V

COMMON WEAL

CHAPTER XXI

TAMMANY LEADS THE WAY

EARLY residents were animated by the deliberate purpose of establishing a type of local civilization which should in the end loosely, yet organically, unify into one system every aspect of responsible activity within a small geographical area. It is not too much to say that their motive was that of statemanship reduced to neighborhood terms, but emancipated and enriched in the process. The sharp distinction in dignity between public affairs that were formally of the government and those at some stage of voluntary organization they set out to minimize. They hoped to establish the principle that voluntary undertakings of proved public utility might be assumed by municipalities, though they made it clear that as soon and as far as possible the solidarity, continuity, and comprehensiveness of public services at their best should be expressed in private enterprises for the common good.

Almost without exception, residents were convinced that settlements had a definite mission as part of the movement for municipal reform. They believed that corrupt men succeeded in obtaining office because the machines were able to deprive voters of opportunity to register their desire for clean government. Here and there, residents and occasional club members took the stump, distributed campaign literature, and canvassed voters. Ward registration lists were investigated to prevent inclusion of absentees and the dead and to make more difficult the importation of tramps and loafers for multiple balloting. Open buying and selling of votes was discouraged by placing observers in the vicinity of polling places, while within election booths watchers stood on guard to reduce terrorization of citizens.

The most intense centers of political activity were in New York and Chicago. The first attempt to take definite part in a local political contest was made from Neighborhood Guild as early as 1891,

under the leadership of Stanton Coit and Charles B. Stover. Club members were invited to participate in the enforcement of the ballot reform law; and through tracts and speeches the Guild entered on a campaign to arouse the assembly district against its notably corrupt political leader. Residents in several East Side settlements became lieutenants in city vigilance leagues, and members of clubs took an active part in the campaigns.

An example definitely inspiring to settlement residents all over the country was the inauguration in 1896 of the Civic Club by F. Norton Goddard, whose brother was actively engaged at Friendly Aid House. Mr. Goddard hired a suite of rooms in a tenement in Thirty-third Street near the settlement, to which he invited men for committee meetings and to occasional breakfasts and suppers. Gradually a club was formed which was able to bring about the nomination of higher types of candidates within party lines, and in 1899 a well appointed house was obtained. The membership continues to be interested in local improvement and has taken an important part in securing needed institutional equipment for the district.

Chicago, better than any other city, illustrates the methods and results of hand-to-hand fighting against corrupt politicians. Hull House, on three occasions during the early nineties, sought the fall of the local leader. He accepted with amused toleration the election of a member of the men's club to one of the two seats in the City Council,[1] and was easily victor in two following campaigns directed against him personally.

Chicago Commons had the rare good fortune to be situated in a neighborhood where two-party rivalry was still real. In 1895 an independent candidate was nominated for alderman but was defeated. The following year a new candidate was brought forward and elected over a notorious gang nominee. In 1897 the ward ring, driven to the wall, elected its representative by falsifying election returns. A recount was secured, the independent installed in office, and two election officials committed to state prison. In 1902, when the party machines combined and placed only three men in nomination for three offices, the reform organization nominated an able young lawyer as the people's candidate and elected him.

[1] Each ward was represented by two councilmen, one elected each year.

Finally, leaders of the two rings became convinced that it was in their interest to nominate good men, and independents met the issue by alternately electing the candidate of each party.

Other Chicago settlements have taken a direct part in local politics. Northwestern University Settlement, under the direction of Raymond Robins, organized a Civic Club which co-operated with the Commons in aldermanic campaigns, a precedent ably carried on by Harriet E. Vittum, who has brought about marked improvement in ward politics through organizing women voters. Archer Road Settlement and Henry Booth House have at times taken an active part in city campaigns.

In Philadelphia, College Settlement and later Saint Peter's House entered the political situation created by the effort to put women on local school boards. From time to time during the past three decades residents have taken part in campaigns conducted by the Civic League. Neighborhood canvasses have been made, literature circulated, meetings carried on, and parades organized. Although these enterprises have not been successful in their direct object, a revision of voting lists has been secured, many fraudulent names stricken out, and the majority of machine candidates cut down. An heroic example of what a single determined citizen can accomplish was furnished by Charles S. Daniel of Neighborhood Guild, who in the course of ten years reduced registration in his precinct from 415 to 200, and did away with the corruption of voters and drunken disorder which attend such a régime.

In Boston the policy of South End House has been to enter a contest only when local political candidates embody standards definitely lower than those of the majority of their constituents. In two campaigns for reform mayors and a modified charter, residents took a general part and the hall of the settlement was used for rallies. The House has sought to develop a local platform representing actual district needs, and to secure co-operation of better disposed politicians and officeholders in carrying it out. Results have been genuine and permanent.

By 1900 the majority of residents saw that their vision in politics was considerably in advance of local desires; and that attempts to induce their neighbors to join in efforts to purify public adminstration, far from being welcomed, were scorned and resented. Women

residents, in particular, recognized that feminine interference was viewed with peculiar distrust. Some clear-sighted headworkers, men and women, smarted under the conviction that far from injuring bosses they had unwittingly permitted themselves to become cat's-paws. Certain others found that, as a result of electioneering, they had divided the settlement constituency and had lost the friendship of an important element among the people. Still others were forced to the conclusion that their activities had driven the ward leader to new lengths and led to the corruption of those who otherwise had hardly been worth corrupting. The lesson of these early campaigns was the impossibility, in localities traditionally loyal to one of the great parties, even to get an issue before the electorate.

Having bitten the dust before machine politics, residents set out to discover how the boss secures and holds his power.[1] The shame they felt that Tammany Hall, and its like in other cities, should be more effective than the forces of righteousness, urged them to trace out the tedious labyrinth of petty relations by which the machine builds up its following. Studies carried on during the eighteen-nineties from University Settlement, New York, Hull House, South End House, and other settlements laid bare the human background of ward politics and the extent and minuteness of local machine influence.[2] In New York and Chicago the ever-present philanthropy of the boss was the emphatic aspect of his method; in Bostón, his penetrating hold on all institutional loyalties and particularly on the gang life of older boys and young men.

A successful politician is to the local manner born.[3] He enters

[1] ". . . the first problem of the student of government is to find out how rulers or governors manage to secure their power." Carver, T. N.: Sociology and Social Progress, p. 14. New York, Ginn and Co., 1905.

[2] Reynolds, James B.: "The Settlement and Municipal Reform." In Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, pp. 138–42, 1896.

Addams, Jane: "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption." In *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. VIII, pp. 273–91, April, 1898.

Woods, R. A.: "The Roots of Political Power." In The City Wilderness, pp. 114–47, 1898; "Traffic In Citizenship." In Americans in Process, pp. 147–89, 1902.

These articles were widely read, and placed an indelible mark upon settlement tactics and strategy in relation to local politics.

[3] Popular feeling that importation of candidates from without the district is paramount to closing a chief door to careers for local youth is very strong. Office holding is almost the sole avenue to professional life open to young manhood in

into the precise passions and ambitions of his constituency and sympathizes understandingly with their struggles and desires. He appreciates instinctively that a wage-earner's chief stake is his job, and that women look to public men for a sympathetic attitude toward family and neighborhood festivals and tragedies. Unlike reform candidates he goes in and out among his constituency. He is therefore acquainted with secrets of human impulse and affiliation unguessed by his critics. He succeeds not through his faults, but because in some sort he meets important and legitimate needs and yearnings. The belief that any outsider, no matter how high-minded and capable, can win an immediate following is based on crude underestimation of loyalties of class, race, and religion which bind different groups of people to political leaders of their own kind. Neighborliness is at the basis of even bad politics, and sound government can be built upon no other foundation.

Observation and experience also made it clear that workingmen are not greatly attracted by the motive nor satisfied with the fruits of merely honest government. They dream of a broadly and humanly serviceable city, powerful, generous, considerate. The effort to encompass a model community by taking thought for its bookkeeping, safeguarding its finances, and enhancing its administrative efficiency makes but a sorry appeal among the tenements.

The improvement of local civic conditions through direct appeal having failed, settlements had to choose between going over the heads both of machine and electorate, or instituting long-range methods of creating a new constituency interested in public affairs. Most houses decided to do both. The decision was made open-eyed. Face to face with physical, moral, and educational needs of a generation of children and young people, residents could not afford to set themselves apart to fight politicians and to confront directly the ignorance and inertia of an immigrant electorate. It seemed wiser and more promising to secure equipment and service with which soundly to prepare the existing generation for citizenship, while striving to bring adults to a sense of their responsibilities.

