, the home always mani-

fests an inquiring attitude toward crafts instruction, and the pupil's interest is reinforced and sustained by what is to him usually a conclusive judgment. Fathers and mothers feel competent to criticize and to give advice. Treasures of old world knowledge are brought forth. A long-range view of the child's industrial prospects and career is taken by older members of his family.

Although manual training had been included in the grammar school curriculum of a few cities shortly before 1890, classes established by neighborhood houses helped decidedly to further the efforts of those who, during two decades before 1910, were promoting the cause of industrial education. Residents in several cities had much influence in arousing public opinion which brought about the introduction of sloyd, cooking, and other handwork in grade schools, and settlement classes still furnish a constant stimulus to formal education in many communities.

As soon as they were able to presuppose a scheme of manual pursuits in public schools, settlements were free to reach back a stage further into the preparation of children for life. One cause for the poor showing made by many boys and girls both in class and in shop is paucity of provision for really educative play. As running, jumping, and climbing lead to increasingly accurate accommodation between mind and the larger motor muscles, and club relations co-ordinate thought and deportment, craftswork makes adjustment between the constructive faculties and the hands. No amount of formal instruction can take the place of the free movement of a child's mind as he endeavors to find himself.

Afternoon classes came into being to provide tenement children with opportunities for growth which boys in better conditioned homes obtain through cutting, pasting, and hammering, making camping outfits and houses for pets, staging plays, writing for and printing upon toy presses, and all childhood's multitudinous imitation of and participation in grown-up activities. Technical proficiency is, of course, hardly to be expected in such activities. Their real function is to make possible acquaintance with the world, to free the spirit, to offer companionship with others like-minded in the great emprise. All this was, in a sense, but the introduction into later childhood of kindergarten principles and methods. Yet it was, as a matter of fact, the more purposeful

working out of what had been to a large extent the nucleus of settlement club interests.

Handwork for girls passed through an evolution identical to that for boys. Instruction in sewing, cooking, dressmaking, and personal hygiene was made part of the program of early girls' clubs. These activities sprung partly out of exchange of information about food and dress natural between women, partly out of a definite teaching program. Classes in sewing, similar to those which are an immemorial part of church and mission work, were among the first settlement ventures.

Command of the needle is so fundamental both in industry and home-making, its uses so varied and interesting, and its appeal to parents so immediate, that despite certain disadvantages it continues to be one of the most familiar types of class work at settlements. There is, nevertheless, a strong undercurrent of feeling against universal instruction in sewing for girls. Many residents hold that it is an over-individualistic pursuit, and are convinced that school children are better engaged in vigorous forms of play and association with others. The extreme difficulty of seating a large class so as to insure against eye-strain carries its own warning. Because of inability to provide thoroughly professional teaching, volunteer instruction is general and expert supervision infrequent. There is also nearly always a conflict between the teacher's desire to do good work and the demand of children and parents for something quickly finished. The relatively small number of girls temperamentally interested in fine sewing are encouraged through expert teaching.

Cooking classes for little girls, older girls, and mothers, which met around the residents' cook-stove were early established at practically all settlements.[1] Volunteer teachers were shortly supplemented by graduates of cooking schools, and individual gas equipment replaced the kitchen range. Class-room teaching was followed by home visits in order to find out whether instruction was being applied. Gradually the instructor learned to shape her teaching so as to meet the problems of utensils, income, and dietary which existed in homes of the neighborhood.

Establishment of Hartley House in 1897 "to create a small

[1] See Appendix, p. 414, Note VI.—Cooking Classes, Kitchen Gardens, and other Household Matters.

home-making school where girls can be taught how to keep a home neat, tidy, and attractive" marked formal organization of neighborhood domestic training. In addition to a class-room kitchen equipped with coal-stove rather than individual gas burners, and with the ordinary utensils of a tenement home, a demonstration bedroom was added. Home-keeping classes were formed and an effort made to teach all the processes connected with care of a household. Henceforth an increasing number of settlements provided a bedroom near the cooking-class room.

The baffling slowness with which girls responded to formal instruction in domestic science led to the conviction that some other method must be found which would elicit their personal and consecutive interest. Response came through actualizing the enveloping sentiment and spirit which obtains in fine home life. The girl's sense for total atmosphere, her craving for the semblance of outreaching dreams, when properly drawn upon, evoke a considerable momentum of mental application and lighten seeming drudgery. The final step toward verisimilitude was taken in 1901 by Mabel H. Kittredge, then resident at Henry Street Settlement. A four-room apartment in a tenement house was rented and furnished by classes in housekeeping at the end of a series of talks on furnishing. In this background the suggestion of stage properties which had characterized early kitchens and bedrooms disappeared. Cooking, preservation of food, care of beds, ventilation, cleaning, and all the round of household duties were now taught under actual conditions of life. The success of the experiment was immediate, and within a few years settlements began to transfer their home-making classes into tenements.

A model flat emphasizes the subtle and elusive but decisive sanctions through which housework becomes a creative art. Along with knowledge about preparation of food, settlement instructors impart the customs, traditions, and symbolism that underlie fine home and family life. Rites of the table, responsibilities to guests, time-honored celebrations of great festivals, customs and manners governing relations of person with person within the narrow limits of home, are important incentives and means for keeping life healthy and aspiring.

The sociabilities growing out of class work in cooking and home-

making are almost equally important with instruction. Food which has been prepared is consumed by the class, and the common meal exercises its magic power of welding participants and opening new avenues of acquaintance and effort. Pupils are encouraged to invite guests, and exercise of personal and group hospitality again calls forth a whole round of vital human responses. Portions of food are frequently sent to sick or shut-in associates and neighbors. Points of contact and sympathy between daughters and mothers are established and interpreted by instructors, and an effort is made to induce them to work out together clues gained in class. The model flat under charge of a resident director carries this motive one step further. As she becomes acquainted with neighbors, the instructor catches up again some of the simple homely relationships based on the actual sharing of common problems which, as institutional equipment of the settlement enlarges, inevitably tend to be diluted.[1]

The confused and subtle issues that affect wage-earning girls have always been a subject of special concern. Since a period of service in factory or store falls to nearly all working-class young women, reason demands that they be prepared to make the most effective and profitable use of their time and effort during this stage. But what the settlements have been able themselves to furnish in this direction has been slight. A few houses train girls definitely for domestic service. Instruction in the care of small children is given at several nurseries, and settlements which carry on lunch rooms teach a few girls approved ways of table service. Schools of dressmaking and fine sewing are maintained at a small number of houses.[2]

Serious trade training for girls, as for boys, requires wider areas than neighborhoods to draw upon, and larger resources than private and local agencies can provide. More important still, painful experience with tenement homes and tenement mothers has burned

[1] An interesting variation on close-range work was carried on for some years in New York by Annie Strathern, who died in 1920. Each week Miss Strathern had a few children live with her and carry on the household work in common. In addition to the resident group, children who had been through the course gathered for parties and simple entertainments. The lesson of this experiment has already begun to spread.

[2] Cambridge Neighborhood House; Chase Neighborhood House, Chicago.

into the minds of residents the fact that no one more than a woman who rears children and makes homes in which they grow up needs training for her life work. Accordingly, though the settlements rely almost entirely upon public action for the training of girls for industry, they continue to devote much effort to instruction in the care of the home, through co-operating with and supplementing the services of the public schools in this direction.[1]

As the community accepts the principle that boys and girls should be prepared in public school for practical callings, settlements place increasing emphasis on the finer artistic and ethical possibilities of handwork. Just as pioneer residents sought to escape that overemphasis on the cultural aspects of manual training which was a sop to the high-and-dry educational sentiment of thirty years ago, so present-day leaders are endeavoring to guard against the rigidity of too early specialization. Instruction in handwork is increasingly used as a dragnet through which to discover latent interest and ability and then gradually to reveal the results both to possessor and to parents. The energy that has gone into such work, however, can be equally well applied in new forms of cultural handwork which during the past ten years at a number of houses have been turning out commendable finished products. This is but one direction in which a combination of recreation and education, appearing now in club, now in class, is beginning to express itself in forms of accomplished distinction. It is almost a confirmation of settlement faith to say that they have not as yet brought genius to light. Their purpose is to rear loyal groups of mutually helpful producers of honest and beautiful effects in communities which shall learn to cherish fine workmanship in a pervasive sentiment of appreciation and praise.

[1] For the part taken by settlements in promoting public vocational education, see p. 212ff.

CHAPTER XIV

THE THREE ARTS

EARLY experiments in promoting love of beauty in the field of line and form were due to two causes. One was the influence of Canon Barnett. Nearly all pioneers who visited Toynbee Hall carried away dreams of duplicating in American terms the Whitechapel Art Exhibit. The second was the influence of the founders of Hull House. Miss Addams' interest in early Christian art was reinforced by Miss Starr's preparation for a career as lecturer in the history of painting. It was natural, therefore, that initial overtures to some of their neighbors should have been made by showing photographs brought from abroad.

Two main ways of creating interest in painting and sculpture at once outlined themselves. One was the multiplication of opportunities to see beautiful things; the other, instruction in drawing and modeling. Residents at Hull House furnished their rooms as beautifully as their means permitted. The first specially erected building contained a gallery which was formally opened in June, 1891, with an exhibit of paintings lent by Chicago art lovers. Neighborhood Guild, New York, in 1892 inaugurated a series of important exhibits which attracted thousands of East Siders and resulted in much public interest. South End House, Boston, followed with a similar series begun in March, 1893. Other houses, as they were established through the decade, pursued this lead.

The end of such exhibits came shortly and for several reasons. Risk to works of art, money cost of transportation and guardianship, and nervous strain upon organizers were the most compelling. Almost as important was the fact that many residents and board members were affected by the typical American distrust of art. Pioneer picture exhibitions had been born out of due time.

Settlement loan exhibits proved that working men and women would go and look at pictures in their leisure time. But the unfortu-

nate practice of locating art galleries in open parks at some distance from the heart of the city, and of closing them evenings, Sundays, and holidays, placed their collections beyond the reach of tenement dwellers. Charles B. Stover aroused and kept alive the agitation which led trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to open it on Sunday afternoons, and residents of Hull House had a measure of influence in securing similar action by the Chicago Art Institute.

Sunday opening having been brought to pass, settlement workers set out first to make neighbors acquainted with the museum and then to establish the habit of visiting it. Groups of children and adults were regularly collected and guided through the galleries. These experiments in docentage made it increasingly evident that the undue emphasis placed on archæology, exaltation of the so-called major arts of painting and sculpture, disregard of contemporaneous work, neglect of the crafts which touch the common man as producer and consumer, custom of cataloguing and describing exclusively for scholars, left museums far from satisfactory instruments for the education of the people.

Since 1910 more attention has been given in museums to needs of the average citizen. In Boston the Museum of Fine Arts, each summer since 1911, has invited groups of children selected and chaperoned by residents of settlements and directors of play centers to meet in its lecture hall for a story hour, after which the objects referred to in the narratives are visited. Saturday classes for children are increasing rapidly. A growing number of museums provide docents for working-class groups; while some employ a staff member whose duty it is to encourage wage-earners and immigrants to make use of the facilities and opportunities offered.[1]

Among early residents a few hoped that it might be possible both to arouse and train the sense for beauty and to brighten homes through the loan of framed photographs and prints. These latter were first offered to members of adult clubs and the plan had a measure of success. It was shortly abandoned, partly because the response was not so great as its sponsors hoped it would be, partly

[1] Many settlements make a practice of posting museum announcements, and of speaking to individuals and groups about the beautiful things on view. Occasional prizes have been offered as a reward for the most intelligently written account of what a child has seen at a gallery. One settlement has prepared a handbook which gives a list of museum exhibits and opportunities for art education.

because the labor of handling and keeping track of pictures was so considerable, and money to pay for repairing frames and purchasing new subjects difficult to secure. These disadvantages are not so serious with children, and at a few settlements, for little boys and girls picture lending remains a popular enterprise.[1] Like certain other unproved settlement experiments, this, too, awaits persons of resource and enthusiasm to demonstrate its far-reaching possibilities.

Neighbors, once they became aware that residents were interested in beautiful things, began to bring forth treasures of possession and examples of their own skill of hand. Ability of no mean order, in certain immigrant colonies, thus came to light. Exhibits were organized to show the work of local men and women in drawing, painting, modeling, wood-carving, weaving, embroidery, lace-making, metalwork, and jewelry.

These loan collections helped a few craftsmen to dispose of work already on hand and opened up new sources of employment. In several instances they led to establishment of workrooms for the production of laces, embroideries, and other forms of fine needlework. Hardly less important, they offered immigrant craftsmen opportunity to display their work under conditions of honor. No one who knows the grilling which later immigrants so often endure from earlier comers will underestimate the irritation and bitterness engendered and the solace of a publicly recognized achievement. The display of fine things in neighborhoods where several nationalities jostle one another, became an important means of promoting genuine understanding between them. Imperilled self-confidence and respect blossomed anew. Even parents were revealed to their children in a more worthy light.

Inherited or acquired treasures of craftsmanship, among working

[1] Photographs, woodcuts, and engravings to be distributed are about eight by twelve inches and are framed in glass. They are hung on a very low dado within easy sight of the children. It is also customary to tell stories suggested by the pictures.

The large percentage of failure in the case of lending pictures lies in the fact that examples are often badly printed and poorly selected. Pictures should be of fair size, cleanly, clearly printed, and possessed of human interest. The growth of color printing makes it possible to secure attractive pictures and should lead to a new attempt to lend them. One or two houses have had some success in promoting the sale of pictures. Where the bi-weekly exchange of pictures becomes part of the ritual of family life, as it does in a surprising number of instances, delightful relations spring up between children, residents, and parents.

people not less than among well-to-do, are a source of family pride. Neighborhood exhibits of furniture, silver, jewelry, porcelains, bric-a-brac, and needlework have been organized in Boston, and on one occasion articles selected from a number of local exhibitions were placed on view in the Museum of Fine Arts. Such events made clear both to residents and neighbors the spiritual refreshment immigrant families draw from their national art.

Appreciation, as we have seen, was the obverse of the equally important motive of creation. Classes in drawing, painting, and modeling were offered by several of the earliest settlements. Among those who took advantage of them were a few young people of real talent; some who, without talent, found through line and form an escape into idealism; and others who desired to better their work as engravers, lithographers, fine printers, and decorators. The first results seemed to suggest that working people were not interested in the arts of design.

Unconvinced though baffled, settlement residents set out to find a more direct means of training hand and eye. Classes in weaving, basketry, metalwork, pottery, wood-carving, and lace-making were established. In this country the beginnings of instruction in artistic handwork for tenement dwellers were made in settlements. The response, though it differed from neighborhood to neighborhood, depending on local powers and the skill of teachers, was immediate. Interest in form and color was carried forward by the instinct to do things with the hands and to create objects of use and adornment. Several houses, situated among immigrants acquainted with the stitches and designs of their country, have been able to produce fine needlework.[1] Other houses have developed the teaching of one or more specialties to a point where products have sufficient distinction to be salable.[2]

[1] Denison House, Boston; Hull House, Chicago; Richmond Hill House, New York; South End House, Boston.

[2] Neighborhood House, Washington, basketry; North Bennett Industrial School, and Paul Revere Pottery, Boston, pottery; Archer Road Settlement, Chicago, rug weaving.

Marketing of settlement crafts products is not easy. Fairs, bazaars, and sales patronized chiefly by supporters and friends of the settlement are common. A few houses maintain a store in the center of the city. Others send their products to gift shops and exchanges. At times a number of settlements or a local federation have united to maintain a store in the shopping district.

At the end of a decade the logic of instruction in craftswork, as in athletics and domestic science, suggested application of the principle of federation. Guilds or schools of craftsmanship began to be organized. Results, both on handiwork and on the attitude toward education, are immediate. Children, after a few blunders which involve waste of time and material and scorn of their fellows, come to appreciate the necessity for training in drawing, modeling, and design. Lectures, reading, and visits to museums, which under other circumstances would seem dull, are not only tolerated but enjoyed. In several cities guild members attend classes in drawing and design offered by art museums.

Consciousness that they are participating in an enterprise which commands the respect of discriminating purchasers, increased self-respect aroused by the interest of parents, friends, and neighbors, the impulsive and directive force of professional standards, safeguard interest and stimulate increased effort. Appreciation of fellow-craftsmen and instructors for each other's work is powerfully effective in breaking down cleavages of prejudice; for there are few situations so favorable to creation of goodwill and friendship as a common interest in sustaining an artistic cause. The ripest fruit of the guild is the finer reciprocity so created.

The long-range importance of elementary crafts instruction is its power to make children critical of average products and capable of recognizing sound design and skilled execution. Education of discriminating consumers among working people must precede finer national artistic achievement, and settlements are helping to build up such a creative demand.

Patient plowing and re-plowing of apparently low-fertility ground sometimes produces results of unexpected value. During the decade and a half before 1915, most settlement administrators despaired of arousing general neighborhood interest in the major arts. Several experiments of unusual caliber carried on during the past few years go far toward demonstrating the possibility of truly local culture. Earliest among these is the Graphic Sketch Club of Philadelphia, which developed out of a drawing class for boys begun in 1899 at one of the settlements by Samuel S. Fleisher. The club, through its permanent collection, occasional exhibits, classes, and social parties, aims to promote love of the beautiful in line and

form, to afford disciplined outlet for the production of fine things, to discover and train talent, to reinforce the home by helping working young people to increase their earning capacity. Children between six and eleven are taught appreciation through observation of art and nature, through drawing, and through games which involve observation. Adolescent boys and girls receive instruction in drawing and painting the figure and landscape, costuming, illustration, commercial lettering, modeling, and interpretative dancing. Pupils and neighbors, who often visit the gallery for a little while at the end of the day, have free access to an important art collection which includes pictures, sculpture, porcelains, hard stones, ivories, glass, and fabrics. There are periodic exhibits of pupils' drawings and paintings.

One such center calls imperatively for a chain.[1] The conviction that every neighborhood should have one room set apart to show beautiful things, brought in Boston the establishment in May, 1918, of the Children's Art Center, which its founder, Fitzroy Carrington, curator of prints at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, hopes is the beginning of a series of neighborhood art museums. Paintings, drawings, engravings, lithographs, illustrations, sculpture, pottery, and glass, each chosen with an eye to its attractiveness for children, are displayed in a manner to make it easy to see and to study. Books illustrated by able draughtsmen are on hand to be looked at, and story-telling, occasional concerts, and the privileges of a garden help cement friendly relations between visitors and attendants. In addition to its purely local functions the ministry of the center reaches out into the city at large. Groups of children come from other neighborhoods to visit it, and examples from its collection of prints and illustrations are lent to the different settlements.

Meanwhile, settlements elsewhere were helping to foster the idea.

[1] Mr. Fleisher, on the opening of a new building in 1914, stated: "Hard-working people . . . should not be asked to go out of their way to see beautiful things. They are not apt to be willing to go. . . . Beautiful things should be brought to them and placed without parade or preachment, where they can have easiest access to them. . . . Our collection of works of art can reach only a limited number of people so long as it is housed in one building. There should be buildings like this in all crowded parts of the town, so that our collection could travel about from section to section and from street to street, and so that other collections could come in turn and be shown in our building."

The organization in New York of the People's Art Guild during the fall of 1915 by a group of younger painters and sculptors "to bring about a direct approach of artists and the people, so that in the midst of a beautifully active people, a hospitable home for great artists may arise," has been of material help toward furthering this process. The Guild has offered exhibitions of pictures by its members and established classes in drawing, modeling, history of art, and craftswork at several houses. In every neighborhood there is a group of children who can be interested in drawing and in modeling; and among certain races, such as the Italians, the degree of talent may be considerable. Development of this interest, once fully undertaken, may be expected to produce results equal to those already secured in the field of music and drama.

Passing to the domain of tone and rhythm, one leaves an appeal which among working people is still limited for another all but universal. Associated with the deepest and most primary human feelings and with ancient loyalties of religion and nationality, an expected part of many important ceremonies, an ever-present outlet for the sentiment of childhood and youth, music is not so much an art to be cultivated as part of the atmosphere of life.

As with the arts of form, settlements began their educational work in music with large and striking presentments, furnished forth by trained and accomplished persons brought in from without. Musicians of established standing, asked to play before working-class audiences, responded with readiness and in a rare spirit of respect for those who were to listen. Choral and other musical societies repeated important programs in settlement halls. Lecture recitals were provided for the studiously inclined. A number of settlements, particularly Hull House, University Settlement in New York, and South End House, continued to provide series of Sunday musicales until multiplication of excellent popular concerts, which are so encouraging a phase of recent progress, made them unnecessary.[1]

[1] It has been found that people enjoy performers whom they know and programs which appeal to their loyalties. Some settlements lend their halls for municipal concerts; some provide band music in their playgrounds or in front of their buildings. While this latter furnishes a pleasant and successful method of bringing people together, the expense is so considerable that the custom is not general. Settlements conscientiously endeavor to give the best possible music at entertain-

It takes a long time, however, to bring about an entirely new feeling toward music merely through hearing the best. In music, as in other arts, individual and communal taste is advanced most surely by raising the standard of production among a nucleus of local performers. Settlements make a considerable number of opportunities for neighborhood talent to express itself before its own public. Both performers and audience are gradually led to delight in music of a better quality than they would themselves have sought. This nucleus grows with varying rapidity in different neighborhoods, but steadily and surely.

Children's choruses were among the earliest settlement enterprises in metropolitan cities. Under a few leaders of exceptional skill and enthusiasm, reinforced by the personal work of residents in winning support of parents, impressive results were secured. In Chicago several settlements united in giving concerts. In Boston and New York such effort was rather among young men and women. After a time these enterprises were abandoned in favor of city-wide organizations such as the People's Singing Society of New York and the Boston Choral Union. Settlements thereupon became local agencies of these more comprehensive efforts, which they systematically advertise and forward.

Consecutive interest in choral work, once the flurry of the nineties subsided, was confined to German, Scandinavian, and Slavic neighborhoods. Much sporadic instruction, however, goes on. Preparation for operettas, vaudeville, club entertainments, involves a very considerable amount of drill, and is the means through which most young people not interested in the art of singing prefer to take their instruction. Here, much as in other forms of settlement training, the chief necessity is for a leader capable of kindling a dormant spark, and of bringing the slow and lazy-minded forward under their own momentum.

The gradual growth of interest since 1910 in community singing is finding expression in many neighborhoods. Entrance of the United States into the war raised what was a slowly growing in-

ments and socials, and although the standard is not always high, it is educational in that it is above that of the district. Residents often take clubs to operas and concerts, previously telling the story and preparing groups to listen with understanding.

tellectual interest into something like a real craving. Settlements by and large opened and closed all gatherings with song. Many organized community choruses which met weekly.[1] Gradually a fund of musical interest is thus being created which makes possible more beautiful forms of community self-expression.

Motives and standards which govern the attitude of neighborhood workers toward choral practise are applied to orchestras and bands which have been organized under settlement auspices or have sought settlement hospitality. Even though the grade of performance is not high, regularity of practise, a wider acquaintance with musical literature, and the effort to prepare creditable public performances are values which count decidedly to the educator. Such groups frequently render much appreciated service at entertainments and parties and constitute a source of wholesome neighborhood pride.

Desire to save and develop the talent of exceptional children, to gratify poignant cravings of emotional though untalented young people, and even to encourage those drawn more by the social glamor of music than by its emotional content, early led settlements to undertake the provision of a good grade of musical instruction. Hull House Music School was established in 1893, under the direction of Eleanor Smith. The purpose of its founder is to discover and train children with sufficient talent, industry, and character to reap the full advantage of thorough instruction. Pupils are expected to become professionals. For those not capable of this degree of proficiency, seeing that skill on any instrument requires long and arduous practise, instruction in choral singing, carried on apart from the distinctive work of the school, is thought best to meet their needs and powers.

A year after establishment of the Hull House school, beginnings of the East Side Music School were made at College Settlement by a young New York music teacher, Emilie Wagner. In contrast with Miss Smith, Miss Wagner set out to meet the needs of all children who manifested a real desire for instruction in music. The talented boy or girl, she felt, would always be helped. Not evidence of special ability but the wish to learn, was therefore her test of admission. Emphasis in teaching was accordingly placed on

[1] Returns from 98 houses showed that 54 carried on such choruses.

desire for expression and on the right use of imagination. The necessity of keeping down cost of instruction led to the short period lesson, the pupil-teacher, and a normal course.

While the Chicago and New York music schools were developing their respective points of view, the majority of settlements made place amid many other activities for individual instruction in piano, violin, and voice. Practise hours on the settlement pianoforte were arranged. Generous music teachers gave time both at their studios and in settlements. The curriculum was enlarged to include musical kindergarten, solfeggio, theory, and history of music. Senior and junior orchestras were formed. Gradually the resources of settlements were strained. Since 1900 the example of the two pioneer schools, reinforced by growing interest among music lovers and the tendency among settlement administrators to organize all varieties of instruction in departmental form, has brought about establishment of music schools at an ever increasing number of houses. These schools often continue in direct connection with the settlement of their origin, though some set up an independent existence with a specialized resident staff. They represent the most considerable and significant independent educational organism which the settlement has brought into being.

Just as in the case of housekeeping center or crafts guild, music schools add to instruction all those important reinforcements which come from endeavor after high quality, from the presence of many like-minded, and from the creation of an institution which holds an important and worthy place in the community. It is possible to enlist continuously the willing services of competent musicians. Artists and managers contrive so that pupils may attend recitals at a cost within their means.

The rapid growth of music schools during the past few years, settlement workers believe, prefigures complete democratization of instruction in music. The tradition among educated classes which would have everyone trained to sing or play an instrument must be extended to working people. The ruling instinct in tenement neighborhoods to express oneself more through emotion than through intellect calls for inspired and continuous instruction in the type of music which feeds finer sentiments and feelings, instructs reason, and develops the fabric of character.

But the essential distinction of a settlement music school is its service in building up family life. Satisfactory instruction in music is impossible even to the rarest and most inspiring teacher without sympathetic co-operation of the home. Such an attitude has often to be created almost out of nothing. It is, indeed, through services which sometimes seem strange and unusual to teachers of music that instruments are procured, regular practise arranged for, parental and family support brought about.

Representation of human experience and human ideals through action is, in point of time, the latest among great arts to be drawn upon by the settlement for the purpose of disciplining youth and strengthening the local sense of solidarity. Original residents soon became aware in how high a degree low-priced theaters colored the thought and life of working people. Picture exhibits, lectures, concerts, classes in handicraft, and choral clubs were in part established for the purpose of providing an alternative to the commanding and nearly always insidious appeal of melodrama and vaudeville.

While a few residents dreamed of a playhouse conducted under motives which might make it a far-reaching educational force, the majority inherited in full measure the common distrust felt for everything that smacked, however remotely, of the stage. This extreme prejudice, just on the point of beginning to yield to a more reasonable attitude, prevented any whole-hearted preoccupation with dramatic interests until the new century. The conception that neighborhood people could be trained to really creditable performances which would in turn react upon neighborhood taste and sentiment, gradually unfolded. Its appearance was delayed half a decade by the question, "If neighborhood young people are taught to act, what will the outcome be?"

Dramatics became part of the settlement program by a series of gradual steps, the earliest of which were hardly more than tolerated. Those approaches to dramatic representation sanctified by long usage in church and school, such as platform recitations, dialogues, parlor magic, cantatas, charades, festivals, were first adopted. Initial outreachings into drama crept in through reading clubs and classes, the sanction of Shakespeare being generally invoked to cover these adventures into doubtful precincts. The object in view

was to encourage good reading rather than to secure dramatic results with subject matter so far beyond the powers of the cast. Gradually it was realized that a very widespread desire existed among children and young people to act, and that satisfaction of this desire under educational auspices and high standards leads away from instead of toward the professional stage. The literary purpose of the first plays thereupon gave place to the downright and avowed aim of making dramatics a constituent factor in the program of educational recreation.

Leadership and standards of production in dramatics halted for a long time behind what was considered essential in drawing and music. Scattered experience, however, made it clear that the training which goes with preparing a play for presentation meets important educational needs of children and young people in tenement neighborhoods. Facing prematurely life's responsibilities, boys and girls are intensely awake to the emotional significance of action and character, curious and concerned about the forms through which the chief human motives are expressed. In the very recoil from much that means overstrain and restriction, they wish to demonstrate their inherent capacity for large and heroic gesture. Their complete commitment to the drama as spectators holds with it a nascent positive impulse for which settlement dramatics is the accurately adapted outlet. Such performances were recognized as perhaps the pre-eminent settlement pursuit to which average neighborhood young people come in a state of readiness for discipline and drill, with a measure of zest for putting the finer feelings and purposes to the test, and with a sense for actual achievement through team play. Some who can achieve it in no other way reach personal distinction in acting.

While the most interesting and artistically rewarding results of such training are obtained with clubs of young men and women, observation of the play of children upon the streets showed that their instinct to act is strong. A scheme of dramatic opportunity from the kindergarten up, therefore, quite naturally outlines itself. Little children are encouraged to give appropriate expression through marches and songs to the emotions aroused by stories or through the spontaneous dramatization of tales, the end sought being the free and natural expression of a limited round of whole-

some motives, the proper use of words and their correct pronunciation and enunciation. There is little or no study and imitation of other persons, and the setting is simpler than that craved by young people.

For adolescent boys and girls the detailed and purposeful reading, thinking, and imagining called for in memorizing a part, mastering a character, and fitting it and one's self into a coherent presentation, affords peculiarly stimulating and valuable discipline. The slight acquaintance with the technique of acting which performers acquire causes them to demand much higher types of production than before they essayed to be players themselves. Not the least important result which grows out of an accomplished performance is that which comes to the group as a unit. Rehearsals afford a succession of good times and satisfy the desire of young people to be together in a common purpose, while the united perseverance required of the cast creates a more positive group loyalty which in turn leads to still better team work.

The efforts of a club which is preparing a play are usually a matter of public interest and gossip among friends and neighbors, and this comment often starts in motion valuable currents of local acquaintance and goodwill. The necessity of securing an audience causes players to ally themselves with other clubs and community organizations, and such affiliations usually enforce a decided degree of restraint and care in conduct. A successful performance carries with it desired and wholesome personal and group distinction which is often an incentive toward a higher type of life. Occasionally a drama is prepared which gives beautiful and significant expression to local loyalties and traditions.

As with other artistic pursuits, efforts have been made to bring the local settlement clientèle into appreciative relations with the best work of producing masters. Certain managers of significant plays have been prevailed upon to present them in working-class theaters and halls. Interest which began in this way led a number of the foremost actresses and actors to set aside blocks of seats for children. These experiments, together with an increasing desire among public-spirited men and women of culture to democratize the arts, stimulated associations to rouse the interest of working people in good plays and to provide seats at a moderate charge.

One result of the work of such societies has been the giving of special wage-earners' performances and systematic reduction in the cost of seats at regular performances to persons recommended by neighborhood organizations.

Since motion pictures have so largely displaced spoken drama, and cheap admission has brought them within the reach of everyone, there is danger lest children come to know the representation of life only in terms of pantomime. Capable observers testify to the fact that the present generation of working-class children are more physically expressive than their predecessors, one of the good results of "movie" education. On the other hand, it is nothing less than a vital human service to seek to preserve and enhance capacity for the spoken expression of ideas.

Application of the guild principle to dramatics took place in 1901 with the opening of Hull House Theater. The educational advantages which go with something approaching professional equipment are very considerable. The long preparation of a play involves human difficulties complex and discouraging enough in their own right. When upon these are superimposed new problems based on narrow space and the repeated improvising of manifold cumbersome properties, the cast is brought to recurrent low spirits. Most important and worst of all, the moral issue of the enterprise is likely to be shifted from performance to equipment. Conversely, every troupe is stimulated by the opportunity of using what it regards as a complete model of a stage. Under such conditions the remembered triumphs of earlier groups stir others to the fullest degree of emulation.

Possession of neighborhood theaters makes it possible for the settlement to realize long-cherished plans of securing some fruitage from the dramatic interest and resources of surrounding immigrant colonies. No one familiar with the influence of the stage on the struggle for freedom in Europe during the nineteenth century would underestimate the extent to which drama may direct opinion and stir loyalties. The response of different groups of immigrants, when encouraged to prepare and present their native drama, is immediate and appreciative. They feel, rightly enough, that such invitation demonstrates a more than superficial regard on the part of American citizens for the country and culture out of which they

in particular have come. They are able to stand forth with dignity as exponents of a noble tradition after the version of countrymen whose commanding genius all must recognize. In several instances, notably among Greeks and Italians, really impressive results have been obtained. The lead of Hull House in this direction has been followed in several other cities. Plays built around Jewish traditions at Henry Street Settlement in New York have been of notable interest and influence.

The neighborhood theater is in part an expression of that high-tide of interest in the drama which is affecting people of every sort, in part an endeavor to provide adequate equipment as a means of securing new and stirring educational results, and in part an influence toward developing local pride and loyalty. Dramatic presentations of a variety and quality which a commercial manager could not afford to give can be made an established part of the recreational resources of the whole community. Hull House Theater was one of the first "little theaters" in the United States, and it has had part in demonstrating the need and possibilities of a free stage. The gradual development of a company under the direction of a resident, herself an actress, assured the troupe a quality of permanency and worthy achievement. The Hull House Players, and later the Henry Street Players, have given a long series of dramas of the more poetic and interpretative kind.[1] When the goodwill of the finer spirits in the dramatic profession begins to be thoroughly enlisted as it has in the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York under the management of Alice and Irene Lewisohn, results of national importance may be expected.