By way of direct political effort, appeals were made to that in-

many tenement communities, a royal road to assured occupational and leisure-time status. Residents met this fear by giving moral guarantees not to seek office for themselves.

creasing element of voters throughout the city at large who had begun to stand for humanized as well as honest politics, and to the remnant of local citizens who were not closely bound up with the machine. The settlement exposed to public-spirited citizens the local "roots of political power." It pointed out the necessity of having every candidate for the municipal legislative body scrutinized by the entire electorate. In return, this general city movement greatly reinforced the settlement demand for a broadly and justly serviceable type of politics.[1]

This policy was crowned with genuine and substantial success. Though the boss was not ousted he was forced to a new way of life. A politician's chief claim to the favor of his constituency is his benefactions. The settlement not only clearly exposed the crude favoritism of his method, but followed the thrust by securing, through appeal to the new type of city-wide public spirit, municipal baths, playgrounds, gymnasiums, and branch libraries. There was a substance to this attack not to be gainsaid. Bosses saw the point and began to incorporate community benefits into their program. The whole hierarchy of politicians, from the little leader of ten to the congressman for the district, laid claim to every local improvement that had been obtained over a generation, and made expansive promises of tangible results for the common good in the future.

The other side of the story, and a more important one, is that ward politicians read the handwriting on the wall not unwillingly. Practical politics and municipal reform were at one, before settlements came on the scene, in not envisaging progressive municipal reinforcement of the people's health and vitality. The local leader temperamentally and professionally desires to play his rôle in the fullest sense, and if public improvement or general welfare be part of the tradition, he is among the first to catch and hold it. Settle-

[1] The tendency was perhaps most marked in Chicago. The Municipal Voters' League, organized in 1896, numbered several men with settlement training on its executive committee. By its success in reforming the city council this organization improved local politics, just as settlement activity in local politics had reinforced the early campaigns of the league throughout the city. The fact that in recent years the Municipal Voters' League and similar organizations in other cities have become less active, seems to be part of a periodic reaction which only shows the necessity of a still more persistent following up of the fundamental policy here outlined.

ments exposed the shallowness and favoritism of his undertakings by establishing a standard of genuine municipal provision for community needs on a basis of equality for all.

Politicians taught settlement workers many needful lessons. The sense of the educated man and woman for the necessity of painstaking and long-continued investigation of individual and corporate need before taking action was mellowed by the ward leaders' uncritical helpfulness. The resident staff set out to build up the same exhaustive acquaintance and knowledge of personal minutia which is the stock-in-trade of the machine. Most important of all, the settlement began to match the variety of casual services rendered by political leaders here and there among the people in voluntary but calculating ways, by the establishment of municipal and philanthropic institutions with high professional standards.

Residents urged forward their work with a lingering picture in mind of an ideal community fitly compacted together. Here were the leaders of local political machines who had not only grasped the crude outlines of such a scheme but who were multifariously and tirelessly putting it into effect. The political boss was unwittingly thinking with the dreamers and the sages.

It gradually became clear that the settlement method and program covering in its range local geography, public health, economic conditions, recreation, education, and morals furnished a rival body of knowledge capable of being used to create a political substructure and superstructure analogous but superior to that of the machine. More or less consciously, the encyclopædic detail of acquaintance and influence accumulated by the settlement began to be cast in the mold of a small regional commonwealth in which every effort was to be as truly political, as truly for rearing the structure of city and state as were the endless operations of the ward machine in its distorted and yet essentially human outlook.

The chapters that follow show how a different system of group organization and leadership, a different appeal to ambition, different avenues to occupation, and different standards of local municipal service have in greater or less degree contravened the boss's lines of action. A method for preventing the corrupting influence of the machine has been discovered. It must be carried unremit-

tingly to its conclusion. This task of the generations depends on the general progress of the whole of great city populations. For the settlement it centers in those most characteristic efforts which aim to educate people from childhood up,—through the practice of all that has to do with uniting forces, in thought, word, and deed, under their own varied individual and group initiative,—toward the achievement of the full stature, in the rich human sense, of a body politic.

Residents seek to meet and hold young and old within the sympathetic restraints of the neighborhood circle; to organize and codify the higher moral sentiment of the people so as to assure and safeguard the rights of every individual; to make the neighborhood in a very substantial degree sufficient unto itself in the supply of worthy fellowship; to secure a range of educational, recreational, and associational activities sufficiently broad to satisfy the desires, and stimulating enough to call out the higher potencies of every member of the community; to involve individuals of all ages and types in reciprocal relations of some kind; to exercise families as families and neighbors as neighbors, so that every element of individual and collective life may minister naturally, almost automatically, to the upbuilding of each citizen and all together in the local community.

In the flux of neighborhood interrelations, and through the higher tone and impetus which it imparts, the whole variety of institutions, in proportion as they are locally involved, begin to catch the spirit of progress in both their inner and outer relations. Increasing signs of promise appear that they may grow into a somewhat coordinated enginery for the immediate local good and for the integration of real communal power. Its beginnings are based throughout on the vast and continuous accumulation of local knowledge through local fellowship.

CHAPTER XXII

HOME AND STREET

AN ACCEPTED characteristic of tenement districts twenty-five years ago was their dismal and even repulsive physical condition. The glamor which is an inseparable part of all pioneering caused early residents to gloss the full effect upon them of dirt and disorder. But day-in and day-out experience gradually revealed, in terms of physical and nervous strain, the costs of carrying on life amid unending noise of cars, vehicles, street-hawkers, and shouting children; of moving habitually through littered and noisome streets, of breathing fetid and lifeless air, of battling intermittently against a plague of vermin. The first civic venture of Neighborhood Guild was an Anti-Filth Society, organized to induce people to clear their rooms of bedbugs, lice, cockroaches, and rats; and Hull House installed, as a kind of supreme luxury, an incinerator for the destruction of garbage.[1]

Pioneer residents sought to apportion the definite share of responsibility for these conditions which rested on property owners and municipality. Streets had been paved with granite blocks to withstand heavy traffic to nearby factories, yards, and docks rather than to promote comfort and sanitation. Hucksters and peddlers were permitted to turn highways and sidewalks into open-air markets. Insufficiently lighted streets were used as storage places for trucks and became favorite meeting places for the evil-intentioned. Tenements without running water, inside sanitary conveniences, or bins for storage of food and coal were the rule. Alleys, halls, and courts of multiple houses were regarded by tenants and public alike as extensions of the highway. Doors into hallways,

[1] These conditions were, however, borne with stoutness. There is a tradition that a resident of Neighborhood Guild, when commiserated by an uptown friend on the removal of a small insect from his coat collar, protested that such incidents were inevitable to the convinced democrat; that only through such discipline could the modern man hope to attain righteousness.

privies, and cellars went unlocked day and night and invited abominations and crime. Dark halls and stairways could not but be filthy and dangerous. Children risked their limbs on slimy and crowded sidewalks and roadways, because there was no alternative but stagnation in one or two stuffy rooms.

Living in the thick of all this municipal neglect created an unmanageable impulse of revolt among settlement groups. They complained to street cleaning departments, to boards of health, aldermen, officials higher up. They captured newspaper reporters, inspectors and influential citizens, and piloted them through back yards, alleys, dumps, and into typically unfit tenements. They repudiated with heat, in the face of evidences of graft and inefficiency unearthed by good government investigations, attempts of municipal superintendents and contractors to account for conditions by lack of funds and public carelessness, and demanded that their localities be regarded as normal centers of living requiring the services common to other districts.

Some slight improvements in municipal work followed the mere publicity attendant upon opening the first settlements. Encouraged by the small measure of gain, many residents hoped that with intelligent effort better water and sewage service and the collection of waste might be brought to pass. Sanitary surveys were outlined and, in a few cases, carried out with some degree of thoroughness.

Awakening, immediate and rude, followed attempts to secure action upon such effort. Though an occasional official welcomed instances of violation of ordinances or of laxity among subordinates, the majority regarded complaint as a kind of *lèse-majesté*. They said, in effect, "Yes, it is too bad you should find your surroundings distasteful. But you are not compelled to live where you do. Why don't you go elsewhere? The people of the community are not so finical as you are." Newcomers recognized that it had become an accepted tradition at City Hall that tenement dwellers were not irked by dirt, congestion, and perpetual inconvenience; that working-class neighborhoods might safely be left to the last when appropriations for water and sewer mains and disposal of waste were being considered. The first lesson of this adventure was that, while forbearance and persistence as against arrogant petty officials are sufficient to secure abatement of a few

minor nuisances, large-scale improvements in equipment and service depend on arousing a degree of public dissatisfaction sufficient to carry political threat.

Condition of the streets offered the most satisfactory issue on which to arouse interest and secure action. In 1887, as we have seen, club members of Neighborhood Guild formed a street cleaning association which assumed responsibility for its block. The following year the Guild raised a substantial sum to pay costs of extra sweeping during the hot months. Hull House, early in the nineties, stimulated local sentiment in favor of paving unimproved streets, induced taxpayers of several blocks to consent to repaving, and led a movement for needed reform in the method of assessing such improvements.[1] Members of the association thus brought together exercised careful scrutiny over materials and workmanship, determined, to quote a member, that there should be "one stretch of honest pavement in Chicago."[2] Residents in a few cases became inspectors in street cleaning departments.