Rapid spread of settlement music schools and crafts schools and the coming of neighborhood theaters marks an important extension of popular culture for the country as a whole. The finer hopes of founders in these directions during the first decade were not realized because other needs and cravings were ever present and insistent, and relatively few residents had the required training, and, as already indicated, because men and women of means regarded all manifestations of the fine arts other than literature, as luxuries be-

[1] The tour of the Hull House Players to the seacoast, and thence to the Abbey Theater in Dublin, is surely a romantic incident in the development of our dramatic life.

yond reach or appreciation of average men and women. It required some time for settlement workers themselves to become fully conscious that the seeds of an indigenous culture resided within working people and might germinate to remake their life. The years have shown, however, that great reaches of working-class ability run to waste because tenement-bred families are not able to give the intelligent searching scrutiny, the patient and resourceful nursing, to any least manifestation of interest or ability which educated parents and friends undertake as a matter of course.

This fact, as nothing else, demonstrates the need of resident representatives of each of the arts in every neighborhood, and the establishment of a degree of local interest in beauty that will cause its manifestations to be understood, honored, and conserved. An encouraging sign of the times to many settlement residents is the fact that public and private institutions and societies organized to protect and develop the finer interests of the community are reaching down into the inexhaustible resource of the common people for strength and justification. Those who believe that art in its various forms is a prime essential of normal existence see in this tendency promise of finer and more worthy production and a gentler private and public life.

CHAPTER XV

NEIGHBORHOOD HUMANITIES

WHEN Emerson said, "I now require this of all pictures, that they domesticate me, not that they dazzle me,"[1] he gave the settlement a motto. For the neighborhood worker is concerned not with curriculum but with actual processes of living. It is of the essence of success in club and class work that leaders kindle and keep burning a backfire of sympathetic interest in the homes of members. Even as it brings higher illumination, the settlement strives to keep child and older members of his family in an attitude of mutual understanding, to sustain those loyalties in which alone power of sound appreciation can grow. The group leader, as not merely teacher but family acquaintance, creates in the background some of that reinforcing interest in apparently sublimated pursuits which for well-conditioned children and young people goes without saying as part of the home and neighborhood atmosphere.

Acquaintance with fathers, mothers, older brothers and sisters of club members brings to light in every neighborhood a small number of men and women distinguished by delight in sensuous beauty, by delicacy of personal sentiment or serenity of moral judgment. Some of these have seen better days and cling so far as possible to former personal standards. Some of them look upon their presence in the neighborhood as a tragedy. Even those who try to make the best of it are frequently lonely and sometimes heartsick. To be sought out and brought within a circle of neighborly acquaintance with a few cultivated people gives members of this group renewed draughts of confidence and inspiration.

The club and class scheme, as the settlement grows in years and experience, is refined to meet ever more accurately gauged local desires and powers. The program for children starts with the es-

[1] Emerson, R. W.: Essays. Boston, James Munroe and Co., 1841. Essay on Art.

tablishment of proper physical and mental habits. Boys and girls suffering from various phobias are interpreted to themselves and shown the source of their errors. Overweening self-confidence and conceit is dealt with so as not to injure basic momentum toward accomplishment. The too diffident individual is nursed through a series of simple challenges until sense for achievement begins to be established. Bad habits of thought are disclosed and interest of the sufferer obtained in overcoming them. Emotions are disciplined by providing exercise within the great middle range between hate and love.

This kind of instruction obviously cannot be given formally. Most of it goes on as part of the actual interplay of association. The sterling sense for atmosphere causes children and young people to criticize, observe, and copy the dress, manners, accent, formulas of friendliness, and courteous helpfulness of those whom they respect. Hitherto unperceived leanings, hopes, and powers awaken through the mere assumption of forms of conduct and come to a true inner response. Residents and leaders make the comment on this or that element of conduct as situations arise in clubs, classes, and rehearsals, during visits in the home, and most important of all, at camp. Certain men and women become most expert in this sort of educational case work, and their skill is a community resource.

The resident group reviews almost month by month the fundamental needs of childhood, youth, and maturity, the extent to which they are being met through existing agencies, old-line and newly established, weak places in local organization for fulfilment of life; it endeavors to determine, after consideration and advice, the kind of unconventional educational process fitted to develop the desired qualities of hand, mind, or morals in the particular class or nationality or age-group with which it works. Leadership and help are sought for any discernible stirring of interest however slight. An ever changing variety of new enterprises are started for the purpose of discovering powers unperceived either by people or residents. Professionals or skilled amateurs take the chance of garnering from the neighborhood, or of creating by force of importunity a following of even a few children or young people interested in their specialties. Room is found for the keen-minded person capable of being foremost in a half-dozen groups, and, by

contrast, for the dormant-minded child or adult who can barely keep his footing in one. Opportunity is afforded each individual to lead in that department of activity wherein he can stimulate his fellows, and to be led in those wherein he needs guidance. Small undertakings are multiplied and the appointment of innumerable committees fostered in order to provide play for the deep-seated desire to direct and lead, as well as to obey. A distinctive suggestion of responsible neighborhood participation is imparted to all activities, which in turn leads to dissemination of the settlement's message with authority but in the vernacular.

The gathering of the rising momentum of a variety of finer activities into an inclusive guild form has an immediate and continuous communal effect. The music school, crafts guild, home-making center, children's museum, and neighborhood theater give to the settlement's modest artistic leads a degree of breadth and dignity. A cause is created of which each individual member is in some sense responsible exponent, defender, promoter. The system of ideas which goes with each pursuit begins to be compared with that of kindred ones. Misinterpretation which the fine-minded have to endure from those of a coarser fiber is more easily borne. It even becomes possible to bring scoffers to the bar of public opinion. Hitherto aimless or lonely men and women discover that they have interests in common. Talented children and young people come to have local fame.[1] Friends and neighbors inquire into the why and wherefore of skill and excellence, and in turn become partisans and advocates. As the circle of those who know about such resources grows, the community itself becomes more watchful for the appearance of ability, increasingly able to direct it, insistent that it shall not be lost. In due time every pursuit on the settlement schedule begins to have its established devotees. The more elementary, as well as more selective interests, regularly carry their distinctions

[1] The cultural interests of the well-to-do are kept vital only at a great expenditure of time and resource. Thus the man or woman with a leaning toward art finds his interest constantly renewed and stimulated by important periodicals in half a dozen languages, by a constant succession of monographs, by the permanent and loan collections in museums, exhibitions arranged by clubs and societies, a constantly changing series of exhibitions at the various dealers, auction catalogues, lectures of visiting specialists, membership in societies, comparison of notes with friends, and by the personal gossip about artists and craftsmen. In working-class localities many of these sources of stimulation are beyond the knowledge and reach of the people.

and gather their loyalties. Passage across lines of age, sex, class, and income, on the higher avenues of intercommunication, becomes more customary. Selected groups are brought into a quite new kind of relation with individuals and institutions holding the general scene of the city as a whole. Accomplished leadership from without, and the occasional presence of high authority, serve to give the local scheme a recognized place in the city's higher life, while introducing wage-earners to cultural agencies upon which future progress must so largely depend.

Parallel with its work of creating organs for the expression of cultural instincts, residents set out to arouse and cultivate the interest of local citizens in neighborhood traditions and life. The settlement periodical affords dignified proof of the range of local organized activities. Confined at first to indoor happenings connected with house programs, the little paper begins to reach out into the neighborhood for its news and readers. Young people interested in writing are spurred to produce copy worthy to be printed; presswork is often performed by the printing class.

Observances of holidays, anniversaries, reunions of old and new neighbors, balls which serve as ranking occasions of their kind, celebrations of Christmas and New Year's, patriotic demonstrations, pageants, fairs, and banquets are important means of giving expression to neighborhood and district motives and desires. There is a widely growing tendency to direct chorus singing, sewing, dancing, and other forms of group work which go on within the settlement so that they may culminate in spring and summer festivals out of doors.

Inter-club relations open up a further stage in the development of collective instincts. The training which natural groups composing the settlement system of organization secure through their meetings and activities fits them for intensive rather than for extensive action. The club easily becomes self-centered or even selfish. The congress of clubs, with its council composed of elected representatives from each association, affords training in the technique of representative action.[1]

[1] The first councils were composed of clubs of older young people, and the group dealt largely with problems of order. The athletic council enlarged the motive by raising money, organizing meets, and treating with other societies and institutions. Once the method of federation had demonstrated its power to increase the satisfac-

The club council settles questions such as size of clubs, use of rooms, amount of rent and terms of payment, procedure under which a member of one group may resign and join another, discipline of clubs, and disputes between a member and his group or a club member and the settlement. Many councils exercise general supervision over associations whose members are not old enough to be represented. Some legislate on the required intellectual work of clubs, and it is always valuable to have members go through the effort to raise educational standards even though this can be brought about only in the reinforcing atmosphere of the settlement. Gradually a public opinion is created which reacts on lax groups and automatically creates a higher standard to which new clubs conform as a matter of course.[1]

Successful club councils come to have genuine interest and concern in the settlement as a neighborhood center. Committees assume charge of departments such as the roof garden, raise money for summer work, organize inter-club and inter-settlement dances, plays, and contests; and with increasing keenness the council measures its success in such enterprise in terms of neighborhood support and approval.[2]

In not a few crowded city neighborhoods the introduction of just

tion of club life, it began to be applied to the chief divisions of age and sex among settlement clubs. Many houses now federate small, junior and senior boys', girls', and women's clubs.

Membership of the council generally consists of head resident, director of club work, and one or more representatives chosen from the membership of each eligible club. Representation from the settlement staff varies according to the powers granted the council, and ranges from headworker alone to the whole body of residents and part of the board of trustees. In some settlements the number of representatives is governed by the size of the club. Councillors are elected by the club, although the president or another officer sometimes serves ex-officio.

[1] The limited success of some councils has been due to the fact that they have been badly managed, or that too much control has been given at the start. In the last analysis, questions of democracy are questions of business, and it is important that young people should learn that voting power must be in some proportion to financial investment and capacity to assume responsibility over considerable periods of time.

[2] The gymnasium association with its council provides a good example of practical training for democracy. Through its work the bond between enthusiasts for a special interest is strengthened, and a method afforded for the expression of public opinion in a field within the pointed experience of the constituency. Funds needed to carry on the work of the gymnasium are raised more easily than can be done for any other cause. Respect for success, willingness to be governed by tried and proved leaders, training in the responsibilities of financial management, are among important by-products of the athletic council.

this measure of new life force is producing results of relative distinction. Even the much handicapped city community, conscious of itself and devoted to its institutions, under leadership is able to develop a range of stimulating acquaintance and of cultural interests broader than those of many a listless better-to-do population group. The settlement characteristically appeals in one direction or another to a variety of personal tastes and tendencies. Abilities of those who can offer what is beautiful and good have some measure of appropriate opportunity. The habit of success in carrying through praiseworthy things is patiently imparted, and a general accredited sense of values gives some measure of elation and grace to a hampered round of existence.

All these values grow and multiply, especially as time is measured by decades. Great gaps, of course, are left by the impossibility of sadly limited resources to surround the field and chase it in on every side. There is the necessary gravitation of settlement thought and energy to sporadic but ever-present problems caused by slack, degenerate, or definitely subnormal tendencies. Certain smoulderings of distrust remain, and an occasional outbreak of active prejudice is a thing to be counted on. The old and tried body of support in the neighborhood is constantly being sapped by the removal of enterprising families into better surroundings; while newcomers with a baffling strangeness take their places. Continued wrestling with these difficulties serves to make the settlement all the more of the very texture of things. Its confidence becomes established and habitual as broad plans for lessening the burden of a lagging residuum are formed, as those who have been recalcitrant are at least reminiscently appreciative, as former neighbors who have moved to outlying districts regret the absence of its advantages, as incoming immigrants interpret it to be an authorized expresssion of the higher hospitality, and as a progressional scheme of out-of-school education from infancy up brings about a keener and broader susceptibility to all that the settlement proposes. The arduous discipline through which it comes to maturity but serves to temper and confirm every phase of its illumining purpose.

But what of the inescapable disturbance to educational aspiration from the ever-present effects of disordered industry and political evil? Men and women of the settlements know in truth that

profound change in the physical and psychical environment is required by an advancing order of living. However, they realize equally that no adjustment of work and wages, of food and shelter, of convenience within the home or in the intercommunications of neighborhood or city, will automatically usher in what can come only with a steadily more elevated tone and set of mind and heart. It is under both convictions, and finding them inextricably involved, that residents approach those other neighborhood humanities of the outer and inner life that have to do with livelihood, well-being, citizenship.

In this combination and balance of resolves the settlement holds to the teaching of its great forerunners. It moves, however, in keen contrast with the procedure of some of them who, promisingly yet vainly, set out to embody the conceivable good and beauty of a community in phalansteries apart from the risk and benefit that make the common life. The settlement would discover the lineaments of a model community in a given neighborhood, it may be the most ill-favored and ill-assorted. It seeks not to escape, but to be in some sort the leaven to permeate and transform.

IV

NEXT-DOOR TO LABOR

CHAPTER XVI

THE LABOR CAUSE

THE first residents found organized labor almost with its back to the wall; yet struggling into collective consciousness and beginning to clear the path before it. The relatively few statutes for the protection of factory operatives in force before 1890 had been proposed by trade union leaders and passed by way of grudging concession to the labor vote. These successes and the growing spirit of class consciousness among manual workers, led to the formulation of a labor platform calling for a universal eight-hour day, state protection of women and child employes, and establishment of co-operative associations of consumers.

Between 1885 and 1890, a small group of educated men and women, forerunners of a new type of public-spirited citizenship, set out to become acquainted with the issues between labor and capital and to bring ethical tests to bear upon industry. The newly established American Economic Association included among its reasons for existence the following: "We hold that the conflict of labor and capital has brought into prominence a vast number of social problems, whose solution requires the united efforts, each in its own sphere, of the church, of the state and of science." This sentiment was looked upon at the time as very radical, and called forth serious opposition on the part of some members.[1]

During the eighties a gradual awakening had been going on in regard to the effects of tenement house manufacture on public health and well-being. Situated in the heart of exploited populations,

[1] Haney, L. H.: History of Economic Thought, p. 518. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911. The following dates indicate the growth of interest in political and social science:

Established, 1865, American Association for the Promotion of Social Science, *Journal of Social Science*, p. 1,869; 1886, *Political Science Quarterly, Quarterly Journal of Economics*; 1890, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*; 1892, *Journal of Political Economy*; 1892, *Yale Review*; 1895, *American Journal of Sociology*.

settlements soon become intimately aware that the worst charges against tenement workshops were not overstated. Residents and nurses not uncommonly found in tenement homes, men, women, or children suffering from measles, diphtheria, tuberculosis, engaged in stitching garments or preparing edibles for sale. Carlyle's dictum made early in the nineteenth century that the plague which begins in the lodge proceeds, as though directed by the supreme intelligence itself, to the mansion, was confirmed in our own times. The first impulse of settlement groups was to shout this terrible human cost from the housetops, to invoke all available laws, and to demand further drastic legislative safeguards. Opportunities were sought to tell the well-to-do that a certain type of employer was exploiting the sanctuary of the home, that labor was being paid for at the mean rate of pennies for dozens, that adult men and women able and eager to work were compelled to draw upon the budding vitality of little children.

The trade union suggested itself as the best weapon with which to meet such conditions, and residents of Neighborhood Guild, Hull House, and other early settlements sought to bring about the organization of new locals by distributing literature in homes, on streets, and at factory doors. New and struggling unions were offered the use of the settlement house. Where quarters were ample, more established unions became regular tenants.[1] In a number of instances substantial assistance was rendered in strikes, which were common during this period. Evidence of the violation of housing and labor laws was sought, and actions were instituted against offenders.

Twenty-five years ago cleavage between capital and labor was frequently made additionally irritating by the sententious assertion of a unity of interest belied by facts that would not down. On the other hand, the experience which residents gained in seeking to control the evils of sweating made it clear that a number of representative business men were ready to help eliminate certain of the worst results of competition. The active efforts of trade unionists in promoting possible and practical steps in legislation indicated an important source of power for industrial upbuilding. Might it

[1] The most important instance of such a relation was that of the Central Federated Union of New York, which met for years at University Settlement.

not be possible to bring the better inclined in both groups to unite for the solution of specific difficulties and the fairer ordering of one set of conditions after another in the industrial fabric?

Actual carrying out of this aim was fraught with peculiar risk to the mediating purpose of settlements. Some trade union leaders considered it almost a matter of professional honor to be bitter and antagonistic toward all employers. Certain employers were no less pronounced in their scorn and hatred for "walking delegates." Despite discouragement and rebuffs, representative business and professional men and women were gathered into circles to study labor problems, and trade union leaders asked to present their side of the case and to participate in discussion. Almost for the first time employers and representatives of organized labor met in mutual respect and tolerance under a roof where there were no ultimate rights but those of humanity.

As a result of this crossing of lines, in several cities substantial modifications of opinion and definite impulses in the direction of a better relation between employers and wage-earners were set in motion. Influential men of affairs came to understand how working people felt about the way modern industry is conducted; and labor leaders saw that there were some members of the employing group with whom they could enter into frank and full discussion of controversial issues.

The exceptional acquaintance of residents with working-class standards of living, and their known convictions about the right to organize, caused them to be drawn upon by employers and employes alike as arbiters in industrial conflicts. Amid the intense complications of the situation in Chicago Miss Addams served many times upon provisional arbitration committees, and Professor Taylor, in connection with far-reaching and ominous industrial disturbances, has repeatedly been drafted as impartial third member.

The knowledge which residents obtained through such service convinced them that an important cause of industrial disaffection lies in an obvious lack of that fellow-feeling between workmen and administrators of industry which the settlement inspires between residents and neighbors. The cause which actually precipitated a strike was often discovered to reside in the sense of personal humiliation and irritation created by overbearing foremen; in systems

of petty and nagging fines, exactions, and exceptions impossible to be borne by any spirited person; in elimination of human considerations. It was unthinkable that where millions were being spent in seeking to understand and, through advertising, to reach the moving impulses of consumers, such gross and wasteful carelessness could exist in drawing upon the vital response of producers. A spirit not essentially different from that which dictated the retort of an earlier day, "the public be damned," lingered fully two decades in the relation of employing class toward organized handworkers.

It seemed to residents that many industrial difficulties might be cleared up at considerable saving of time and temper provided there were some easily available machinery for instituting negotiations. During the eighties several states passed acts which made it possible for industrial disputants, if so disposed, to request the commonwealth to appoint arbitrators. Early in the following decade it was urged that permanent boards of arbitration be established and empowered to offer their services. In several states settlement representatives were among the eager and active advocates whose efforts secured the creation of such permanent boards.

The settlement was, however, deeply concerned to anticipate and prevent industrial conflicts by reaching sources of difficulty. One of its important purposes in bringing together representatives of capital and labor in informal ways was that there might be an increasing number of men on both sides who had established personal relations with one another, and who therefore could enter quickly into conference in the early stages of trouble.

The last decade of the nineteenth century, with its exceptionally depressed conditions, was marked by a great degree of scattered unrest. Many types of doctrinaire scheme, both native and foreign, for social reorganization, were represented in working-class localities.[1] Exponents of these various economic faiths naturally disclosed themselves among the members of clubs and classes. The dogma in which these young people were grounded, as any dogma does, gave them a sense of intellectual orientation, stimulated them

[1] Nationalism, single tax, populism, Coxeyism, philosophical anarchy, socialism, and religious cults too numerous even to mention, were included in these schemes. Socialism was the most important, both in intellectual importance and number of adherents.

to read history and economics, made them facile in discussion, and helped to create a ferment of ideas.[1]

Leading local advocates of this or that cause, on their part, were quick to point out inconsistencies of motive and practice in what was to them a niggling approach to the problem of reorganizing society. However much one might disagree with a proposed cure, it was impossible not to be affected by the crude but pungent intelligence with which certain critics who had experienced them set forth the evils of industrialism. Residents were driven to examine patiently and carefully the general motives and programs of various types of socialism and philosophic anarchy, as well to meet the constant questioning in their own breasts as to reply to propagandists.

Their own heartburnings and uncertainties disposed the settlement personnel to be tolerant of all who were honest in their desire to probe underlying causes of suffering and unrest. From any point of view it seemed wiser to encourage expression of opinion, with the chances of its modification through continuous presentation and at least partly sympathetic reply, than to see extremists driven by ill-considered attempts at repression into underground and wholly irresponsible propaganda. During the nineties a number of settlements in large cities organized occasional public meetings with an opportunity for free discussion.

Conditions in Chicago demanded more thoroughgoing treatment.[2] In the spring of 1890 residents of Hull House organized the Working People's Social Science Club, which met weekly to listen to an address at the close of which there was opportunity for discussion; in 1894 Chicago Commons opened its "free floor."

[1] Kingsbury, Mary (Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch): Socialism as an Educative and Social Force on the East Side. Publication of the Christian Social Union, No. 49, New York, 1898.

[2] In Boston, New York, and smaller cities there were sufficient opportunities for free speech so that radicals had fair opportunity for presenting their views. Chicago, burdened with industrial and sanitary problems so extreme that they could hardly help creating anarchists and socialists, was not so fortunate. The riot of May, 1886, in the Haymarket left citizens nervous and inclined to be intolerant of the desire of the more radical elements for public utterance. Protest by labor against the conditions of work and life were passed over with a demand by the public for better police protection. As a result, a proportion of the people smarted under a sense of high-handed repression. See Addams, Jane: Twenty Years at Hull House, pp. 177–79.

The free floor was the best possible outlet for expression of disappointment and economic hardship, especially in immigrant districts where people had no organization or papers through which to voice their feelings. The mere chagrin of oversanguine newcomers was appreciated in its true quality. Doctrinaires came to see that extreme proposals were frowned upon by working people. Open-minded adherents of real programs found that there were educated American men and women who always respected and often agreed with them.

When meetings passed clearly beyond this phase of genuine and immediate service, as they did shortly after the opening of the new century, and were systematically dominated by rigidly opinionated and semi-professional propagandists from all over the city, they were discontinued. But it is indicative of settlement freedom and flexibility that for a full decade in a number of city communities almost the only organizations which stood consistently for free speech, and, as long as there was no other way, themselves provided a platform where an unpopular cause might have responsible expression, were a few struggling neighborhood houses.[1]

The settlement mind was deeply scored during the middle of the nineties by successive winters of widespread unemployment. It seemed to many residents, compelled during these cruel years to be almost impotent observers of actual hunger and undernourishment suffered by capable adults and promising children, bitter disappointment of youth smarting under the failure of cherished hopes of education and advancement, deep personal humiliation of heads of families anxious to work yet compelled to live on the wages of wife and children or on charity, that the moral order itself had been found wanting. The depression of 1893–1897 was the settlement's baptism of fire. Any lurking element of sentimentality, of superficiality, of mere palliation, was burned away. Those who came through these four years were convinced of the crude and vast insufficiency of the old individualism whose sanctions had been so deeply wrought into all that was American. The right to work had become to them the corollary of the right to live. The immediate

[1] The forums which have of recent years been established in so many cities appeal to a more general constituency. The speaker in each case is selected by the management of the forum. Discussion from the floor is usually not permitted, although each person may ask one or two questions.

issue was whether the well-to-do would remain smugly satisfied with their advantages, choosing to be without cognizance of disabilities under which working people existed, or whether they would respond, broadly and generously through both voluntary and public action, to the need for better working conditions, more accurate adjustment between wages and a proper scale of living, more wholesome home and community environment, and more satisfactory provision for the normal amenities of life.

To a small group of residents, in the end, there appeared no possibility of amelioration short of the administration of industry by the state in the interest of all citizens. These withdrew to devote themselves to the propaganda of socialism.[1]

The main settlement contingent, holding long-range hopes and postulates of their own as to a better order of society, saw it as a duty and an opportunity to exercise the "passion of patience." Members felt that the industrial situation called for specific object lessons in right relations; for a demonstration, step by step without flaw or gap, made cumulative by years, of the desirability and even necessity of devoting to the human factor in production the same intensity of thought and purpose that was being put into invention, finance, and salesmanship.

These various forms of expression and effort placed residents among the most prominent supporters from without of the general principles of trade unionism and of generous tolerance toward their application. They have brought whole groups of thoughtful people not involved in either side of the labor conflict to see that the organization of workers is inevitably bound up with a highly organized system of manufacturing, trade, and finance. Such relations, however, do not imply on the part of all settlements, or indeed of any one of them, wholesale commitment to trade union policy and procedure. While a few individual residents have cast in their lot

[1] Among these may be mentioned Robert Hunter, J. G. Phelps-Stokes, and William English Walling. Robert Hunter was first a charity organization agent in the Hull House neighborhood. He became a resident at Hull House, and later head resident at University Settlement in New York. His book, Poverty, was an important contribution in the child labor movement.

J. G. Phelps-Stokes, an early volunteer at University Settlement in the nineties, developed a social philosophy which he called Omniism. In 1905 he helped found the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and in 1907 became its president.

The proposals and activities of this group have shown a decidedly more practical side than is usual among party and doctrinaire socialists.

with the full tradition of organized labor, the great body of workers have hardly been more than sympathetic onlookers. The attitude of representative settlements has been one of practical approval and positive co-operation on general principles, while holding and expressing definite convictions as to the right and just standards of trade union leadership and administration. No one has, on occasion, more strongly and clearly pointed out the faults of organized labor than Professor Taylor. In fact, every settlement person who makes it a practice to co-operate with trade union leaders expects to have a continuous series of friendly differences with them.

The spread of broader and more human conceptions about the rights, duties, and aspirations of labor, in which settlements directly and indirectly have had so real a part, together with the steady growth of trade unionism during the past twenty-five years, have eliminated the need of the kind of moral intervention during strikes which settlements for nearly two decades provided. The main body of the labor movement, in consequence of its phenomenal increase of power since the entrance in 1917 of the United States into the war, is today strong and self-confident beyond its dreams of the early nineties.

Without losing contact with it, settlements have turned rather to the weak in the struggle. The fine stroke of guiding immigrant garment workers of New York into a system of peaceful adjudication with employers, themselves hardly more than immigrants, continued through a period of years, owed much to a group of settlement representatives. The sympathetic attitude of the settlement has not been stretched to include the highly individualistic form represented by the Industrial Workers of the World; on occasion their effort has been a redoubled one in the direction of securing, amid the concern aroused by syndicalist methods, a community of interest between employers and responsible trade unions. Above all, in season, out of season, through good and ill report, settlements seek to enforce by every means in their power the lesson that employers, workmen, and public are necessarily and inextricably engaged with one another; that each has obligations partly obvious, partly subtle, to the others, which the forces of history will, if need be, compel them to fulfil.

CHAPTER XVII

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

WAGE-EARNING women, thirty-five years ago, were in a peculiar sense being ground between upper and nether millstone. Employers, finding them ill-informed, unorganized, tractable, felt under no necessity to take thought about their compensation or conditions of work. Trade unionists, increasingly restive under invasion of fields hitherto reserved to men, spent their energies on the fundamental task of protecting the wage scale of heads of families.

The public, on the other hand, was beginning to realize that something was wrong. The pouring of native women and immigrant men into sewing trades, and the competition that ensued between these groups, became a matter of anxiety in some quarters. The rapid exodus of thousands of young girls from the protection of their homes into the irresponsible interchange of store and factory was looked upon by right-minded people with concern. There was a popular impression, happily proved untrue, that the ranks of prostitution were largely recruited from factories; and there came to be a certain stigma upon working girls as a class.

Establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in 1869 under Carroll D. Wright had marked an important step in the progress of public awakening. From 1871 to 1885, nearly all annual reports issued by the bureau included data bearing on the education and employment of young persons, health of working women, and standards of living among factory operatives. The interest of which these reports were both manifestation and cause led to the Massachusetts Factory Act of 1874, which prohibited employment of children under thirteen years and limited the hours that women and children might work to ten daily. Twelve years elapsed before the New York state legislature, urged by the Workingmen's Assembly, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children,

and the New York State Medical Society, passed a similar statute; though it covered only part of the industries in which women and children were employed, carried but meager provision for enforcement, and limited its protection to women under twenty-one.

Establishment of the settlements coincided with the beginnings of trade unionism among women. In 1886 the Knights of Labor appointed a woman on its paid executive staff to investigate conditions under which her own sex were employed. She spoke before gatherings in the eastern half of the country and enlisted the assistance of a number of women of influence who became, during the next decade, valuable allies in the movement for better laws. A year or two later a group from this number formed the New York Working Women's Society. At its first public meeting, held in February, 1888, the society declared its purpose to "found trade organizations . . . and to encourage and assist existing labor organizations, to the end of increasing wages and shortening hours." In 1890 members secured an amendment to the factory act which provided for appointment of female factory inspectors. During the same winter an investigation was made of working conditions in retail stores, and public discussion of findings led in 1890, for the first time, to organized effort on the part of customers to secure improved conditions for employes. In this undertaking representatives of the two infant settlements in the metropolis participated.

The fact that women residents had found a large new field for their powers and were experiencing some of the adventure afforded by vocations out of the home, made them conscious that there was such a thing as economic solidarity among women. They hoped to have a hand in making conditions under which all women shall share in the varied work of the world.

Under this impulse early residents sought acquaintance with women organizers of labor and allied themselves with groups aiming to protect the health and leisure of employed girls. A number tried on their own initiative to organize young women of the neighborhood. Practically all houses set out to secure the enforcement of labor laws, including Sunday closing. Detailed inquiries were made about the actual working hours, sanitary conditions, and processes said to subject women to special strain or to

show an unduly high rate of sickness, in nearby factories and retail shops. Residents of Hull House sought to measure scientifically the actual bodily and nervous fatigue of factory work. Moral perils which grew out of placing girls and women in close association with men and boys, together with dangers met in going to and from home and factory, received earnest consideration. Certain women residents began to study the history of their sex in industry and the evolution of protective legislation. The concrete experience of European countries was gathered and disseminated through addresses, newspaper reports and, not less effectively, through conversations with many influential persons.

The practical phase of this interest began in 1892, when Mrs. Florence Kelley suggested to the Illinois Bureau of Labor, through its chief, the need of investigating the sweated industries.[1] She was asked to direct the inquiry authorized as a result of her request. The campaign of publicity which followed the presentation of her report to the legislature enabled residents of Hull House, with the help of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, to secure the passage in July, 1893, of the first comprehensive Illinois factory act. This law separated homes from shops and limited working hours of women to eight a day.

Mrs. Kelley was appointed factory inspector; Mrs. Alzina P. Stevens, one of the first women to be admitted to the Typographical Union, was made assistant; and Mary E. Kenny,[2] an early neighborhood friend of Hull House, organizer of the Bookbinders' Union, and a forceful lobbyist for the bill, became a deputy. Mrs. Kelley's experience laid the foundation for what has gradually become the unanimous conviction of settlement workers that household manufacture must be abolished; that only by requiring all processes of production to be carried on under conditions which admit of legal regulation and state inspection, will laggard employers conform to standards already accepted by their more enterprising competitors.

The clause in the factory act limiting working hours of girls and

[1] Mrs. Kelley became a resident at Hull House in 1891, and at Henry Street Settlement, New York, in 1899.

[2] Mrs. O'Sullivan, later active in the Boston Women's Trade Union League; now factory inspector in Massachusetts.

women was at once contested in the courts. An eight-hour club was formed, new trade unions established, existing organizations among working women strengthened, and public support obtained. In March, 1895, the act was declared unconstitutional; and until the court reversed itself in 1911 Illinois remained without any restriction on the number of hours women might be required to work.

While this agitation against the ill-effects of industrialism was in progress, housewives often retorted, "Servants are scarce, why should girls endure such things?" This question called for direct answer. Settlements were in possession of first-hand and rather exclusive evidence. They found that under city conditions the relation between mistress and maid was fast losing its human quality and approximating that which had already become fixed between master and man in industry. While working women sought the spirit of democracy, prosperous families were adopting a standard of life more and more informed, albeit often unconsciously, by autocracy and patronage. From the point of view of the employed girl, long hours, scant leisure, frequently poor living conditions, loneliness from being always an alien in the family group, imperilled standing among her own friends, lessened chances for romance and marriage, and real moral peril, created a handicap too great to offset any slight increase in income. Factory, store, and office held greater possibilities of personal fulfilment, present and future.

All the more, some settlement women felt that steps should be devised to place domestic service upon a more tolerable basis. Investigation of employment bureaus found in working-class neighborhoods showed that some of these places made a business of catering to vice. It was an anomaly that the one industry which seemed to offer women safe and protected employment in the home should be so beset by danger; that while it had developed an institution apparently on the principle of the labor exchange, this agency in its actual operation was without proper public supervision and a source of peril.[1] In several large cities the organized

[1] Sandford, Mabel W.: Domestic Service from the Point of View of the Intelligence Office. (Study under the direction of the College Settlements Association, 1903–1905.) Kellor, Frances A.: Employment Bureaus for Women. As a result of these studies Miss Kellor organized the work of the Inter-Municipal Committee of Household Research.

action which followed this discovery brought about the licensing of employment bureaus and marked improvement in their administration.

Although the depression of 1893–1897 sapped the strength of trade unions and halted the purposes of those who sought to assist working-class organization, the process of economic and moral readjustment was ultimately hastened. A highly important though hardly foreseen result of the experience of these bitter years was establishment of the principle that the state is not only justified, but under conditions of stress in duty bound to interfere on behalf of less-favored classes. This precedent was of decisive influence in furthering protective legislation for working women and children.

With the return early in the century of normal industrial conditions, interest in trade unionism revived. Settlements here and there now began to offer the use of their rooms to new and struggling unions of working women and took a hand in organizing such groups. Among the most interesting of these unions was Local 183 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of North America, an outgrowth of the Maude Gonne Club of the University of Chicago Settlement. Though it went down in the great strike of 1904, the spirit of its founders lived for half a decade and nourished the determination of leaders among the girls to obtain fair conditions of work.