During the later nineties a number of settlements formed groups of children to assist in keeping streets clean. The high-water mark of this impulse was reached in 1896, when the late Colonel Waring, then head of the New York Street Cleaning Department, created a series of juvenile brigades patterned on the regular department force. Residents of University Settlement took part in organizing this project, and several houses became responsible for local branches.

The securing of clean streets is closely bound up with the storage, collection, and disposal of papers, ashes, and garbage as conditioned by habit and custom. Many tenements were without suitable receptacles or storage places for depositing waste between collections. Farming out removal contracts as reward for political work resulted in service so irregular and insufficient that merely personal endeavor toward better things counted for next to nothing. The

[1] In the pioneer cities of the West sidewalks were largely of boards, and roadways unimproved. The latter oscillated between quagmires and dustheaps.

[2] Other Chicago settlements, especially the Commons with its men's groups interested in politics, exercised an influence in securing new pavements for their part of the city. In the East a number of settlements induced the city to lay short stretches of asphalt near schools and hospitals, and to flush streets in thickly congested districts during the heat of summer.

situation called for concerted attack on delinquencies of tenants, landlords, and municipality.

By 1905 it was evident that in tenement areas the complicated demands made on highways by the mere physical presence of a moving mass of people and by open-air trade had created problems no longer avoidable. In New York a Push-Cart Commission was appointed by the mayor, upon which Miss Wald was asked to serve. The secretary, several investigators, and a number who gave testimony were settlement residents. Though the legislature failed to pass a bill drafted by the commission, police authorities a few years later put into effect the recommendation that push carts in the more crowded portions of the city be assigned definite locations.

In Chicago, Miss Addams launched a campaign to secure improved methods of handling garbage. Refuse food in that city for some years was stored in wooden boxes fastened to the board sidewalks. It was almost impossible wholly to empty such receptacles, the contents of which were scattered about; while the indifference of many people was shown by the use of boxes as seats. The service rendered by city contractors was scandalously careless and irregular. Members of Hull House Women's Club were asked to report cases of irregular collection of garbage. Over a thousand complaints were lodged and a slight improvement resulted. In the spring of 1893 Miss Addams, with encouragement and assistance from certain business men, determined to set up as a contractor. Though her bid was thrown out on a technicality, the mayor made her an inspector, a position which she filled for several years with the assistance of a deputy. By means of this entering wedge, residents of other Chicago settlements were appointed inspectors, and an ordinance was shortly secured for removal of sidewalk boxes.

These essays, squarely facing the most pressing civic difficulties, had the somewhat unexpected effect of bringing about a new appreciation of problems which confront even conscientious public officials. Necessary laws are sometimes unpopular and can be enforced only where local sentiment is created for them. Certain officials welcomed settlement assistance in reporting specific complaints, because it enabled them to do their duty. Efforts to improve local service made it clear that the problem of inducing land-

lords and tenants properly to prepare waste for disposal is even more difficult than to secure its better collection. In addition to that inertia which settles down upon even well-to-do localities, inhabitants of many tenement neighborhoods were handicapped by traditionally low sanitary standards. Most immigrants came from villages where personal uncleanliness was less offensive and dangerous than amid the congestion of large cities. Many newcomers deposited waste in flues, drains, and sewer pipes, or threw it directly out of windows. A widely applied, close-range plan of education, sanitary and legal, in the observance of municipal ordinances had to be devised. Residents became rent collectors, sanitary inspectors, and voluntary housing officials. Pleadings, badinage, iterated and strongly worded protest, reinforced by threat of appeal to police and courts, were often required to make slow-minded housewives or stubborn offenders obey the law.

While improvements in routine sanitary service and specific suggestion to landlord and tenant mitigated certain grosser evils, the way for neighborhood standards of cleanliness and for a more direct attack on politicians and city officials was prepared by the creation of an ever-enlarging network of local organization. Clubs and classes, especially the women's clubs, were induced to have well-informed persons address them on practical aspects of municipal service. Meetings before which public officials were asked to state their point of view were called. Once interest was aroused, people were asked to complain by telephone, by letter, or in person to city officials and local political leaders. Laws which define the duties of householders, rules governing classification and preparation of waste, days and hours when they might expect wagons to call on each street, were printed in languages of the quarter and distributed through the tenements.

Early in the new century definite betterment of sanitary conditions was visible in many localities. Tenement dwellers became increasingly critical of lax service, and the new attitude of better-to-do classes toward working people, in important measure the result of influences set in motion from settlements, strongly reinforced popular unrest as it reached City Hall. Heads of public sanitary departments began to find it worth while to devise ways

of preventing littered streets and of securing more thorough discipline, economy, and efficiency. Most important of all, the local minority which desired neatness increased considerably and became definitely censorious toward neighbors who lagged too far behind advancing communal standards.

The pollution of air by smoke and odors is among the most trying experience of life in many factory communities. During the eighties, location of malodorous industries and municipal dumps in the vicinity of tenements went unchallenged. Successful protest against the introduction of fresh inflictions, removal of particularly offensive waste heaps, re-routing wagons so as to lessen the burden of noise during early morning hours, and reduction of the smoke nuisance represent types of alleviation secured by many settlements. The stockyard districts in Chicago, to select a striking example, labored under not only the overwhelming stench of the yards but in addition were forced to endure the exhalations from a municipal dump. Residents at University of Chicago Settlement organized and led local public opinion in a campaign to compel more sanitary disposal of stockyard refuse and to replace the dump with a municipal incinerator. Two decades of persistent public protest were needed, however, before relief was secured in 1916.

Miss McDowell's experience illustrates two typical difficulties which attend all efforts to induce the comfortable majority of a metropolitan community to imagine itself in the place of an uncomfortable minority. One is to arouse public attention. The mind of a city is not easily focused on the troubles of one district. The other is to interpret a public problem in terms of common human experience. The plea of counsel employed to defend the company which profited by location of the dump "that there must always be one part of a great city set aside for unpleasant things, the people of which are, in virtue of their residence, less sensitive than the rest of the community," is fruit of this separation. Settlements confront both inertia in tenements and complacence in suburbs.

The logic of these endeavors to lessen the inconvenience, noisomeness, and menace of ubiquitous dirt led to a realization of shortcomings inherent in tenement houses. Early residents had taken measures to induce or to compel owners of neighborhood

tenements to drain cellars, repair privies and outhouses, and light dark hallways. Condemnation of a number of houses, so unfit for habitation that departments of health had no alternative but to order their destruction, was secured. Settlement households of one or two persons were established in representative tenement houses, partly to study the color of life, partly to work out adaptations which might be applied to improvement of living conditions.

It was found that a prime cause of personal and communal uncleanliness lay in the difficulty of obtaining water. Many tenement apartments were without even a kitchen sink, and the necessity of carrying heavy pails from a distant hallway or yard potently discouraged refinements of cleanliness. Demand on the meager equipment of settlement showers and tubs furnished a telling argument in favor of public baths. Residents of Hull House in 1892 helped to secure an appropriation for Chicago's first public bath, which was erected on land controlled by the settlement. South End House, in co-operation with trade union leaders and several influential civic organizations, a few years later helped to secure an appropriation for the erection of the first indoor all-year-round baths in Boston.[1]

While most settlements seek establishment of public baths, such advocacy in no way lessens their desire for housing regulations which require installation of adequate sanitary conveniences in apartments. Under American conditions public baths and laundries are felt even by immigrants to be visible acknowledgments of financial and sanitary insufficiency. The chief function of public washing facilities is to meet the needs of newcomers until they acquire American habits of living. It takes each fresh influx from abroad, under favorable conditions, about one generation to rise to the degree of cleanliness practiced by the nation. The process can be decidedly hastened by educating individuals and by pro-

[1]Among settlements which have been instrumental in bringing about the establishment of public baths are: New York City: College Settlement, East Side House, Greenwich House, Union Settlement, University Settlement; Rochester: Social Settlement; Boston: South End House, Denison House; Chicago: Hull House, University of Chicago Settlement, Northwestern University Settlement, the Commons, Henry Booth House, Maxwell Street Settlement; Detroit: Franklin Street Settlement, Hannah Schloss Memorial; Cleveland: Hiram House, Council Educational Alliance; Columbus: Codman Guild. Some fifty settlements have an equipment of baths for public use. This is in addition to the very considerable number which maintain baths in connection with their gymnasiums for use of those exercising, and those which make a specialty of bathing children during the summer.

moting common sentiment. Such expedition is a definite settlement motive.

Many lapses in the standards of living among working people have their cause, as has been indicated, in the structure of tenement buildings. Housing reform in the United States took its rise in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[1] The important individual and public needs involved, the extent of property interests affected, alertness and determination of those who took part in the struggle, make the evolution of housing legislation in New York a story of nation-wide interest. In 1867 the Council of Hygiene and Public Health of the Citizens' Association induced the legislature to pass several important sanitary housing regulations which were strengthened in 1879 largely through the influence of Alfred T. White, a pioneer with a touch of Owen's power to give concrete form to his ideas. The first state commission "to examine and to investigate and inquire into the character and condition of tenement houses and cellars in the city of New York" was appointed in 1884, in response to public interest aroused by a series of addresses delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture by Felix Adler. It is of more than passing interest that newspaper reports of one of these sermons started Jacob Riis on his inspired crusade for homes and children. The Drexel Committee, on which Dr. Adler served, reported in 1885, and many of the recommendations were embodied in the revised housing law of 1887. Though the act of 1887 was a very great step in advance over previous laws it was far from adequate. In 1894 a new Tenement House Commission was appointed whose members chose Richard Watson Gilder to serve as chairman. University Settlement and College Settlement were now on the scene and their residents gave evidence. The commission reported in January, 1895, and the legislature responded by enacting certain of its recommendations into law.

It was a fortunate chance that during the years practical housing reformers were seeking norms applicable to all tenements, covering size and disposition of rooms, location and area of window spaces, healthfulness and convenience of sanitary appliances, kind and location of exits, there should have been groups of responsible

[1] Reports calling attention to the relation between housing and health were published in New York, 1834, and in Boston, 1846.

and determined people living in tenement environments, in daily and hourly touch with inhabitants, able to set forth in specific terms the results of existing conditions on the health and welfare of men, women, and children, and upon the actual standards of housekeeping, home-making, child care, and sexual morality.[1]

Residents of each new settlement, as it was established during these years, joined hands with the growing body of housing reformers. House-to-house and block-to-block surveys were made and results charted on maps to show cumulatively the overcrowding and congestion of neighborhoods as a whole. Certain residents devoted a decided proportion of their energies to specific measures of housing reform. Housing laws, it was agreed, were almost as much liabilities as assets. The better the law the more troublesome it was to enforce. The necessity for an organization continuously alert to protect and consolidate existing gains and to maintain initiative was overwhelming. With conspicuous generalship the Charity Organization Society in 1898 organized its Tenement House Committee, whose secretary, Lawrence Veiller, has done more than any other one person in this country to create adequate and uniform statutes. The new committee drew on the accumulated experience of a number of settlement houses by preparing in 1900 the first of several notable tenement house exhibits. The case for a new state commission was overwhelmingly established. Governor Roosevelt in 1900 appointed such a commission, with Robert W. de Forest as chairman, Mr. Veiller as secretary. Several of its members had settlement training. On the strength of the findings of the commission the legislature reinforced the previous housing law, and in 1902 created a tenement house department charged with its administration. Mr. de Forest and Mr. Veiller became heads of the new department, and seven of the first eight women inspectors appointed had been connected with settlements.[2]

Among settlement residents, passage of laws was looked upon

[1] Mr. Veiller decided to devote himself to such work as a result of his experience while a resident at University Settlement. See A Model Housing Law, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1920.

[2] In Chicago the steps which led to the formation of the City Homes Association (April, 1900), principal sponsor for Illinois housing legislation, began at Northwestern University Settlement in January, 1897. Settlements in other cities have, in similar ways, organized the forces which have created housing associations, prepared exhibits, obtained laws, and secured their enforcement.

not as an end in itself, but as a demand for a more refined and detailed type of local watchfulness. A striking example of the value of such watchfulness is furnished by the efforts of Hull House, in 1902, to account for an unduly high neighborhood death rate from typhoid. The location of cases, studied in connection with nearby privies, led Dr. Alice Hamilton to suspect contagion communicated by flies. Her researches not only helped to establish this theory, but showed carelessness amounting to criminal negligence on the part of sanitary officials. A number of inspectors were brought to trial, and ultimately a separate municipal department of housing in charge of a thoroughly trained and capable director was obtained.[1]

The logic of efforts to make tenements a possible base for households, and to adapt the rudiments of domestic science to them, gradually forced residents to more exhaustive inquiry into the effect of tenement environment on the structure of the family. It was clear that overcrowding on land may have as deep a significance as overcrowding within buildings. Until 1905 the chief problem of housing, in the special sense, was concerned with questions of sunlight and air, size of room, fire protection, and the number of persons occupying a room.[2] But now there came a new and sweeping challenge. How much land in terms of space for play and association is needed adequately to provide for tenants who may inhabit even a model structure? Is it possible to encompass clean air, disinfecting sunlight, outlook, privacy, repose, self-respecting

[1] Equally necessary though less dramatic forms of continuous local surveillance go on in all settlements and leave hardly more objective record than bare maintenance of legal standards of housing. A succession of local epidemics in Alta House neighborhood, Cleveland, was brought to an end when residents secured enforcement of the municipal regulation that dwellings must be connected with a public sewer. The standard of life in one of those neighborhood backwaters which all settlement residents know, was investigated with minute and painstaking care by Greenwich House, New York, in order to discover the proportion in which blame for hopeless wretchedness might properly be apportioned to insufficiency of the law, neglect of landlords, sloth of tenants, and lethargy of public sentiment. The ramifying effect of low-grade housing on health and morals was followed with meticulous care by residents of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, and the findings kept before citizens and public officials. From United Neighborhoods Guild, Brooklyn, an able system of voluntary inspection of tenement houses was carried on during several years. Facts were gathered in form to permit legal action and were published, together with the names of owners of buildings, in the Guild paper.

[2] Ten years earlier residents of University Settlement had noted the evils of overcrowding of population on the land. See Year Book 1896, p. 10.

passage through streets, when more than a certain number of people are crowded upon an acre? Housing reveals itself as a matter not of providing cells in which a maximum number of bodies may be fitted and retain their capacity to labor, but of achieving a minimum essential layout for the community organism. In 1905 a group of settlement residents in New York combined to call attention to evils of lot and block overcrowding, and the congestion exhibit of 1908 marked full emergence of this new motive. Housing reformers and city planners have united forces for the purpose of creating not houses and not civic centers exclusively, but communities in which human nature may hope to find its legitimate measure of fulfilment.[1]

The rudimentary needs represented by pure air, adequate water supply, careful and expeditious disposal of waste, and sufficient room within doors to arrest degeneration of the home under city conditions imply the complicated machinery of advanced civilization. The danger of dirt and overcrowding to individual and public health dictated the first stage of settlement effort for improved laws and more adequate public service. But filth and clutter are not less disastrous to character than to physical health; while conversely, health makes detailed and comprehensive demands upon mind and will. By transferring the point of attack on physical evils from superficial and remote to direct and personal sources, the settlement finds itself in accord with the present tendency among sanitarians to discount the effect on health of any but specifically infected dirt. The hygienic impact of the future must be first of all on family groups, because contact of individual with individual is closest in the home than at any other point of community life. It is within families that the technique of household care and nursing, and those habits of bodily cleanliness upon which sound personal and community well-being in the last resort depend, must be developed.

[1] Confirmation of these conclusions, if any confirmation were needed, may be found in the dreary fiasco of the tenants' housing agitation of 1908 in New York. Large companies of poor people on the East Side, tried beyond endurance by the rapidly rising scale of rentals charged for narrow and stifling cubicles in which they were burning out their lives, banded together to resist. Their bewilderment in a situation which they could not see through and their utter incapacity to unite broadly, coherently, or forcefully, were the legitimate fruit of an environment which saps any struggling capacity for co-operation. The situation has grown steadily worse during and since the war.

But public health also largely depends on the degree of local interest and responsibility with regard to sanitary evils. Every neighborhood should include among its citizenship at least one group of men and women who keep track of assured advances in the growing science of hygiene, devise ways and means of carrying sanitary practice from doorstep to doorstep and from fireside to fireside. Settlement experience at every point has shown that the better standard never becomes secure until neighbors conspire together to see that it is maintained. As the standard rises, such collective sentiment is increasingly necessary to secure as well as to hold the gains made. A great moral teacher once said that the final achievement of the race would be a perfect hygiene. This goal can be approached only as the motives leading to it are in widest commonalty spread.

CHAPTER XXIII

HEALTH

PUBLIC concern for the health of working-class localities, until recent years, has been largely confined to panic-stricken efforts during and immediately after periodic epidemics. Tenement districts were regarded by intelligent people with mingled fear and dread as breeding places of disease. The most telling and widely urged objection against young women's taking part in settlement work, either as residents or volunteers, was the probability of contracting an infectious disease. Dr. Jane E. Robbins, first woman settler and a physician, confesses to having discouraged the project to establish College Settlement on the ground that only doctors and nurses could live safely on the East Side. During the early years at that house it was considered desirable to have someone with medical training in residence, even more to protect the household than to benefit the neighborhood.

The change which has come to pass is a joint triumph of medical science and social work. The origins of our increasingly extensive and consecutive neighborhood health program are found in that wave of spiritual enterprise that produced the settlements. Charles Kingsley, as we have seen, devoted some of the best energies of his mature years to national as well as local sanitary reform.[1] Canon Barnett, from the beginning of his ministry in Whitechapel, was active in promoting sanitary improvements and devising first-hand means for increasing the physical vitality of the people.