Many residents during the nineties devoted a substantial amount of time to enlisting well-to-do women more generally in the efforts of working girls to better their conditions. Girls on their part were inclined to be critical of the manners, motives, and spirit of such volunteers; and an important part of the service rendered at some houses consisted in proving that a steadily increasing number of educated women are in sympathy with working-class hopes. The growth here and there of new unions of women during the five years between 1898 and 1903 led to a feeling on the part of outside friends that the cause would gain through creation of a general body of convinced support able to keep the torch of unionism lighted, whatever might be the fortune of particular locals. The formation in 1903 at the instance of William English Walling and

Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, of the Women's Trade Union League,[1] and the establishment during 1904 of branches in Chicago, New York, and Boston was carried out with the hearty assistance of city, state, and national labor organizations. During the formative period in its career officers and members of the executive committee were in large part persons affiliated with settlements.

In addition to organizing trade unions, different branches of the league carry on forms of self-help such as medical assistance, loans, vacation camps, evening recreation, cultural classes, and generous assistance to immigrants.[2] The most striking activity of national organization was the movement which brought about a country-wide study of women and children wage-earners. In 1905 Mary E. McDowell, who had long felt that her representations to the public in behalf of wage-earning women and particularly of girls in the stockyards were hampered for want of authoritative figures, became chairman of a committee to advocate a national survey of women in industry. She invoked the assistance of President Roosevelt, Charles P. Neill, then United States Commissioner of Labor and a former resident of University of Chicago Settlement, the American Federation of Labor, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and settlements throughout the country. In 1907 an act authorizing the investigation was passed. A number of women from different settlements served on the field staff, and from city to city local resident groups furnished valuable suggestion and assistance.[3]

The facts were adequately gathered and were presented without bias. While not a great deal that was new came to light, the main contentions of those in favor of legal protection for wage-earning women and children were confirmed with a degree of positiveness and detail previously unattainable and not to be further questioned. The report has therefore been drawn on freely and fully to support

[1] The league, modeled on a British prototype founded in 1874, was organized at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on November 14, 1903.

[2] A department of the Chicago league organized to care for immigrant women developed into the Chicago Immigrants' Protective League.

[3] United States: Commerce and Labor Department, Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, 19 vols. Washington, D. C., 1910–1913.

legislation for a minimum wage, protection of working children, industrial education, labor exchanges, and industrial insurance. Indeed, a considerable number of laws affecting women and children secured during the second decade found their substantial suggestion and compulsion in data provided by this study.

Formation of the Women's Trade Union League strengthened existing locals and led to organization of new unions. The more intense matching of industrial forces naturally resulted in a series of sporadic strikes and other signs of ferment. It was clear that a period of storm and strain was upon the league, and that capable and devoted leadership must be found for it. By an exceptionally happy stroke its principal promoters, in 1907, enlisted Mrs. Raymond Robins as president.[1] Under her inspiring guidance the league increased rapidly in power and resource. Able leaders from the ranks were discovered and trained. Since 1910, therefore, settlement representatives have gradually withdrawn from active participation and have served rather as auxiliaries ready to be called on in periods of stress. During the great garment strikes in New York (1909), Philadelphia (1910), and Chicago (1910–1911), a number of residents and associate workers assisted in arousing public opinion, patrolling streets, bailing girls unjustly arrested, securing fair play in court, raising funds, forming new locals, and serving on boards of arbitration.

The chief ground for confidence in the future is the splendid capacity and spirit of leaders coming directly from the ranks, who have brought to the promotion of their cause not only an immediate knowledge of facts and an interpretation which no one else could supply, but also rare vitality of judgment and the ability to present their findings to the public. The very coming forward of this indigenous initiative, however, only serves to open out a broader and longer perspective within which educated women must continue to render service to the cause of their employed sisters. There is all the more need for the scientific training and insight possessed by such women as Florence Kelley, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Dr. Caroline Hedger, Josephine Goldmark, for the large gifts of human

[1] Mr. and Mrs. Robins continued for some years to live in the West Side of Chicago not far from the scene of Mr. Robins' former work as head of Northwestern University Settlement.

vision of Mary E. McDowell, and for the promise illustrated in the brief but shining career of Carola Woerishoffer.[1]

Every step in the protection of women industrial employes is naturally associated with consideration for children thrown upon the labor market. It is morally revolting and economically futile to wear out the powers of potential mothers; and equally abhorrent to cut off the promise of solid return which coming grown men and women will be able to make to the community, for the sake of a meager fraction of service absorbed out of the sapling measure of their capacity. Early residents quickly recognized that some form of barrier, however makeshift, must be devised to protect boys and girls just leaving school. Appeal to public authority, such as that taken in the case of women factory employes, was a natural step even under the old conception of governmental functions.

Down to the early nineties, child labor laws were, in the main, a tissue of compromises. First-hand contact with the entire range of child life gave residents knowledge about the way factory code and compulsory education laws were affecting children, family, school, and neighborhood. Where this general background was reinforced by detailed acquaintance with the local administration of child labor laws, and by thoroughgoing knowledge of statutes and procedure in other states and nations, as was the case in several instances, a wholly new stage for this country in the treatment of the problem of the employed child was ushered in.[2]

The phase of child labor which most insistently thrust itself before the first residents was that of the street trades. For a third of a century newsboys, bootblacks, and messengers, sole support of widowed mothers with large families of smaller children, were among the most thrilling stock themes of popular story-tellers. Verbal tradition was strengthened by the canvases of J. G. Brown and his imitators, whose healthy and superficially untidy street

[1] Carola Woerishoffer, Her Life and Work, published by the class of 1907 of Bryn Mawr College, 1912.

[2] Comparison of such a piece of writing as Mrs. Kelley's and Mrs. Stevens' "Wage-Earning Children," published in Hull House Maps and Papers (1895), with the pitiably meager dozen of titles listed in the "Bibliography of Child Labor in the United States," appended to their article, shows how little had been accomplished toward a comprehensive understanding of the relation of children to industry. No one questions the priority of Mrs. Kelley among inspired champions of childhood in the United States.

arabs wore their rags with the grace of modern troubadours. In theory these children were putting on moral muscle. Through sharing the burdens of their unfortunate elders, they were presumed to be acquiring in exceptional measure those habits of early rising, initiative, faithfulness, and capacity for sustained effort which were the heralded bases of the nation's great fortunes. To observers who lived continuously amid realities, the streets were seen to be a forcing bed for theft, gambling, brutality, and degeneracy from which few of their denizens escaped wholly unscathed.

The world of street labor was paralleled by a realm of home labor. School children and others of tenderer age often worked far into the night pulling out bastings, picking nuts, and making artificial flowers, to name only a few occupations. Early residents were shocked to discover the number of parents who regarded offspring as potential sources of revenue to be realized upon as quickly as the community would permit, and ready to perjure themselves as often as necessary to secure even a small increase in family income. Burden of proof as to working age, it became clear, must be upon parent as well as employer.

During the nineties the chief energy of settlements went into securing legislation which should actualize moral sentiment in favor of compulsory education through the thirteenth year. Residents of Hull House had included a child labor clause in the Illinois Factory Act of 1893 which forbade employment of children under fourteen years of age in manufacture, required an age certificate for all under sixteen, and limited the hours of women and children to eight.[1] By an amendment the legislature of 1897 brought commercial establishments within the provision. In 1903 a statute restricted the working day of children under sixteen to eight hours and forbade their employment after seven o'clock in the evening.

Early child labor provisions, as a rule, excepted from their protection the children of widowed or dependent elders. Settlement scrutiny brought to light, in case after case, the fact that the number of such men and women was small, while any loophole in the law was taken advantage of by careless, shiftless, or avaricious

[1] In 1890 the city of Chicago passed an ordinance prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age. In 1891 the legislature raised the age to thirteen, but excepted children of dependent parents.

adults. Residents of Hull House had written into the Illinois act of 1897 a clause abolishing this exemption. Unfortunately the statute was drawn in such a way that it could not be enforced; and it was not until 1913 that a workable act was obtained. Miss Addams then asked that all cases of distress resulting from its enforcement be reported to her. Four months later only eight families throughout the entire state had been discovered in which withdrawal of a child from industry involved even a suspicion of hardship; and these cases were met by money scholarships. Thus was one of the hoariest lies through which children had long been robbed of their right to education and bound to poverty, forever laid.

In New York, first-hand experience with the devices by which parents, guardians, employers, lawyers of a sort, and professional sharpers contrive to make gain of working powers of small children gradually urged settlements to comprehensive and practicable child labor statutes. When the legislature, in 1895, appointed a committee to study the work of women and children in mercantile establishments, various residents were ready with detailed knowledge of conditions existing in small stores of the East Side and of the effect of employment in department stores on the lives of working girls. The labor of this committee led in 1896 to a law extending the main provisions of the factory act to mercantile employment.

In the spring of 1902 the settlements organized a child labor committee, of which Robert Hunter, then headworker of University Settlement, was chairman.[1] Documentary evidence of the age of children under sixteen, reduction of hours to nine a day without exception, regulation of street trades, co-ordination of factory and compulsory education laws so that children under fourteen might be required to attend school during the entire term and those between fourteen and sixteen to attend school if not employed, were asked for. In 1903 the legislature passed a statute embodying all these provisions. The New York state child labor legislation thereby became a model for other states and has had a marked influence throughout the country during the intervening years.[2]

[1] As the scope of the work undertaken by the committee grew, it was found advisable to ask assistance of men and women outside settlement ranks; before the year ended the committee had become broadly representative of the whole city.

[2] See Appendix, p. 417, Note VII.—Settlement Assistance in Legislation.

It is a curious fact that street trades have had to wait longest before receiving attention. This was partly because they could not be reached through existing organizations such as schools and business concerns, and partly because legal classification of newsboys and bootblacks as "merchants" shuts them out from the beneficent provisions of child labor laws. Acting on English legislative experience, a group of Boston people including representatives of settlements obtained a law in 1902 providing that children under ten years of age should not be occupied as newsboys or bootblacks, nor those under twelve as peddlers or messengers. Further enactments provided that children between ten and fourteen years could engage in a gainful occupation only upon application of parent or guardian and the possession of a license countersigned by a teacher and school principal. Administration of this act was shortly placed in charge of the school board, and a superintendent of licensed minors, for some years member of a settlement staff, appointed to attend to its enforcement.

The results of Massachusetts initiative were incorporated by New York settlements into the Child Labor Law of 1903, and in a number of cases municipalities in other states have passed similar regulations. The Newark street trades law of 1904 was enforced from settlement houses.

The loophole offered by home work is doubtless the weakest spot in the present machinery for protection of children from industrial strain. The last state of boys and girls exploited under plea of house as castle may easily be worse, at least so far as health is concerned, than that of juvenile factory employes supervised by state inspectors. The endeavor to correct abuse by licensing home workshops and providing for their regular inspection is on trial in Massachusetts. While the modest degree of supervision secured has by no means eliminated the evil, it has distinctly lessened it. The lowest grade of family finds it difficult if not impossible to secure licenses.

General progress made in one state after another led, in 1904, to organization of the National Child Labor Committee. A number of settlement representatives continued for a season among its officers and executive board. The Federal Child Labor Law of 1916 which, first in one form, then in another, has served to bring all the states up to a high level in the protection of young life from

the burden of industry, was specifically the achievement of this national committee.

An important stage in the effort to make results of settlement experience in local neighborhoods minister to the needs of all children is represented by the Federal Children's Bureau. The plan of a governmental authority charged with the duty of collecting information about all forms of out-of-school experience in child nurture, and of making its results widely available, originated with Miss Wald and Mrs. Kelley. The organization of the National Child Labor Committee made it the logical sponsor for the bill authorizing a Children's Bureau, which was passed by Congress and signed by President Taft in 1912. Julia C. Lathrop, who brought pre-eminent ability and training gained by cumulative public service to her task, was made chief of the bureau.[1] The new department has become a recognized power for the better estate of home and community life throughout the nation.

Three decades of experience show that democratic advance in the strata of population known to settlements waits on establishment of the minimum tax which may be laid by industry on the time and strength of men, women, children, and the unborn; and on the degree of well-being attainable through the average wage. Maintenance of the American standard of living in all its aspects, physical, moral, and associational, despite immigration, greed, and civic carelessness, constitutes one of the chief enterprises of awakened citizenship. A primary step toward this great end is passage of laws to curb the money lust of employers, consumers, and parents as prerequisite toward freeing and directing the more deeply productive powers of youth. Though much has been accomplished, much remains to be done.

[1] Resigned 1921; was succeeded by Grace Abbott, for many years a resident at Hull House.

CHAPTER XVIII

BELOW THE POVERTY LINE

ALTHOUGH early residents came prepared, in the words of Mr. Barnett, "to sup sorrow with the poor," they were far from realizing in advance the variety and poignancy of the claims that want would make upon them. Their acquaintance with the life of poverty had been of the slightest. They were still, in spite of themselves, somewhat under the traditional impression that extreme need, in the land of opportunity, could be only a superficial and casual phenomenon. Coming with an overture to self-sustaining though struggling wage-earners, they were inclined to look upon every one as belonging by choice to the ranks of honest labor.

An attitude so oversanguine carried its own penalty. Almost before they knew what was happening, residents found themselves besieged by various camp-followers of poverty. Tramps, chronic loafers, beggars, cheats, ne'er-do-wells, sought to make gain of the optimism of young reformers. Though disillusioning, such experience was not without compensations. The very pain and disappointment which followed failure of detailed and sympathetic effort indicated forms of human need so deep and thoroughgoing as to demand remedies of a kind not yet created. It was then that settlement adepts began to question whether extreme cases, far from being merely given up in despair, were not a summons to deep and broad community action.

Reaching beyond forms of poverty which are an obvious expression of physical and moral degeneracy, settlements were soon involved in cases of sporadic misery traceable directly to low-grade family life, incapacity to bear responsibility, and shiftlessness. They were frequently impelled to assist far from worthy heads of households in order to safeguard children with whom they had already become friends. Side by side with such instances, how-

ever, neighborly goodwill began to distinguish economic hardship clearly traceable, not to defects of character but to accident, sickness, death, unemployment, unforeseen responsibility, fluctuation of industry. Here came the moving discovery of the neighbor "who will not let them starve"; of the poor helping one another through direct and immediate sharing and through benefit entertainments of various sorts.

Residents were forced to choose between having the settlement itself become a relief-giving center, identified inevitably with those seeking material aid, or of acting through agencies designed for such service. In cities where a charity organization society under one name or another was already at work, common cause was quickly made with it. Where no such agency existed, settlements were compelled to relieve distress, wherever and whenever it appeared, while building up sentiment in the city for the creation of a specialized system. In several cities residents had an important share in bringing about the organization of a co-ordinated and centralized system of relief; and in others staff members have served during long periods on executive boards of charitable agencies.[1]

The working alliance between settlements and local charity organization offices thus early begun continues to be universally and mutually helpful. One or more residents are usually detailed to serve as members of the consulting group, both to contribute the results of local acquaintance and experience, and to increase their own knowledge of undisclosed hard facts. When families known to the staff lapse below self-support, they are referred to the society. Correlatively, cases originating with a relief society are often referred to the settlement, which then seeks to bring its educational resources to bear in sustaining the family in its struggle to win and hold a new level.

While thus avoiding distraction from its educational and com-

[1] The situation in Chicago during the nineties may be taken as typical. Each winter residents had to give a large part of their attention to pressing problems of acute need. Relief funds were raised, and lodging houses, employment bureaus, and other agencies of like nature established. Largely as a result of settlement experience and initiative, the present United Charities was organized, with which settlements have always continued to co-operate.

Herbert H. Jacobs, of University Settlement, Milwaukee, and James O. White, who with Mrs. White directs Union Bethel Settlement in Cincinnati, have for some years maintained working relations directly and indirectly with both public and private agencies for relief.

prehensive purpose, which would be caused by stress of relief-giving, the settlement by no means abrogates its function of first-aid station to which neighbors may come when they fall into trouble. The fact that the resident staff is subject to call twenty-four hours a day has, in most instances, brought about a tacit understanding with local charity conferences under which residents meet emergencies after business hours, and on Sundays and holidays.

Settlement workers acknowledge their indebtedness to the admirable case work technique initiated by charity organization societies. The value of a corpus of experience such as that contained in Mary E. Richmond's volume, Social Diagnosis, can hardly be overestimated.[1] There are, however, certain friendly differences of judgment between the two branches of service. Residents cannot escape the fact that in the view of working people, to be known or even suspected of being an object of charity carries with it a sense of separation from one's circle of acquaintance and a connotation of moral blame. They therefore reserve the privilege of giving material assistance to families with whom they have been long acquainted. Followed with care and restraint, such downright playing the neighbor's part, instead of weakening the fiber of people's self-respect, nearly always elicits unsuspected reserves of purpose.