Pioneer American residents entered into this well-formed English tradition. An appreciable proportion of time and strength during

[1] His Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays, written with a wealth of imagery and thoughtful detail, show how much he cared to make cleanliness and good health alluring. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1889.

the nineties was devoted to ferreting out cases of diphtheria, scarlet fever, and typhoid, securing proper quarantine and care of patients, and instructing family and friends in the hygiene of prevention. Little by little, people of the neighborhood were brought to appreciate the value and justice of isolating sufferers from communicable disease. Negligence of local physicians in reporting cases of contagion to public authorities and placarding dwelling houses was gradually overcome.

Increased acquaintance among households revealed unsuspected ravages of suffering and worry traceable to disease and to unintelligent living. Many families were found trying to care for members chronically bedridden or incapacitated. More than half the infants and children of the community were in evident need of medical advice and treatment. An appalling number of adult men and women eked out life on a fifty per cent physical basis.

The settlement shortly came to be regarded in the neighborhood as a headquarters for help in sickness. First-aid rooms were opened in many houses. Men, women, and children not too sick to walk were directed to clinics and specialists. Residents arranged for the admittance of patients to hospitals, and in cases where the parents' prejudice and anxiety were overpowering, accompanied them. Despair of family and friends caused by the impersonal officialism of large hospitals, and especially those supported at public expense, was mitigated by securing adequate reports on the patient's condition and progress.

Some early residents hoped that young physicians of the best training and standards would establish themselves in working-class neighborhoods; and during the first half of the nineties a dozen women and several men opened offices in or near settlements. Accidents and sudden illness made demands on a large portion of their time and strength, while instruction in hygiene, talks before clubs and meetings, local sanitary surveys, and efforts for the improvement of the public health more than absorbed the remainder. Financially, however, the experiment failed. Services were accepted without question so long as they were free. Settlements were still too recently established to command the confidence of any considerable number of families able to pay for medical advice. These went to established local practitioners. Prejudice against

women physicians turned out to be stronger among tenements than in the remainder of the community.

Physicians in other parts of the city, therefore, were asked to give several hours weekly, and neighborhood clinics were opened. These, in a number of instances, brough about establishment of dispensaries and outpatient service. In small cities of the West and South, and in metropolitan areas far removed from downtown hospitals, the settlement dispensary continues to be an important factor in community equipment. The number and variety of medical agencies in most large cities make unnecessary settlement dispensaries for the treatment of acute medical and surgical needs.

Almost as much as sickness, wage-earning men and women dread the cure that requires them to relinquish work. Loss of income and possible loss of job loom darker than physical misery. Since 1910, therefore, an increasing number of settlements have established evening medical and dental clinics for working girls and women. Once such a clinic is established, boys and men begin to seek the same privilege.[1]

Experience, in general, is against the direct maintenance of medical agencies by settlements. If a staff is selected from neighborhood physicians, those neglected are bound to feel injured; if from outside, complaint arises that the settlement is importing and subsidizing competitors. A dispensary under the supervision of a medical society can be indifferent to criticisms of local doctors and can deal adequately with sources of contention from within.

The slight results of continuous effort during three decades by physicians and settlement residents on the problem of local organization of medicine make clear its magnitude and complexity. The last stand of professional charlatans and pariahs is among the tenements. So-called dispensaries advertising free consultations paid for in excessive charges for medicine and by money received for various forms of irregular practice go unchallenged. The employment of "practicing druggists," patent medicine venders, "lodge"

[1] Women physicians in several instances have built up a clientele among working girls. The fee for consultation is slightly less than the average local charge. Hope that fair costs of medical service might be met has not been fulfilled. Meanwhile the clinic brings help and healing to a growing number of people: and high-grade medical service, however limited in quantity, has its sure effect on the standards of the people and on local practitioners.

and "society" doctors, though they represent an effort on the part of working people to pay their way, is medically unsound.[1]

Settlement conviction, lay and medical, is clear and strong that the average tenement income is insufficient to pay fair costs of adequate medical service in illness which calls for multiple consultations, advice of specialists or assistance of laboratory, and nursing care. The success of the medical sharper in extorting considerable sums only adds to the tragedy. Industrial accident boards, evening pay clinics, and health centers represent helpful beginnings toward a democratic system for meeting the disease risks of wage-earning families. Whether such a system will eventuate in state medical aid, sickness insurance, more economical organization of medical service, or a combination among these, cannot be forecasted. It is to be hoped, however, that some of the millions of dollars once burned up in drink may be directed to paying costs of good medical advice. City workmen in comparison with farmers receive a heavy bonus of free medical service. Immigrants, who make up the larger part of those using dispensaries, must be educated to pay a reasonable price for benefits obtained.

Almost as important as the counsel of skilled physicians is expert assistance in carrying out treatment.[2] The earliest visiting nurses were in general affiliated with missions and dispensaries and their ministrations limited to beneficiaries of these organizations. They could not avoid seeing the effect, in terms of suffering, delayed recovery, and permanent weakness, of a miserable environment, poor and inadquate food, bad personal habits, and unhappy human relationships. Supplementary circles of charitably minded lay people were formed to meet these needs. When settlements came upon the scene, the faint beginnings of our modern district nursing service were discernible in a few large cities.[3] Almost before they

[1] Fortunately many working-class neighborhoods are blessed by the presence of one or two men of sterling character and sound professional ability. Their influence, even though it often seems to be almost lost in the welter of mediocrity, is always definitely constructive. Yet even the high-minded physician is all too likely to become careless through pressure of work.

[2] The desire to bring the services of the trained nurse within the range of the poor led William Rathbone of Liverpool, England, to establish in May, 1859, the first visiting nursing association. The pioneer visiting nursing service in America was established in 1877 by the women's branch of the New York City Mission.

[3] There were 21 visiting nurses associations in the United States in 1890, most of which, however, employed only one nurse.

were aware of how it happened, women residents found themselves involved in various forms of medical relief. They served as impromptu nurses in childbirth, bound up cuts and bruises, dispensed simple remedies, gave aid and comfort pending arrival of a doctor, supplied food, medicine, and sick-room utensils, performed the housework of stricken mothers to keep the family together. Before long it seemed desirable to invite nurses to come into residence and carry on their duties from the settlement house.

The union of nursing and neighborhood work was destined to succeed. The impulse which led Miss Wald and Miss Brewster, on graduation from the New York Hospital Training School, to seek a dwelling among the men and women whose welfare was to become their concern, opened a new path of adventurous service in a profession whose fine traditions since Florence Nightingale have always included public-spirited care of the neglected and helpless.

The first purpose of the founders of Henry Street Settlement was to establish "a system for nursing the sick in their homes . . . on terms most considerate of the dignity and independence of the patients." The services of the settlement are keyed to hold members of each stricken household loyally together and to increase their capacity to act together. Certain important principles affecting the relation between family, nurse, and physician have been worked out. Interesting and significant to the neighborhood worker is Miss Wald's conclusion that the home is not only a satisfactory place for the treatment of most forms of illness, but the most satisfactory. Discovery that hospital care for mothers ill or in childbed all too often resulted in tragic disorganization of families, brought visiting housekeepers to supplement the work of nurses. The conviction that short-term illnesses of children, in particular, respond more favorably to treatment at home than in hospital, has received statistical justification.

The nurse who identifies herself with settlement and neighborhood wins a place in popular regard analogous to that of local physicians and clergy. Standing somewhat between the inflexibility of nature and of science and the deep-seated popular instincts of pity, she appears to simple people the representative of merciful human powers. She is able to put physicians in possession of elusive facts which have a bearing on disease. Authority gained from

professional affiliations and expert service causes her advice in matters of hygiene and practical living to be specially regarded, and her patient suggestion often secures entire reorganization of habits and home.[1]

It was, of course, natural that the first broad efforts of settlement nurses should be directed toward control of contagious diseases. As early as 1893 Miss Wald and Miss Brewster secured from hospitals and dispensaries in New York City a list of persons afflicted with tuberculosis who had applied for treatment and visited them in their homes. Sputum cups were supplied, and patient and family informed about proper hygiene. Other agencies were enlisted in obtaining food, clothing, and attention.[2] At the end of a decade (1903) the Board of Health organized a corps of nurses to carry on this service.

Though the principle of medical supervision of public schools had received statement before settlements came on the scene, few cities had actually employed school physicians.[3] Pioneer residents, adopting the best private kindergarten practice, drew upon doctors and nurses regularly to examine each child in the settlement kindergarten and to treat those who were sick or ailing.

Miss Wald's wide and continuous acquaintance on the East Side revealed typical groups of children in need of detailed medical examination. Boys and girls were discovered too weak or ill to go to school regularly. A more or less constant though far from negligible group attended school while suffering from contagious diseases. Most important of all, numerically, were those handicapped by easily remedied defects, neglect of which made it impossible for them to keep up with their studies. In 1897 cumulative results of several years' observation and record were placed before the Board of Education, and led to the appointment of a staff of school doctors charged to examine children, to quarantine those having contagious

[1] Specialties such as the care of contagious disease, infant hygiene, and surgical after-treatment have been developed and in several instances passed on to city administration. In Los Angeles the district nursing service of settlements has been assumed by the municipality and made a regular department.

[2] Most of the expedients of medical social service were in detail antedated by settlement nurses.

[3] The first school doctors in the United States were appointed in 1894 by the Boston School Committee.

diseases, and to notify parents of boys or girls in need of medical assistance.

Serious gaps in the working logic of medical inspection were disclosed by thorough follow-up of actual cases. Pupils were debarred from class for days, and sometimes for weeks at a time, because families failed to secure additional medical advice, to buy prescribed remedies, or to follow orders intelligently. To cap the climax of this absurd situation these very children were discovered in close intimacy of street and playground with boys and girls they had been excluded to protect.

Miss Wald suggested to the Board of Education the employment of nurses to see that the advice of school physicians was acted upon. The services of a member of her household were offered to carry on the experiment. Within a month it was proved "that, with the exception of the very small proportion of major contagious and infectious diseases, the addition of the nurse to the staff made it possible to reverse the object of medical inspection from excluding the children from school to keeping the children in the class room and under treatment." Twelve nurses were thereupon appointed by the Board of Health and assigned to schools in tenement localities. Settlements in several cities, following the example of Henry Street, carried on school nursing until the service was taken over by boards of education, while others, by calling the attention of public authorities to results of such service in New York, were able to secure its adoption directly.

The conscience of early settlement residents was caught, as that of some public health officials long had been, by the appalling sickness and mortality rate among infants and small children in crowded city neighborhoods during the summer.[1] So overwhelming were demands created by the needs of families immediately about them on the time and strength of the settlement nurse that it soon became common to employ an extra nurse on the advent of warm weather. Houses without a resident nurse were driven to secure such service for the three hot months.

The more recent movement for conservation of infant life, how-

[1] As early as 1876 the New York City Board of Health appropriated a sum of money to provide medical care for a short period for sick babies in tenements, a plan that was continued in a desultory sort of fashion for several succeeding years and then allowed to lapse.

ever, had its beginnings in the discovery that dirty milk is a prime cause of sickness and death among babies, and in efforts first to guard against the effects and later to prevent contamination. A pioneer in this field was Nathan Straus, a New York merchant who, in 1893, established the first of a chain of stations for distributing pasteurized milk at cost, or free when needed, among the tenements. In 1897 Dr. George W. Goler, health officer at Rochester, New York, organized there a municipal milk station for the distribution of pasteurized and modified milk.

The logic of the work of Mr. Straus and Dr. Goler appealed to settlement residents everywhere. In 1897 Northwestern University Settlement installed equipment for pasteurizing and was soon able to supply milk to other Chicago settlements. Modification began in 1902. Work soon outgrew resources and equipment and was transferred in 1903 to a special commission of the Children's Hospital Society. Houses in other cities opened milk depots, took part in forming milk committees, gave the use of rooms and services of their staff in order to hasten the establishment of local stations.

Experience soon showed that the problem of a safe food supply for children is not solved merely by securing and delivering it. Conscientious and scientific care in production and transit may come to naught through careless handling. Simple and inexpensive ways had to be devised for keeping milk cool and uncontaminated. The settlement nurse began to visit in the home in order to show mothers how to prepare and care for babies' food. The modifying of milk in the home was first taught in New York, in 1903. Gradually it was seen that instruction must cover the entire regimen of infant life. Mothers had to be convinced, often in the face of family and neighborhood tradition to the contrary, that pork, pickles, bananas, and beer are bad for infants. The practice was thus established of giving instruction about kind and weight of clothing, hours and conditions of sleep, technique of bathing, training in personal habits.

Knowledge of how tenement mothers care for their babies and actual examination of numbers of infants, uncovered a very considerable amount of hitherto unappreciated suffering among them. Baby clinics were created. That established at Greenwich House in the summer of 1903 stands among the earliest.

The organization of a thoroughgoing campaign of infant saving on a city-wide scale started in Chicago. In the summer of 1905 Northwestern University Settlement, the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, and the Visiting Nurses Association established on the settlement roof an outdoor educational clinic. Doctors and nurses were in attendance, modified milk was on sale, and visiting nurses called on mothers in their homes and instructed them personally in the care of children. The scope and range of this campaign were enlarged steadily year by year until finally assumed by the Department of Health.[1]

Out of such pioneering effort has come the infant nursing service in large cities, instruction of public school girls in the rudiments of caring for babies, and the infant-saving campaigns conducted by newspapers and industrial insurance companies. It is probably not too much to claim that in metropolitan areas care of infants under one year shows today a more complete application of enlightenment and co-operation on the part of appropriate forces than any other single function of communal life.[2]

The motive of saving lives of sick children has developed, by a deliberate process of extension, into a campaign of education in scientific child nurture and training. Settlement milk stations and clinics have become centers of constructive hygiene where the latest results of knowledge and skill in the rearing of children are brought within the ken of all mothers. Dr. Hamilton and Dr. Hedger have made important studies into the relation between family income, employment of mothers, and death and disease rate among infants.[3] Science is surely confirming the reassertion of settlement workers

[1] See Appendix, p. 418, Note IX.—Infant Saving in Chicago.

[2] The infant hygiene station makes an excellent cornerstone in the edifice of community organization. Desire to save the life and health of babies is one of the most deep-seated and appealing individual and social instincts. To mother and even to father, it seems natural and right that neighbors, citizens-at-large, doctors, nurses, clergy, municipalities and states should be interested in the fortunes of a new soul and citizen. The bugbears of "charity" and "democracy" intrude only slightly into work planned for the baby's benefit. Interest of doctor, nurse, and social worker passes easily and naturally from infant and mother to the rest of the family. Mothers attending the clinic become acquainted with each other and provide a basis for extension of common interest. Their deep concern in motherhood as a profession makes them propagandist in all that has to do with its technique, and they extend their acquaintance easily and naturally to other neighborhood mothers. These in turn are brought to the baby station.

[3] Hamilton, Alice: "Industrial Diseases; with Special Reference to the Trades

that the place of mothers of children is in the home; that government, education, and industry have no more important duty than the adequate preparation and support of mothers for their supreme task of child nurture.

Endeavor to care for all babies by scientific methods revealed a considerable cause of suffering and death to mothers and infants in lack of skilled care in childbirth. A large proportion of births among certain nationalities are supervised by midwives. In 1905, Gaylord S. White, head of Union Settlement, New York, who had begun to face problems caused by a rapid influx of Italians into the district, obtained a sum of money to finance an investigation into the quality of service performed by these women.[1] Its results exposed the uncleanliness, ignorance, and occasional criminality of midwives. At the instigation of the Neighborhood Workers' Association a law was secured in 1907 which placed on the Department of Health responsibility for regulating the practice of midwifery.[2] Although practically valuable and necessary, the control of midwives carries no enlarged hope for the future. By 1910 a small number of enlightened men and women became convinced that the time was ripe to bring the best suggestions of obstetrical science to tenement mothers. In May of that year, Mary L. Strong,[3] a trained nurse and a resident of some years' standing at South End House, began pre-natal nursing on a neighborhood basis by seeking out women who were shortly to bear children, and instructing them in the hygiene of pregnancy and the preparation of the layette.

in which Women are Employed." In *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XX, pp. 655–69, 1908.

Hedger, Caroline: "Relation of Infant Mortality to the Occupation and Long Hours of Work for Women." In American Academy of Medicine *Bulletin*, Vol. XI, pp. 80–91, 1910.

[1] The study was made by F. Elizabeth Crowell under the auspices of the Public Health Committee of the Neighborhood Workers' Association of which Miss Wald was chairman. The results were published in *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XVII, p. 667, 1907, under the title, "Midwives in New York."

[2] In July, 1911, the first school of midwives in the United States under municipal control was established at Bellevue Hospital. Nurses of the Bureau of Child Hygiene now inspect the equipment of licensed midwives, call upon households in which there are newborn infants, examine the child, instruct mothers, and indicate the nearest baby hygiene station. In Chicago, settlements united to secure the services of Miss Crowell, and a similar study was made in that city.

[3] Mrs. Howard Burns.

Through patient imaginative explanation mothers and fathers were brought to an intelligent understanding of the medical and other resources at their command.