Settlements almost without exception are opposed to registration of members of their educational and recreational groups in a confidential exchange. The stigma which in the minds of people attaches to such records, and the possible invasion of jealously guarded privacy which such enlistment permits, more than overbalance in the case of those not receiving material relief, the administrative advantages which the registry in general certainly possesses.[2]

Persons who go to live in tenement localities, because they feel the psychological difficulty which men and women of favored groups, unwittingly to themselves, have in judging working people's standards and motives, are likely to believe that sound judgment is only

[1] New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1917.

[2] All the substantial values that might be expected to grow out of complete registration are already secured. Inquiries from responsible agencies about specific families known to the settlement are always answered. Residents on their part consult the confidential exchange about families whose necessities involve detailed case work. Such action automatically records the name of the family.

acquired through participating in neighborhood life. It is easier for a neighbor than for an outsider to achieve the understanding of friendliness, to be more conscious of the individual than of his need, to keep clearly in mind his potential powers and to have faith in his capacity for advance; to see in pain and suffering a reproach and a challenge to helper not less than to helped.

In a few instances residents are attempting to draw upon the good sense of neighbors for diagnosis, plan, and relief. The larger and more resourceful women's clubs set aside sums for local relief. The committee of neighbors associated with Hudson Guild makes itself responsible for quietly rendering first-aid in many phases of acute poverty. It then seeks the co-operation of local agencies in carrying out a timely neighborly plan of assistance.

The helping hand of the friend and neighbor corresponds to the upper end of a spectrum whose dark extreme is commitment to a public charitable institution. Twenty years ago many men and women still believed that authorities of hospitals and infirmaries freely used the contents of a "black bottle" to do away with patients who made trouble or required extra care. The poorhouse represented the uttermost depth of bodily hardship and spiritual degradation reserved for this world. The intensity and universality of this recoil gave it a peculiar hold upon the settlement mind. Utterly unbelievable were the things set forth about the "charities" by those who claimed to be speaking from experience. Convinced repetition and the strength of local tradition made it clearly a duty to investigate. A disturbing residuum of fact was uncovered. A kind of responsible criticism of public institutions was undertaken from some of the settlements, which, as it spread, has helped to bring about a more considerate type of control.

The able services of Miss Lathrop in establishing the bitter facts and indicating the outlines of better policy have been of national importance. Shortly after joining Hull House in 1889, she became a county visitor for the outdoor relief section of the department of charities, and undertook to inquire thoroughly into all applications within a radius of ten blocks of the settlement. As a result of exceptional acquaintance which she came to have with the round of life among the poor, in 1893 she was appointed to the State Board of Charities. Contrary to all precedent, Miss Lathrop took

with serious eagerness a rule that county poorhouses should be visited by a board member at least once a year, and for two years gave a considerable part of her time to inspecting these establishments all over the state. She became not only the best informed person in Illinois on conditions in public institutions, but the one individual capable of viewing their administration as well from the standpoint of inmates as from that of officials.

Largely as the result of Miss Lathrop's influence, a law was obtained bringing under civil service those employed in administering public charities; more liberal provision was made for state care of defectives; improvements in the sanitary and living conditions of many county poorhouses and jails and various reforms in methods of nursing dependents in public hospitals were instituted; a state colony for epileptics was established.

In Chicago the opportunity for thoroughgoing readjustment in public charitable institutions finally appeared in 1901 as a result of an unusually serious exposé at Dunning, a combined poor farm and insane asylum. Miss Lathrop pledged the leading newspapers to support a genuine, instead of the usual whitewashing, investigation, and secured the appointment of a commission of capable citizens. This committee, with the assistance of an aroused public opinion, induced the city to vote the sum of $500,000 to move the institution to new quarters where real farming could be done, and to establish it upon a modern sanitary, medical, and humane basis.

While the work of Miss Lathrop is unique, settlement residents in large cities have had an important part in righting injustice, in creating that wave of sympathy which demands skilled and kindly hospital care for the critically sick and mentally diseased, and in urging that the last days of the worthy aged be guaranteed in some measure against the type of poorhouse which is more than half correctional institution.[1] Not the least valuable outcome of such criticism has been the demonstration that degradation of public charitable institutions is in peculiar measure a result of the civic insufficiency of those strata of society which are the most likely to provide inmates.

The two broad divisions of dependency were very strongly emphasized during the lean years from 1893 to 1897, and again

[1] See Addams, Jane: Twenty Years at Hull House, pp. 154 ff., and 165 ff.

in 1900, 1907, and 1914. An important result of the first of these experiences was that the unemployed were forever differentiated for purposes of treatment from other dependent types. Residents during the nineties illustrated the value of a local foothold as a means of finding out both the extent of unemployment and its resulting distress, and of applying remedies. Understatement and overstatement were corrected on the basis of first-hand knowledge. Young business men were brought together to study the situation. Funds for relief were secured and the needs of ordinarily self-sufficient families reached partly through trade unions and other working-class organizations. Committees were organized to devise temporary forms of industry. Men were set to clean streets and to carry on other public and semi-public work, while women were employed in improvised workrooms.

Experience revealed in sharp outline the economic menace of the presence of vagrants who work only when they have no other recourse. American settlements were able to second and reinforce the brilliant generalization of Charles Booth that abnormally low wages and excessive unemployment, which bear so hard on the laborer with a family, are in important measure chargeable to the presence of large numbers of unencumbered men.[1] Residents at South End House presented their conclusions before a legislative board appointed in 1894 to investigate unemployment. In combination with other citizens a law was secured requiring towns which lodge and feed wayfarers to apply a work test. For some years tramps have found it increasingly difficult to approach large cities in Massachusetts, which are by a happy chance at a distance from other state lines, without facing the disagreeable necessity of working.

An important result of dealing thus broadly with the tramp is that it leaves more energy and resource for the unmistakable victims of an ill-adjusted order of things. The most appealing of such types is the aged who treasure freedom and self-respect often in the face of serious hardship and suffering, holding fast to any occupation which affords protection against the hated approach of pauperism. A few houses have carried on workrooms where a small number of

[1] Labor and Life of the People in London, Vol. I, East London, p. 154. London, Williams and Norgate, 1889.

such old people are employed at simple tasks. In 1914 the Greenwich House Committee on Investigation directed a study into old age poverty in the neighborhood, the first considerable effort in this country to analyze types of aged poor in a metropolitan district and ways by which they manage to exist.[1] The results indicate in convincing terms the need of a program of discriminating care for resourceless old people who should not be asked to go to the present type of almshouse.

All working-class localities include a remnant of men and women who, because of low-grade mentality, constitutional restlessness, and lack of manual skill find it difficult if not impossible to hold steady work. The largest portion of this group is composed of widows whose skill of hand is so rudimentary that they must perforce labor at coarse kinds of housework. Certain among these are not physically strong enough to do such work. A few houses carry on formal employment bureaus and a number have maintained workshops for making and repairing clothing, where those who cannot produce enough to maintain themselves are yet able in some degree to be useful.

Infancy deprived of its proper measure of protection and support constituted one of the earliest challenges to settlements. Twenty-five years ago it seemed not difficult to reason that a mother who for any cause could not give proper care to her child should surrender it to others. The day nursery embodied a partial recognition of the irrefutable claim of mother upon child and of child upon mother; and on account of the element of human conservation in its plan, this agency began to take its place as part of the scheme of not a few settlements. Here it develops a certain distinctive quality. Children between three and seven years from nursery families are enlisted in play schools, after-school recreation of older brothers and sisters is supervised, and opportunities are found for assisting the mother under her double burden.[2]

[1] Nassau, Mabel L.: Old Age Poverty in Greenwich Village. New York, F. H. Revell Co., 1915.

[2] In case of sickness in families, or in crises where it seems desirable that children be removed from excitement or danger, the day nursery receives them. One or two settlements have tried the doubtful experiment of providing care for babies during short periods in which seasonal occupations engage mothers of the neighborhood. One settlement induced a responsible woman to open her home to children of such mothers. In 1920, 66 settlements carried on day nurseries as part of their work. Some,

Experience not alone with nursery infants but with older boys and girls in these families gradually drove home to settlement visitors the fact that one parent cannot fulfil the functions of two. Children of wage-earning mothers absent all day from home, exhausted by hard labor, and pitiably recompensed were so evidently more than half orphaned, in terms of food, clothing, and maternal care, that it was questionable whether the full orphan had not a better chance. Out of this new realization settlements began to suggest that mothers without breadwinners should in some way be given support to carry on the supreme function of nurturing their children. Money was solicited to pay weekly allowances, the results of which demonstrated the inherent common sense and economy of this plan. The tendency in favor of public allowances to widows with children which began in 1911 and spread with great rapidity after 1913, received from the beginning the strong reinforcement of all representative settlement workers.[1]

The distress which grew out of the panic of 1893 was in some respects incomprehensible enough to be accepted with that numbed and unthinking fatalism which is reserved for "visitations of God." No such attitude was possible toward unemployment, accident, sickness, and premature death which with ghastly regularity took toll year by year from the industrial rank and file. Various efforts were made to help maimed of limb, nervous wrecks whose reserves of vitality had been sapped by the forced pace of industry, middle-aged misfits patterned into a bodily and mental rigidity through years of overspecialized work, and those half-sick from fear that caprice of foreman or employer might deprive them of employment and destroy a long toiled for and barely achieved standard of living. Large numbers of neighbors were found carrying burdens greater than human nature should be called upon to bear. It was impossible to avoid the conclusion that poverty was being manufactured before one's eyes.

The injustice of asking working people to sustain the full physical and economic cost of industrial accident sharply outlined itself.

however, have surrendered this service to special agencies or look after children in other ways.

[1] Under the leadership of William Hard, formerly head of Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago.

Here and there residents joined hands with trade unionists and public-spirited citizens in varied efforts to reduce such risks and to secure adequate and immediate money recompense. Graham Taylor served on two Illinois commissions, one of which secured a law requiring the installation of protective devices on dangerous machinery, and the other a statute enforcing more careful working procedure in mines. It was not, however, until 1910 that the first legislative commissions on compensation were appointed, though in 1911 ten states passed compensation laws. The principle of assessing the burden of cost jointly upon employer, workman, and consumer is now established, and constitutes one of the soundest and most significant precedents in the progress of democracy.[1]

The process by which workmen's compensation laws were secured is almost as suggestive as the result. For the first time a piece of radical industrial legislation was projected and agreed to in advance by employers, trade union leaders, and representatives of the general public. This method settlements had prefigured. The attitude and atmosphere which they had created were an influence toward making such relations possible; many who throughout the country strove most earnestly toward mutual agreement in framing the several bills had been in close relations with settlements.

Expansion of the principle of workmen's compensation to include industrial diseases found clear and early advocacy among certain residents who combined technical knowledge with human perspective. Mrs. Kelley, in her capacity of factory inspector in Illinois had secured the examination by physicians of 135 children under fourteen years working in factories. The findings showed appalling physical ravages. Later, Dr. Alice Hamilton and Dr. Caroline Hedger studied the effects of tenement house industry on the health of working mothers and made plain its excessive cost in terms of the strength of children yet unborn, on family standards and on home life. Of recent years Dr. Hamilton has given careful and continuous attention, under the auspices of state and national departments, to the study of industries in which

[1] Eastman, Crystal: Work-Accidents and the Law. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1910.
American Labor Legislation Review, Vol. I, No. 2; Vol. I, No. 4, 1911.

poisoning occurs; she is now a recognized authority on its forms and its control.[1]

Long-continued experience with unemployment during economic and other crises, and with that more regular sort which is none the less trying, showed that the worst evil which grows out of enforced idleness is the breaking down of habits of work and of the instinct for economic self-sufficiency. The degradation of poverty, however temporary, affects moral vitality so deeply that recovery is often difficult. It is a decided source of safety at such times that households should continue to be in touch with friends, trade unions, and neighbors, and be upheld by sympathetic understanding and assistance.

Each new crisis, however, leads settlements to make new demands for state commissions and for some comprehensive plan by which to anticipate such calamities.[2] Appointment of public investigating bodies, and the rapid increase of state employment bureaus, have been influential in arousing public opinion and educating it to the point of determined attack upon the problem. In several states voluntary committees are working to secure comprehensive records of unemployment and the passage of laws which will compel employers and employes alike to insure against this devastating evil.[3]

While in the large, the effort of settlements to meet the problems connected with unemployment has been scattering, it clearly expressed their characteristic and well-nigh universal attitude. They have from the beginning shared the opinion expressed by Professor Alfred Marshall, constant visitor at Toynbee Hall, in his great work on the Principles of Economics,[4] that poverty is unnecessary and

[1] Since 1919, Professor of Industrial Medicine at Harvard Medical School.

[2] Several types of effort have been made to meet unemployment as found under normal industrial conditions. A few settlements have endeavored to place people on the land, without any degree of success. Many carry on informal employment service to provide day's work for women. On the whole, workers using philanthropic bureaus are unskilled and incapable, or in need of special tasks difficult to secure. They can be best helped through the aid of an interested person or through what may yet come—the organization of a combined agency and workroom which will study each applicant and develop a general method of assistance.

[3] This whole subject has of late years been developed under the lead of the American Association for Labor Legislation with its various state branches.

[4] Marshall, Alfred: Principles of Economics. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1890.

should be abolished. The possibility of this consummation lies partly in eliminating the mentally and morally unfit; partly in underwriting, by all concerned or by the state, unavoidable risks; partly in readjusting the distribution of national income through well-considered voluntary and public forms of action. But before, during, and after such efforts is it necessary to develop among working people the full measure of their capacity as producers. Through the attention given by settlements to these too easily neglected cardinal points, they are making their distinctive contribution toward a better economic order.

CHAPTER XIX

STANDARDS OF WELL-BEING

THE protection and enhancement of working-class standards of living call for exact and minute knowledge of contemporary facts. Early residents, in the words of one of their number, sought to find out "what homes the people have, their sanitary condition, their privacy, their comfortableness, their adornment; what food and drink the people have; what clothes they wear; what work they do, and all the questionable conditions that surround the labor of men and women in these days; what wages they receive and how well or ill they spend their money; what knowledge they are receiving; what amusements they have; all the little amenities of their lives; their unselfishness; their loves, their hates, their sins, their crimes, their hopes."[1]

The approach in the field of economic upbuilding is made in nearly every instance through very elementary plans for encouragement of savings. Residents noted at once, as compared with their own conditions, the difficulty which all tenement dwellers had in saving enough money to buy goods in any quantity. Where a family might spend without extravagance its entire income on food and lodging, and where clothing and recreation are likely to be at the cost of nutrition, the withholding even of a small margin demands a high degree of forbearance and skill.

Stamp saving is generally popular with children, and depositors often include the largest single company of boys and girls in contact with the settlement.[2] The training given makes for care,

[1] Woods, R. A.: "University Settlement Idea." *Andover Review*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 517–39, October, 1892.

[2] This is a plan whereby deposits in sums from one cent and upward are receipted for in stamps pasted on a card. Deposits may be withdrawn on one week's notice. One or two houses carry on private banks of their own, which receive not only small deposits but larger sums on which interest is paid. Such a bank attracts the older young people and at the larger settlements some adults. One settlement brought about the establishment of a savings bank for its locality.

accuracy, and judgment in handling money, and the banker has occasional opportunity to teach thrift and to reinforce the home. In a number of instances settlement stamp-saving stations have been taken over by public schools. Among adults the habit of putting aside money is best promoted by methods analogous to those of industrial insurance companies. Home-savings visitors make weekly calls on a group of families living close to one another. Though what is accumulated by depositors under this method hardly ever becomes a true savings account, the collector is often able to induce housewives to relate separate expenditures to the demands of living as a whole and to co-ordinate income and outgo.[1]

For the purpose of accumulating a surplus, either through savings or insurance, the various available systems calling for payments by clients at short intervals may be considered generally satisfactory. The reverse process in form of deferred payments for goods already in hand, has had a copious history of abuse and injustice. Early residents found instalment companies resorting to many kinds of double dealing for the purpose of inducing people to purchase tawdry furniture, clothing, and jewelry at prices greatly beyond their value. Pawnbrokers and loan sharks plied their victims. Undertakers took advantage of the inexperience, grief, and pride of their clients. Investigations were made and publicity given to numerous instances of outrageous fraud, and these efforts had an important influence in bringing about new legal regulations designed to protect the rights of purchasers.[2]

The insanitary conditions of grocery stores in many localities, the high cost of foodstuffs and of coal and wood sold in small quantities, have been and remain a constant challenge to settlements. These considerations, together with the prevalence of poorly prepared and low-grade food in tenement households, led residents of Hull House in 1893 to establish a public kitchen and lunch room designed to supply attractive and nutritious meals at

[1] Coal and grocery clubs are organized at some settlements. Money is saved through the stamp system. The risk is underwritten and the labor of management is contributed by a few interested people. The beneficiaries have no part in the management.

[2] The Department of Remedial Loans of the Russell Sage Foundation, organized in 1910, has been engaged in exposing and helping to prosecute fraud, drafting new statutes, and fostering the establishment of lending societies.

low rates. They hoped that women carrying on industrial work at home and factory operatives would take advantage of the service. The lunch room, however, was soon pre-empted by office employes, teachers, social workers, and other salaried people. Settlements elsewhere have tried the same plan, but have not been able to justify it. The one undeniably appropriate form of such work is the special lunch room for young working women, although even here only infrequently can cost of food, preparation, service, and rent be covered.[1]

The upshot of such experiment and effort carried on during two decades is the turning of attention from particular cases of fraud or extortion to public supervision and control of all distributive services closely affecting public health. The cost of staples has been studied systematically, and in several instances some degree of public regulation secured. Stores in which food is exposed and sold, especially bakeries, butcher shops, and groceries, have been examined by voluntary inspectors and specially bad conditions reported to health departments. An important educational result of such efforts is the increased vigilance of tenement women. Market men and shopkeepers are themselves beginning to meet local demands for greater care and cleanliness.

These various undertakings, reinforced by ever-increasing direct relations with working-class homes, revealed certain chief causes that hinder more general development of sound family life. A considerable percentage of deserving families was found to be receiving income insufficient to maintain physical health and vigor. Residents set out, therefore, to disclose the effects of low wages on family and home.

In a rough way, establishment of early settlements coincided with the influx of Russian Jews during the eighties, which resulted the following decade in phenomenal development and centralization of the ready-made tailoring trade. It is one of life's ironies that the production of clothing, from spinning of the thread to its display on a manikin, should be attended by a greater degree of suffering and degradation than that of almost any other industrial process. Jews, with their high individualism, so subdivided proc-

[1] See Appendix, p. 418, Note VIII.—Settlement Milk Depots, Laundries, and Sales of Clothing.

esses of the trade that a whole series of immigrant middlemen manufacturers were created, each of which squeezed the unfortunate victim just below him, even as he was squeezed from above, to the limit of endurance. A pioneer attempt to define through careful and discerning methods the actual way of life of a considerable group of wage-earners, was authorized by the newly established College Settlements Association.[1] The study whose object was to learn whether it was possible for the garment trade to defray the average expense of living, was published under the title, Receipts and Expenditures of Wage-Earners in the Garment Trades.

At many houses budget studies, based on data provided by careful neighbors, were compiled. Gradually, also, through confidence imparted quite naturally to stamp-savings visitors, comparison of wage scales with cost of commodities in local stores, and actual dietaries, a good deal of exact information about standards of living was accumulated. Neighborhood houses were regarded as headquarters for such information, and though few of these studies were published by them directly, the results have in a number of instances been embodied in state, national, and foreign documents.[2]

The first exhaustive effort to ascertain the actual standard of life in a working-class city community, however, was undertaken from Greenwich House. Between 1903 and 1905, Mrs. Louise Bolard More, with the assistance of families living in the neighborhood, collected data covering 200 households.[3] The results showed that in 1906 an income of $600 a year, or less, which a number of author-

[1] Eaton, Isabel: College Settlements Association Report, 1893–1894, p. 10.

[2] The following are typical: Food Stores and Purchases in the Tenth Ward, pp. 15–19. University Settlement (New York), Report, 1898. Palmer, Gertrude: Earnings, Spendings and Savings of School Children, pp. 1–16. *Commons*, June, 1903. Herzfeld, Elsa G.: Family Monographs, p. 150. New York, The Jane Kempter Printing Co., 1905. Report of the Massachusetts State Commission on the Cost of Living, Appendix B, May, 1910. Cost of Living in American Towns. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911.

[3] More, L. B.: Wage-Earners' Budgets, A Study of Standards and Costs of Living in New York City; with a preface by F. H. Giddings. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1907. The results, in the words of Professor Giddings' introduction . . . "have been obtained by methods more thorough, painstaking and critical than it has usually been possible hitherto to use. Of the figures set down in Mrs. More's tables, it can be said that every one stands for something not only certainly known, but also critically scrutinized and weighed before being added to the general sum of information." Mrs. More's conclusions were confirmed in 1909 by Robert C. Chapin's Standards of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909.

ities had stated to be sufficient to maintain a family of five in New York City, was entirely inadequate, and that on this sum adults and children were undernourished, underclothed, and meanly housed. Eight hundred dollars a year appeared to be the barest sum on which family life could reach the level of a cheerless modicum.

The importance which settlement workers attach to authoritative estimates of costs of living is based on the fact that an essential part of the campaign for better wages is the affirmation in season and out of a really American standard of life. It is indisputable that the last increments of a laborer's pay are measurably influenced by the national standard of life and the communal sense of justice and brotherliness. The majority of Americans will not knowingly profit from the pain or disability of any individual or class. The nation understands that quality of child life, success of a costly system of public schools, and efficiency of its producers depend on a satisfactory home and family experience.

Settlements go a long way with those who believe that city, state, and nation can enjoy such standards of welfare as they are ready to pay for. Certainly many ardently desired changes in living conditions wait on increased productivity of the industrial community in reciprocal relation with more equitable distribution of national income. But residents realize with increasing clearness that while income is an indispensable requisite it is not more practically important than use of income. The tenements show the contrast found in every walk of life; families with identical incomes and identical rooms living under conditions which seem a century and a whole economic stratum apart. Certain housewives spend money carefully and serviceably; others incapably and wastefully. Some have been brought up in homes where there is a fine hereditary standard of housekeeping. Others, and in large cities they form an increasing proportion, have been turned into factories during the years when they would naturally learn most about this primary vocation of women, and have graduated into marriage at best ignorant, and at worst disinclined and rebellious, in their attitude toward household tasks.

On the side of home-making, equally with wage-earning, settlements strive for the American standard of life. Concretely, that

standard requires meat in the diet, clothing in accord with the use of one's group and of a sort to make one generally presentable, the education of children until the fourteenth or sixteenth year, and definite provision for recreation; all these with a substantial measure of accomplishment in morals and manners, cleanliness and wholesome living, skill in preparation and service of food, educational inclinations.[1] With such a measuring rod, settlements set off two particular groups, not mutually exclusive, whose ways of life fall below this minimum.

The first includes a large number of immigrant families. There is real necessity for sharp reaction against foreigners who send substantial sums to Europe, or hoard their earnings for the purpose of buying real estate here in despite of the bodies, minds, and morals of the nation's future citizens. The second group is made up of families which, through sickness, lack of personal hygiene, unskilled and wasteful purchase and preparation of food, unintelligent care of newborn infants, careless training of children, gravitate into a kind of existence which is very little above abject poverty.

Home-making in settlement terms connotes not only cookery, but the finer sentiments of honesty, mutual consideration, neighborliness sustained by religious loyalty, all determining forces in the creation of good and capable men and women. Experience with children in and out of their homes showed beyond peradventure that faithfulness, sense of responsibility, instinct to hold through discouragement, the knack of keeping on responsive terms with others, knowledge of when and how to lead and to be led, are gained largely as the home maintains right reciprocal relations not only within itself but with its surrounding community. Long experience demonstrates that when the desire arises to entertain guests, to learn to play upon a musical instrument, to establish children in a gentler atmosphere, a potent force for welding together the family circle comes into action. The experience of generations of American families who have climbed to higher things by means of plush furniture and parlor organs is ample justification for enthusiasm in assisting working-class families to obtain the means of civilization, one after another, as they are ready to use them.

The full motive power of the settlement is therefore directed to-

[1] For a more detailed discussion see p. 327ff.

ward creation of those habits and manners that will enable the family to meet its higher responsibilities for nurture and education. There is, indeed, a sense in which the most important contribution of settlements in establishing the American standard is their insistence on taking account, not only of purchasing power of money income and the skill and idealism with which housewives direct its expenditure, but of the part played by extra-family relationships in the fortunes of households. The establishment of a physical environment, local cultural traditions, associations and institutions fitted to protect and nurture family life, depends profoundly on the presence of a stable and forceful nucleus of capable families. The enlistment and training of such a group of men, women, and children represent the persistent practical endeavor of settlements.

Accumulation of knowledge about the more complex elements which make a standard of living in its entirety was naturally a matter of years. During the first decade of settlement experience hundreds of detached studies of various isolated phases of working-class life were made at different houses. As early as 1892 South End House began to publish its inquiries into questions of education, unemployment, recreation, morals, political life. In 1894 an effort was made by it to see the life of a tiny corner of the South End so far as possible in its entirety, leading to the first exhaustive presentment in America of tenement life in a limited area. Though the facts were purposely thrown into narrative form, they were based on data gleaned with painstaking scientific accuracy.[1] In 1895 residents of Hull House published the results of several years' study of the locality immediately about them.[2] University Settlement in New York during these years carried on a long series of topical investigations of unusual quality and significance.[3]

[1] Sanborn, A. F.: The Anatomy of a Tenement Street, *Forum*, Vol. XVIII, p. 554, January, 1895. Moody's Lodging House, and other Sketches, pp. 97–148. Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1895.

[2] Hull House Maps and Papers. The basis of this presentment consisted of information collected for the United States Department of Labor during the spring of 1893, in the course of a special investigation of which Mrs. Kelley, then a resident at Hull House, served as director in charge for Chicago. See also The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. Seventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1894.

[3] Annual Report of the society for 1896 gave the results of a medical and sanitary inquiry; that of the next year contained An Investigation of Dispossessed Tenants.

The first effort to correlate all available facts and to discover laws governing the total organization and behavior of a tenement community was undertaken soon after at South End House. The conclusion that "People here are from birth at the mercy of great social forces which move almost like the march of destiny" was balanced by indisputable evidence that health, comfort, and morals in the city's more comfortable sections are acutely threatened by evils bred under tenement conditions.[1] A clear call for a more exhaustive treatment of civic needs in all congested localities was sounded and a program of neighborhood rehabilitation outlined.

The vast body of more or less organized information accumulated and the compulsion of facts gathered during these decades show the need of three equally important types of effort. The first involves adjustment of real wages to the needs of individuals and families. An important factor in securing this result is to make clear the actual way of living within reach of working people. Wherever possible, therefore, residents of settlements have induced trade unions, lodges, and other organizations to compile and interpret the detailed, meaningful facts. Among families below trade union stratum, it is obvious that an outside agency is needed both to initiate and organize such disclosure.

A second type of effort takes the form of supplementing hygienic and recreational resources. The third and farthest reaching motive calls for purposeful, logical, and democratic evolution of industry and politics. An indispensable prerequisite is multiplication of opportunities for the discipline of association and constructive fellowship.

In 1899 papers were published on Bowery Amusements; Social Life in the Street; Backyard Gardening; A New Social Center; East Side Benefit Societies; The Social Side of Synagogue Life: The Candy Store as a Social Influence; The Saloons of the District; and Public Halls of the East Side. The report for 1900 gives accounts of the East Side Courts, Influences of Street Life, Relation of Children to Immoral Conditions, and Tenement Bakeries. These papers, continued through the following decade, constitute a highly significant body of material on the East Side which should be rescued from the oblivion into which their manner of publication has condemned them.

[1] The City Wilderness (1898). A similar study of other sections of Boston appeared in 1903 under the title, Americans in Process. Both were edited by R. A. Woods, and published by Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

CHAPTER XX

THE CO-OPERATIVE MAN

AS NEIGHBOR to the working-class, settlements have directed a good share of their efforts toward helping to make the economic foothold of wage-earners, particularly in less advanced grades, more secure. But their purpose goes deeper and reaches farther. They encourage a type of experiment and everywhere diligently promote a kind of educational process designed to meet the demands and opportunities of a better industrial order. Those who laid out the original lines of settlement policy were definitely affected by the Fabian principle of applying democratic methods by successive experiments to industry. This general point of view, which at the time seemed distant and theoretical if not dangerous, has since come to be shared by many responsible leaders in business. Certain early residents contemplated a condition of things in which the organization of labor would become a structural part of the organization of industry. This meant, of course, that trade unions, instead of being chiefly militant bodies, should be expected to undertake definite responsibility for the efficiency and morale of their members. The settlement attitude was based partly upon evidence that in many industries the making and fulfilment of labor bargains were more satisfactorily carried out where a union existed. It rested even more largely upon an optimistic confidence in workingmen.

All working people were looked upon as potential trade unionists by early residents. But their participation during the nineties in efforts to induce men and women to affiliate with appropriate locals bore so little fruit that many of them were inclined to acquiesce in the judgment of older trade unionists that at least half the working class were without capacity to hold effectively together. Among important results of the first ten years' experience with problems growing out of the relations of men, women, and children to industry was a conviction that trade organization is an achievement de-

manding certain developed qualities of mind and character and, in particular, the complex capacity for joint action which certainly has not yet been attained by large numbers of people among whom the settlement is placed.

It has always been a clear implication of settlement motive and experience that the management of industry should devote a much more substantial part of its intelligence and initiative to the human factor in production. During the eighties and nineties a number of employers sought to adapt the ideas of Owen, LePlay, LeClaire, and others to American conditions. This tendency was embarrassed by a lively hope that welfare work might prove in some measure a substitute for trade unionism. The strike of 1894 at Pullman exposed in concrete terms what settlement workers had come to understand from trade union and other sources, that a common front established by laborers toward the fundamental issue of more equitable distribution of income and more of democracy in industrial organization must not be jeopardized by a mere bonus in the shape of better working conditions. This truth has been continually set forth by settlements.

Nevertheless, experienced residents were unwilling that the essential motive of welfare work should be lost. A number of experiments such as lunch rooms, rest rooms, baths, club houses, benefit societies, begun by employers out of a mixture of enlightened self-interest and disinterested goodwill, have demonstrated their applicability to all industries and should be made part of the established machinery of production.

Welfare work, for obvious reasons, is more characteristic of large industries placed in villages or suburbs than of smaller plants, one among many others, located in industrial neighborhoods of metropolitan cities. The interest of large employers moves easily from factories into homes and environing communities. Many city employers, if placed in small communities, would conduct as a phase of industrial growth and progress a number of the services, including training in associated action, carried on by settlements.

The city district, with a population made up partly of persons working in great downtown commercial establishments, partly of operatives connected with industries in other sections of the city, and partly of those employed in local industries, suffers from loss

of that informed and discerning helpfulness which awakened employers give to local civic, and recreational life. The settlement performs services which have a distinct bearing on the welfare of every industry, large or small, wherever situated, whose operatives reside in the district. An increasing body of employers recognize the importance of such assistance and give support on that basis. Residents here and there assist local managers with some of their problems of personnel.

Aside from employe and employer, there is a third party to the industrial situation, the consumer. Realization of the responsibility of the purchasers for conditions under which commodities are made and sold has been slowly growing since Kingsley and Ruskin uttered their prophecies. Early in 1890 a Consumers' League was organized in London as an instrument through which, by systematic control of buying power, a body of people might exercise concrete influence upon conditions of manufacture and commerce. Pioneer American residents recognized in this device a most important application of ingenuity and invention in the field of ethical progress, and helped establish a Consumers' League[1] in this country. Settlement representatives have continued to be closely connected with several of its regional branches, and Mrs. Kelley for more than two decades has as national secretary directed the league with a rare degree of mental and moral acumen.

Meanwhile, hopes were entertained in another direction. Consumers' co-operation was looked to by pioneer residents as the natural means of increasing purchasing power, quite as trade unionism was considered the obvious method of defending and advancing the wage scale.[2] The custom, quite general in the beginning, of organ-

[1] The league declared its belief: "That the responsibility for some of the worst evils from which wage-earners suffer rests with the consumers who persist in buying in the cheapest market. That it is the duty of consumers to find out under what conditions the articles they purchase are produced, and to insist that these conditions shall be at least decent and consistent with a respectable existence on the part of the workers."—From an early undated leaflet.

[2] The decade of the eighties in the United States was characterized by a wave of interest in consumers' co-operation. Books and monographs on co-operative experiments and practice both at home and abroad were published; co-operative stores were established in several colleges; and a national society of co-operators was projected. Residents who had visited Toynbee Hall were enthusiastic about co-operative stores—"the most remarkable visible achievement of English workingmen."—Woods, R. A.: English Social Movements. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons,

izing the settlement household as a group of co-operators, educational in itself, established a field of common experience between residents and neighbors. The practice whereby members of the settlement family took turns as buyers of provisions, and determination to patronize as far as possible local business men, led to a careful scrutiny of selling methods in neighboring stores.

The great disparity between cost of coal by the hod and ton, in conjunction with the widespread suffering during the severe winter of 1888, caused Neighborhood Guild, as already noted, to organize a co-operative coal society. Residents found their effort baffled, on the one hand, by outspoken antagonism of local shopkeepers, and on the other by that sense of live and let live which is so fine a characteristic of working people. The scheme had to be abandoned. Two years later, however, residents at Hull House, with the assistance of a neighbor who had belonged to an English co-operative society, established a Co-operative Coal Association, which carried on a very considerable business during three years. The venture failed gloriously through an attempt by a portion of the membership to extend a helping hand to neighbors in shape of a cheap bushel trade.[1]

The sale of vegetables and dairy products equally with coal appealed to residents as a sound field for joint effort. The first such store was opened in New York in 1893 by University and College Settlements. Stock was offered to patrons at a dollar a share. But people refused to respond, and the store failed with the hard times of 1894. Two chief causes were responsible for the ill-success of these ventures: one, that people did not know how to work together; the other, economic unproductiveness. Prices of goods sold were not lower than those of neighborhood shops. At Prospect Union, Cambridge, to whose classes a group of exceptionally capable workingmen had become loyally attached, a project of this sort met with more success. Here for years a co-operative store, and for a shorter time a co-operative press, flourished.