The full values of expert medical service, however, are not secured until its moral and associational by-products are understood and definitely sought. The exaltation of gestation in the eyes of parents to its true place among the wonders and mysteries of life, the strengthening of the father's instinct to protect mother and child, establishment of the motive of forecasting the environment and training that may be expected to bring out the possibilities inherent in each new soul, desire to create a compelling and beautiful round of home habits and observances, represent important means of developing an aspiring type of family life. It was proved that these results might be brought to pass through visits, through discussion with the parents singly and together, and through an expected-babies club, in conducting which there was a rare fusion of practical wisdom with the moral picturesque.[1]

Meanwhile, the first fruits of the spread of infant care are evident in certain neighborhoods. Studies of children under three years of age made from a Boston settlement showed that nearly all mothers who had sought advice of the local pre-natal nurse had been delivered by skilled obstetricians and had made satisfactory recoveries. A large proportion of the same women, had they lived in another neighborhood, would have been delivered by midwives. The infants born to the mothers who had received pre-natal care were all being nursed, and most of them were registered at the baby hygiene clinic. At the time of the investigations the mothers, with

[1] Year-in and year-out acquaintance with tenement mothers makes the present agitation about birth control seem far from distant and academic. Deeper, however, than the question of limitation of offspring is that of marital morality. Young people now come into marriage ignorant of its hygiene and with rudimentary ethical standards. Disease, nervous disorder, distressing personal relations, and unhappy homes are a common result. Religious leaders limit themselves, in the main, to prohibitions against enlightenment; educators and physicians, by and large, likewise eschew responsibility. A limited number of settlement workers have joined forces with those who advocate repeal of laws forbidding physicians to impart knowledge about contraceptives; others are strongly inclined, on practical grounds as well as on principle, to the established ethical position. While there is as yet no consensus of opinion among settlement nurses, physicians, and leaders of women's clubs there is discoverable a decided feeling that the issue must be faced and met on the basis of actual knowledge of facts. Infant and pre-natal clinics may be expected in time to offer opportunity for true case work in this perplexing field.

only a few exceptions, were using good judgment in the matter of sleep, exercise, air, and diet. Local kindergarten teachers, physicians, and skilled neighborhood workers agree that children born within the past five years show greater physical stamina and resistance than those of a decade ago. In this district a demonstrably higher standard of infant care has been established: mothers no longer have to be sought out; they gladly avail themselves of pre-natal advice for themselves and skilled help for their infants.

The next step involves an equally intelligent system for children between eighteen months when the baby hygiene station, as it were, discharges them, and the fifth year when they come under supervision of school doctors and nurses. There is a tradition in many working-class neighborhoods that small children may as well be exposed to the common contagious diseases on the assumption that these are not dangerous to the young and had therefore better be got over with. Children of this age are particularly victims of treatment based on medical old-wives' tales that persist among the uneducated. It seems fairly obvious that every neighborhood should have a supply of skilled medical service available to children in this age group; and a number of houses now maintain medical, dietary, posture, cardiac, and other clinics for them.[1]

The combined efforts of settlement residents and other social workers during more than two decades to arouse physicians and medical organizations to the effect of industrial strain, broken down family life, and community disorganization on the health of working people, found compelling medical reinforcement in October, 1905, when Massachusetts General Hospital "permitted" Dr. Richard C. Cabot to organize "a small force of social workers to attend to any cases which the out-patient department might see fit to send them."[2] Other hospitals and dispensaries followed. In

[1] South End House, in 1914, began by graduating babies and mothers connected with pre-natal clinic and baby hygiene stations into a Babies' Good Government Club for children between eighteen months and five years, with a constitution, rules of conduct, pictorial certificates of membership, monthly meetings, occasional parties and picnics. The club met monthly for recreation and instruction by a doctor and nurse who conducted what was known as a "well babies" clinic.

[2] Cabot, R. C.: First Annual Report of social work permitted at the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, October 1, 1905, to October 1, 1906. A classic document about the economic, domestic, and moral problems which arise in a great clinic.

several instances settlements had a part in initiating and organizing such effort. Their present distinctive service consists in following out medical directions for convalescence and in bringing about a right start in the patient's more hygienic way of living.[1] The whole problem of the convalescent stage is among the most recurrent that doctors, nurses, and social workers have to face.

A pioneer attempt to extend the principle of insurance to nursing was undertaken in 1909 by the Metropolitan Insurance Company of New York, at the suggestion of Miss Wald and in co-operation with the nursing staff of Henry Street Settlement. Services of the district nurse, under direction of a physician, were made available to policyholders as part of the protection offered by the company. Within a few years other industrial insurance companies adopted the plan, and this service has been extended to most large cities of the United States and Canada.

The revolution in medical science which took place between 1890 and 1915 has greatly stimulated the widespread application of medical service. Certain neighborhoods are now regularly visited, among others, by representatives of visiting nurse associations, public schools, milk and baby hygiene societies, anti-tuberculosis associations, departments of health, and out-patient departments of hospitals, factories, and commercial institutions. Some settlements now set apart a room with telephone, desks, lockers, and supply closets as a center of call, rest, and conference for representatives of these agencies. Here comprehensive plans for assisting families in difficulty are worked out through consultation among the several societies and the settlement. Incidentally, cumulative testimony is secured concerning local plague spots and families who are victims and disseminators of diseases.

The broad lesson of a quarter century is that the chief enemy of health is ignorance. All residents know the utter discouragement that comes of watching results of expert advice and persevering effort swept aside through intrusion of the authoritative counsel of

[1] A few settlements, notably Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, and Henry Street Settlement in New York, maintain convalescent homes. A dozen houses use their summer camps for that purpose, either in whole or in part, during spring and fall. The difficulty of raising funds for what seems to the settlement's supporting constituency not an inherent department of its work, makes such enterprises less common than they ought to be.

crystallized tradition. Misinformation current in many tenement neighborhoods about the meaning of symptoms, appropriate home remedies, and hygiene of body, dress, and sleep, is a potent cause of weakness and illness. The growing conviction of sanitarians that contagion is chiefly conveyed by some direct passage and commerce between the healthy and infected is causing less stress to be laid upon superficial disorder and more upon essential cleanliness.

No one thing would more increase national efficiency than the deliberate stirring up of sound local talk about the need of skilled care in sickness, diet proper to various age groups, hygiene of domestic life. With this end in view the entire round of settlement work is directed toward creating local traditions about what constitutes physical well-being, individual, family, and neighborhood. Residents calling in homes constantly take note of those who might benefit by medical advice. Children who attend day nurseries and kindergartens, and members of clubs and classes, are looked out for by leaders and nurses.

In addition to many general forms of personal watchfulness, residents are constantly alert to carry the latest results of modern knowledge about health and hygiene to working people. Settlement houses have served as local headquarters in health campaigns, notably that against tuberculosis organized throughout the country during the nineteen hundreds. Robert Hunter, headworker at University Settlement, and Miss Wald were members of the first tuberculosis committee which was appointed in 1902 at the instance of Edward T. Devine, secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society. In certain cities settlements took the lead in launching anti-tuberculosis movements; in others they helped secure open-air camps, schools, and sanitaria for the treatment of incipient cases and assumed responsibility for follow-up work.[1] Educational propaganda through neighborhood exhibits, lectures, the distribution of literature, goes on periodically at most houses.

[1] Nurses Settlement, Richmond, Va., Telegraph Hill Neighborhood House in San Francisco, and Visiting Nurses Settlement in Orange, New Jersey, had an important part in launching anti-tuberculosis work in their respective cities. In Chicago, Gads Hill Settlement established the first tuberculosis camp (1905) in Illinois, and Hull House maintained a similar camp in its initiatory stage for working girls (1907). Whittier House, Jersey City, was instrumental in securing a county tuberculosis sanatorium.

The campaign to promote greater care of the mouth and teeth later received a somewhat similar reinforcement from settlements. In 1908 Dr. William R. Woodbury, pioneer in oral hygiene, then a resident at South End House, organized a dental exhibit. The interest taken by people of the locality in the material shown was so great that charts and models were sent to other cities.

Neighborhood exhibits to bring about more careful protection and handling of food in markets and homes have been arranged in several cities. Many houses exhibit yearly, in connection with baby clinics, the clothing, bedding, food, and playthings most suited for small children; a few organize periodic "baby shows," believing that such events stimulate interest and pride in mothers.

These forms of specialized health propaganda are supplemented by individual and small-group instruction. Classes in first aid and elementary care of the sick are carried on as a definite part of the work of most settlements. Lectures on personal and family hygiene are a regular part of the educational program of settlement women's clubs. Children's clubs frequently invite doctors and nurses to address them. Settlements which publish neighborhood papers print information about care of children, household management, working of pure-food laws, importance of exercise, and other subjects of like character; several systematically distribute the literature of health education leagues.

An important cumulative result of all these forms of education is the increasing initiative shown by tenement people. Once parents learn the community's medical resources, a vital and thoughtful interest in health begins. Response to appeals to establish communal hygiene becomes more immediate and intelligent.[1] Clubs of women and young people at an increasing number of settlements raise money with which to assist sick members and other neighbors.

[1] When an outbreak of yellow fever occurred in New Orleans in 1905, Kingsley House neighborhood, although in many respects ill-conditioned, escaped with relatively few cases. This almost miraculous immunity was due in large part to the fact that as soon as the presence of disease was discovered the settlement women's club, together with children's and young people's organizations, were called together, the danger explained, and the co-operation of all sought. Each member of the women's club pledged herself to oil her own cistern, gutter, and vault, and to make a house-to-house canvass of the block in which she lived, for the purpose of obtaining the support of neighbors. Thirty blocks were canvassed. Throughout the epidemic the settlement was able to continue its regular work, thus keeping the neighborhood life as normal as possible.