The chief type of co-operative enterprise carried on by settle-

1891. Stanton Coit outlined a series of co-operative enterprises in his monograph on Neighbourhood Guilds, p. 29. London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1892.

[1] During the nineties a number of other settlements carried on similar associations for short periods.

ments over a long period of years is the boarding club. The first was undertaken in May, 1891, by a group of Chicago factory girls on strike, residents of Hull House agreeing to provide furniture and to become responsible for a month's rent. From the beginning the club, under general protection of Hull House, has been self-governing and self-supporting. Officers are selected by members from their own number, and costs of rent, food, service, and incidentals paid out of dues.

A most ambitious settlement undertaking, organized in 1896 by directors and residents of East Side House, New York, is a Co-operative House Owners' Society, which purchased a tenement with money subscribed partly by members of the men's club and partly with funds lent by friends. Preference in letting apartments goes to stockholders, and tenements are always occupied. Six per cent above taxes, repairs, and a small sinking fund has been earned since 1905.

For almost two decades co-operative distribution in settlements hibernated. The rapid rise in price of foods which began shortly after 1905, and the fact that older houses were on friendly terms with their better-to-do neighbors, furnished favorable soil for a fresh planting. Groups of householders began to unite for purchase of groceries, fruits, and vegetables, and in some instances cotton cloth. Here and there a settlement acted as headquarters for building and loan associations.

The failure ere long of nearly all such attempts did not destroy settlement faith in co-operation, but it forced the conviction that a long-continued program of preparation was necessary; that a higher form of industrial society can be achieved only after a profound process of development.

A quarter century ago certain students stated that the success of co-operation waits appearance of "the co-operative man." Settlements half unconsciously and yet with fixed purpose during three decades have been developing this new creature. Three simple but downright lines of effort have been carved out, the larger implications of which have been followed unswervingly. The first had to do with rather elementary and casual moves toward launching growing boys and girls on worthy industrial careers. The second involved simple forms of training that would make those subject

to such discipline more desirable candidates for certain broad classes of positions. The third was directed to training children in the practice of association, that they might be capable of effective and responsible united action as members of highly organized producing corps.

Residents and club leaders, as we have seen, guided the thoughts of children toward future life work, recommended books descriptive of trades and occupations, sought to discover specific vocational leanings in their charges, and found jobs for them. Settlement houses gradually came to be depended upon as informal employment agencies. Experience with the life and adventures of members of clubs and classes, and intimate knowledge which came through efforts to help juvenile delinquents, made it increasingly plain that many bright children fall into evil because they do not secure work of a kind that calls upon their preferences and powers.

The most serious practical danger which besets unadvised children is the frequency with which they stray into blind-alley occupations, such as selling papers, blacking boots, delivering messages, or feeding machines. The child's sense of the futility of his tasks makes him restless and dissatisfied and leads to frequent changes of position. Each change, however, finds him worse off than the last, and he arrives at his majority less valuable to himself than on the day he left school. The future holds promise of nothing but casual and low-grade forms of employment and a short working career.

The destructive results on body, mind, and character which follow upon too early employment demonstrated the importance of establishing a proper range and kind of habit during years in which the decisive outlines of life and character are being laid. In 1895 Mrs. Kelley, in an article in Hull House Maps and Papers, joined the issue. "The key to the child-labor question," she wrote, "is the enforcement of school attendance to the age of sixteen. . . . The legislation needed is of the simplest but most comprehensive description. We need to have: (1) the minimum age for work fixed at sixteen; (2) school attendance made compulsory to the same age; (3) factory inspectors and truant officers . . . ; (4) ample provision for school accommodations; money supplied by the state through the school authorities for the support of such orphans, half orphans, and children of the unemployed as are now

kept out of school by destitution. . . . Where they are, wage-earning children are an unmitigated injury to themselves, to the community upon which they will later be burdens, and to the trade which they demoralize. They learn nothing valuable. . . ."[1]

It came as a marked confirmation of humanitarian feeling that the industries which offer opportunity for advancement do not find it profitable to employ children under sixteen. The better-paid occupations in manufacture and commerce, like the professions, call for a constantly advancing degree of intelligence and skill and are less willing to bear costs of apprenticeship. Yet, in the face of this situation, public schools each year were sending out thousands of children with no specific training for work they were to undertake. Residents called the period between the close of compulsory education and the stage when responsible employers would take on recruits "the two wasted years." The clear logic of the situation demanded that this time should be devoted by the public school system to practical training for the work of life. Their experiments in teaching handwork brought residents gradually into personal acquaintanceship with a substantial number of parents and of employers who were ready to welcome education specifically directed toward preparation for wage-earning. With many a qualm for the American tradition that every citizen should be trained to be a sovereign, they joined hands with a small but growing body of forward-looking men and women in manufacturing states who were seeking to make training of hand and eye an indispensable element in the upbringing of a more capable future labor force.

The manual training movement in the United States came into being shortly after the Civil War, and for thirty years represented our most advanced educational philosophy. The Industrial Education Association, formed in 1886 in New York City, conducted free classes for boys and girls who wanted such instruction.[2] About this time a few trade schools were established on foundations provided by public-spirited business men who appreciated the nation's need for skilled craftsmen, and whose attention had been turned to the difficulties met by bright children in securing all-round training

[1] See pp. 75–76.

[2] The term "industrial education" refers to subjects taught for the purpose of preparing boys and girls who have passed beyond the elementary school to be workers in the trades and industries.

for a trade. But the classes in handwork which settlements carried on during the nineties were highly important experiment stations by which to bridge the gap between education and industry in the case of that nine-tenths of the nation's childhood which pass directly from grammar schools into industry. Early in the new century groups of educated women, with a background of settlement or similar experience, began to move for the establishment under private auspices of trade schools for girls. At several houses, as such facilities became available, industrial scholarships were provided for promising children whose parents could not afford to keep them in school.

Settlements thus came into a body of practical experience and information which made imperative a broad appeal to cities, states, and nation for the creation of a sound and comprehensive scheme of industrial preparation. Opposition in the beginning was serious and widespread. Low-grade employers who depended on a supply of cheap labor, easily changed, saw in such education a sort of public luxury. Trade unions feared that boys would be trained and employed as strike-breakers, or that increase in the supply of journeymen would only intensify competition and lower the achieved scale of wages. Public school administrators were almost universally indifferent, if not actually hostile, to further introduction of handwork into the curriculum.

Sentiment in favor of a program of industrial education crystallized rapidly, however, once it received open consideration. Leading employers of labor appreciated the desirability of a more skilled labor supply; especially those on the eastern seaboard, who saw industries requiring large amounts of heavy raw material gravitating toward the source of such materials and realized that the industrial future of their region depended on the building up of more refined forms of manufacture calling for highly skilled workmen.

It took only a short time to convert trade union leaders. This process began with a succession of conferences in which enlightened employers, far-seeing labor men, and persons representing more or less closely settlement approach came quickly to common ground. A long series of similar group meetings followed, reaching out in wider and wider circles. When it became clear to responsible trade unionists that industrial education did not undertake to fit out

full-fledged journeymen, and as a public undertaking must be subject to a good measure of working-class control, the way toward approval of trade unions was open. There was at this point, as there had been in connection with the campaign for workingmen's compensation, a highly gratifying realization of hopes in the direction of actual joint effort in the interest of industry as a whole, by capital and labor. The part which settlement representatives were privileged to have in securing this result is a most reassuring justification of their motive.

The educational profession gradually saw that for the vast majority of children its members were as makers of edge tools who never gave the edge; and that there was a large unoccupied territory within which education might gain new reality and power. Teachers began to appreciate the possibility of some such special cultural influences in vocational training as the settlement for its part had been discovering in its clubs and classes.

The first effort to give effect to the new program had its trial in Massachusetts. A Commission on Industrial Education was created by the legislature of 1905, after half a decade of quiet propaganda, to "inquire into the advisability of establishing industrial schools."[1] In 1906 a permanent commission with power to establish and foster schools for industrial education was created of which Mr. Woods, who had been chairman of the committee to promote this legislation, served as temporary secretary during the period of organization and development. For three months he gave addresses through the state, consulted with employers, workingmen, and educators, and gathered information from all sources in preparation for detailed work of building up a state system of educational training which was soon under way. Meanwhile, New York settlements conducted a conference which brought together public school administrators, and in Chicago Miss Addams, at that time member of the school board, earnestly promoted the cause in that city. These efforts were an integral part of the movement that led to the widespread introduction of public trade schools.

[1] The report announced that: "For the great majority of children who leave school to enter employment at the age of fourteen or fifteen, the first three or four years are practically waste years so far as the actual productive value of the child is concerned, and so far as increasing his industrial and productive efficiency." Senate Document No. 349, April, 1906, p. 196.

Since 1910, effort to save the years between fourteen and sixteen is being reinforced in its gradual fulfilment through completion of child labor laws. The Massachusetts statute of 1913, by limiting the number of hours during which children under sixteen may work, prohibiting their employment altogether in a considerable list of occupations, insisting upon proof of age and sound health before issuing working papers, and enforcing the regulation that unemployed boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen must be in school, makes the exploitation of youth increasingly difficult and unprofitable. Conversely, child labor reformers are devoting increased attention to the provision of suitable educational opportunity for young people excluded from employment. In states where the full complementary system of child protection with industrial education is being built up, public authority has finally recognized the principle of responsibility which settlements have all along been expressing in their neighborhoods.

Hudson Guild has instituted a form of joint action between labor, capital, and community which settlement residents in dreams had long forecasted. The School for Printers' Apprentices of New York, opened in 1911 and for ten years carried on in the Guild, is managed and supported by accredited representatives of unions, employers, and educators.[1] This union of forces to grade up the caliber of future operatives, supervise the range and quality of technical preparation, and inculcate sound ideals of collective action represents an important object lesson in seasoned and responsible industrial democracy.

While these efforts to discover ways of preparing children for more truly productive wage-earning were developing, the problem of finding reasonably promising jobs for each fresh crop of public school graduates remained. It was obvious that working-class parents lacked the breadth of view, connections, and experience through which more favored classes directed the careers of their children. The seriousness of this situation lay partly in the

[1] Registered apprentices are required by the unions to attend classes during four years of their novitiate, and employers grant the necessary time out of working hours. The school provides instruction not only in mechanics of typography and design, but in use of the English language, history of printing, economic problems of the trade, principles of unionism, and science of co-operation. Periodic examinations are given to test the accomplishment of the students and to determine their chances of succeeding in the trade.

fact that freedom of industrial opportunity, which is so close to the heart of all that is American, was being undermined. The principle that children are by no means bound to follow their father's occupation, nor to remain within the economic grade in which they were born, was in some localities becoming an empty word. Actual facts showed that in many neighborhoods the vocation of children was determined by nearby factories, and their future fixed as fatally as if they had been born into a rigid system of caste.

Settlements undertook to push quite beyond the informal efforts of the first decade toward finding jobs for occasional boys and girls, by devising a system to launch a considerable number of children. During a period of several years, in anticipation of future wage-earning, club leaders traced the bent of children's minds. Courses of lectures by business men and educators were offered, and in some houses definite employment bureaus were established, though it soon became evident that the mere organization of an agency for securing employment lessened rather than increased the urgency felt by residents and volunteers, and did not secure enough additional positions to justify the financial outlay demanded for its maintenance.[1]

Something decidedly more fundamental was called for, and this came through an experiment outlined and developed in the beginning by Professor Frank Parsons, of Boston University, at Civic Service House, a settlement working with young men and women either themselves recent immigrants or brought up in immigrant homes. Each applicant was provided with a questionnaire devised to reveal his character, desires, and capacities both to himself and to his examiner; this was followed by simple psychological tests covering the rapidity and accuracy of selected physical and mental reactions. On the basis of questionnaire, test, and interview, young people were directed to fields of occupation wherein their combination of powers and limitations seemed to indicate a real opportunity. Lectures were offered outlining the processes and the chances of success in different professions and trades, and the industrial and business community was studied to discover its capacity to provide

[1] Here and there was one that had sufficient importance to be turned over to some other agency, but it thus lost its neighborhood character.

appropriate opportunities in definite occupations. Through forces thus set in motion, organization of public school vocational guidance in the United States had its beginning,[1] and the way was prepared for a really comprehensive effort to take account of the full human possibilities of the city's industry, on the one hand, and on the other to utilize in some ample measure the inborn ability that is in its young life.

Time has shown that the larger opportunity of vocation bureaus is not among children from grammar grades for whom it was designed, but among those able to attend secondary or, at least, continuation schools. From the point of view of public welfare this is as it should be. The argument for universal vocational training has been greatly strengthened by this development; though for the moment the case of boys and girls in settlement neighborhoods often becomes even harder than before. This fact only means, however, that residents must return with renewed purpose to the consideration of industrial careers among children who go to work as soon as the law allows.

Adequate training and launching of industrial recruits, settlement workers believe, should include discipline in the art of democratic association. They have endeavored so far as their direct responsibility is concerned to see that increasingly well-devised training is provided to meet this precise demand, and that trade schools include carefully planned instruction in the method and spirit of team play.

Here settlements fall back upon the entire scheme of club work, with its strong emphasis upon self-government and collective responsibility for securing results. Detailed, specific drill and discipline in working together, with constant and varied emphasis on motives which govern co-operative effort, are the core of a coming phase of education. The type of personal initiative and leadership developed in this atmosphere, when qualified with the sense for results that trade schools give, produces persons who soundly fill out their part in trade organization and in a more developed system for the organization of industry as a whole.

This general point of view has led to a marked development of in-

[1] Meyer Bloomfield, under whose direction Professor Parsons' first experiments were carried on at Civic Service House, became a leader in the promotion of vocational guidance.

terest at many houses during recent years in the new field of employment management. Settlements furnish a kind of fundamental experience out of which some of their residents are finding a natural and almost inevitable way into those forms of industrial administration that rely upon collective response of employes to build an ensemble which will have a new sense of reciprocity throughout, create a larger product, and share it on a better understood and more equitable basis. Residents sympathize greatly with those who, in the administration of industries and mercantile establishments, are striving first to regularize employment, and secondly, to organize group loyalty and initiative among employed personnel. They believe that a new generation of workmen trained to meet the precise demands of a growingly democratic industrial situation will undertake to produce co-operatively in an ever-wider range of industries: that there are untapped sources of administrative skill and initiative in working people which have not yet been called out.

This same deliberate process of training is not without its definite prospect of achieving co-operative organization among consumers like that which older and more disciplined civilizations have developed. There are in many neighborhoods enough men and women experienced in working together to enter upon simple co-operative enterprise of this sort. New conditions which have developed during the war, by their emphasis on production, their compulsion toward thrift, and their considerable effect in creating new forms of associated effort by locality are preparing the way for the establishment of such ventures. Two interesting examples are a co-operative store under the auspices of Hudson Guild, and a Lodging House Union, which meets at South End House not only to establish rates and standards, but for the business of selling to its members all the staple supplies which they require.

The most important lesson of settlement striving during three decades to rear a generation better equipped both technically and morally for a highly integrated industrial system, is that the typical tenement background stunts rather than fosters productive capacity. By thousands, city-bred boys and girls have been found to lack food, air and sunlight, quiet and isolation, parental discipline of mind and will, protective and stimulating associations. Whole-

some, productive, self-reliant, co-operative adepts of industry, able to bring their powers to the pitch of adaptable and spirited utility, cannot be created in city slums.

Successful group activities find their stimulus and reinforcement in neighborhood loyalties: a principle which holds with peculiar force in co-operative enterprises. Men or women who are enjoying some fresh experience of immediate neighborly team play respond readily to progressive measures of organization within factory or store. When many employes of an establishment live in a given locality this consideration has cumulative force. The English co-operative stores were products of village spirit. Co-operation in Russia with results comparable with those in England, is rural. The system must be built up on the small store which is inevitably a neighborhood affair. The prospect for solid continuance of similar ventures in America requires systematic development of neighborhood association expressing itself in various forms of collective and civic action.

Henry D. Lloyd, in his account of English co-operative stores and factories, concluded that such achievement was possible only in a homogeneous population.[1] One reason why co-operation has made such indifferent progress in America is because we are engaged with a vast problem of political co-operation involving the welding of many nationalities into one. Settlement experience indicates that this process must be brought to a much further stage in neighborhood terms before economic co-operation in any comprehensive local sense can be achieved.

[1] Lloyd, H. D.: Labor Copartnership; notes of a visit to co-operative workshops, factories, and farms in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 332. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1898.