Local improvement associations organized at many houses are educating their members to think about health in terms of family and neighborhood. These several forms of medical and nursing service, education in personal hygiene, and organization for conserving health and strength, are creating a new mind among people.

Among all this work for the improvement of communal health there is one field in which substantial gains in sound local traditions are already discernible. The fortunate circumstances that placed the development of infant hygiene work under direction of persons affiliated with settlements checked the strong tendency toward centralized administration which besets medical perhaps even more than other forms of public-spirited enterprise. Establishment of the early baby clinics on a neighborhood basis will in time be recognized as among the great triumphs of medical organization in the twentieth century. Right practice in the care of babies thus systematically introduced into the gossip of the mothers of the neighborhood becomes so far part of the tissue of local opinion that departure from it draws criticism and opprobrium of family, friends, and neighbors. It is of more value to demonstrate the need of proper clothing, of fresh air, or of any other necessity so thoroughly that it becomes a topic of daily conversation in a local circle than to have imparted identical information to several times the same number living so far apart that members cannot reinforce and sustain one another.

The neighborhood health services in settlements are increasingly preventive and educational. A considerable number of houses carry on formal or informal diagnostic clinics. Results of examinations of children between seven and eighteen even in cities where the work of doctors and nurses is reasonably efficient, show that out of every hundred children more than 90 per cent are suffering from conditions that need attention. Medical findings of such examinations are followed up with great care by nurses and residents. An encouraging outgrowth of experience is that the practice of neighborhood doctors and dentists is helped rather than injured by intelligent medical supervision.

The number and importance of the activities for safeguarding and building up health carried on at many settlements, had they been part of the work of departments such as music or craftswork, would

long ago have brought about establishment of quite separate neighborhood centers. This development has not taken place for several reasons, chief of which is the fact that there has not been a sufficiently sound medical and sociological groundwork to justify the superstructure. To call a milk and baby hygiene station whether under private or municipal auspices a "health center" seems almost flippant; and use of the term for a few public health services in a large metropolitan area with a population equal if not greater than that of important cities seems equally a misnomer.[1]

Neighborhood organizers seek for their localities three boons. The first is an adequate pattern of medical service in terms of physicians, resident and non-resident nurses, first-aid rooms, clinics for infants, children and adults, and hospitals. A large number of houses now so far supplement the local educational, charitable, and commercial medical resources that fair advice and nursing care are within the reach of all.

The second is education of the community to use such equipment and service wisely and adequately. A standard of intelligence in the use of available resources for the prevention and care of disease at least a generation in advance of that in average working-class localities obtains among many settlement constituencies.

The third is establishment of those habits, personal, family, and communal, which are the sole safeguards against inroads of disease. Here again results of large significance have already been obtained.

To assure these benefits the development of a pervading centralized community sentiment will be indispensable.

[1] A few houses, among them Henry Street Settlement and Greenwich House in New York, Whittier House in Jersey City, and Welcome Hall, Buffalo, have made a beginning in bringing together their various forms of educational health service in one place.

CHAPTER XXIV

LAW AND ORDER

AN AGE-LONG tradition of the city had placed organized vice near by, and even scattered among, the homes of working people. Until very recently it was taken for granted that tenement districts should show moral degradation in proportion to their sanitary unwholesomeness; that in general a responsible relation existed between people who lived in slums and the entire round of vices found there. The attitude of established citizens toward such localities was usually one of reprehension. Typical efforts to better the situation were rescue missions and repressive societies.

Though pledged to consider every human being as at least potential man and brother, original settlement residents were affected with something like a sinking of heart on coming actually face to face with the realities of degeneracy. Street corners and open spaces, as well as saloons, were infested with tramps, sots, half-wits, loafers, and outcasts. A considerable proportion of this human flotsam and jetsam, it was evident, had its origin among more favored economic classes. That neighborhoods crowded above all others with children and young people should be called upon to bear not only the costs of degeneracy from within their own group, but that of other cities, states and nations, seemed too unjust to be borne. Residents were in full accord with their neighbors that tramps' lodging houses and mission shelters which attract such types are both impertinences and inflictions.[1]

Among the heaviest handicaps under which congested districts labored was the custom of singling out some of their lodging-house streets as more or less authorized centers of corruption. From this vantage ground prostitutes and gamblers, created and maintained

[1] The return which the better-to-do make through institutions of philanthropy is probably far from sufficient to compensate for this unjust strain on working-class vitality.

by middle-class and well-to-do, ramified through the neighborhood, wormed their way into recreative circles, and used many devices for drawing in recruits. Small children were discovered to be conversant with the habits and manners of the underworld. Not a few boys and girls ran errands for keepers of houses of ill-fame and their inmates, or for venders of liquor, cocaine and other drugs. Child victims of vicious habits disclosed themselves. Because workingmen, though in the main recoiling from prostitution, avoid the attitude of moral reformers, and because tenement women, no less than their better-to-do sisters, have refused to recognize the existence and significance of organized vice, a policy of laissez faire toward it had grown up in the districts, the bitter fruits of which revealed themselves in family skeletons, unmentionable illness, and court records.

Two causes for this apathy stand out with special clearness; one an almost superstitious holding aloof from contact with evil, the other an overwhelming dread of reprisals. Vengeance of the underworld is peculiarly sudden and unaccountable upon enemies who live within its purlieus. Settlement residents, as persons on duty for the sake of confronting an entire situation, took upon themselves the task of ferreting out nests of vice and of appealing to police and to vigilance societies. A crusade against nearby houses of prostitution was begun by its residents shortly after the establishment of Neighborhood Guild. Most settlements, at one time or another, and some of them constantly, have been in protest against thinly veiled or openly rampant prostitution. Neighbors in a number of instances, after the possibility of securing results has been demonstrated, have been organized into committees which provide a bulwark against invasion and defense against threatenings.

But prostitution could not be adequately combated from within the neighborhood, and in the late nineties, partly as a result of steps taken by Henry Moskowitz, then head resident at Madison House, there came into being perhaps the first municipal morals commission, the widely known Committee of Fifteen. The work of this commission led in other cities to organization of similar bodies.[1]

[1] William H. Matthews, of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, was ready at a critical time in the moral life of the city with accumulated results of heroic study and experience. Graham Taylor served on the Chicago Vice Commission.

These morals commissions have, almost without exception, confirmed settlement conviction that segregation of vice in working-class localities is among the cruelest anomalies of civilization.[1] Residents believed that once the community could be brought to face actual facts, the policy of segregation would be set aside. But the success of combating rather than of coming to terms with vice, means that in such neighborhoods there must be a group of resourceful and desperately determined citizens pledged to see that there is no protected center within their territories. This kind of vigilance settlements are in duty bound to carry on.

In addition to forms of degeneracy which are in a way foisted on them, the working classes, like other strata in society, have their characteristic and more or less indigenous vices. Of these alcoholism, except among the Jews, and juvenile delinquency, have been most frequent. Until 1919 social occasions in most tenement neighborhoods were organized on a drink basis. Birth, marriage, death, politics, recreation, all red-letter festivals and occasions, were celebrated to accompaniment of liquor. Many local heroes held their forum before bars. Saloonkeepers were generally leading business men and citizens. Criticism of the saloon touched ingrained loyalties and vested interests to the quick.

When settlements came on the scene a decided degree of dissatisfaction with the prevailing crudely aggressive temperance agitation was developing among intelligent people. Physiologists were analyzing the effects of alcohol on tissue; and practical students of affairs were seeking reasons for the prestige and power of the saloon. Representatives of settlements during these years participated in a study of the recreational functions of the saloon carried on by the Committee of Fifty. The results, which were published under the title "Substitutes for the Saloon," drew largely on settlement experience;[2] and it is worth noting that until 1919, conclusions

[1] The fact that some educated women were living in such an environment, and that others as volunteer club leaders were passing from their homes into it, has had an important part in arousing the favored classes to the dangers which so many daughters of the tenements are continually forced to meet.

[2] Calkins, Raymond: Substitutes for the Saloon; an investigation made for the Committee of Fifty under the direction of F. G. Peabody and others. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1901.

reached in this volume had not been superseded. During the first decade of the century widespread dissemination of the opinion that alcohol in limited amounts had a real, though excessively attenuated, food value; the belief that saloons were poor men's clubs; and, in the case of immigrants, a certain cosmopolitan appreciation of other ways of living, caused most settlement workers to assume an attitude of suspended judgment on the desirability of prohibition in general, apart from doubts about enforcement in large cities.

The question of the individual saloon, however, remained. In nearly all settlement neighborhoods certain barrooms stood out as obvious, and even notorious, centers of corruption; headquarters for political bosses, thieves, crooks, pimps, and prostitutes. Residents of more than usual venturesomeness and faith occasionally haled a particularly vicious publican into court; but the alliance between politics, police, liquor, and prostitution was, in many American cities, too subtle. Victory, when rarely it came, was generally turned into defeat. Offenders changed the names of their places, transferred licenses to others of their own ilk, or moved a few blocks away.

In several instances, however, watchfulness year in and year out, combined with constant threat of court action, brought about some mitigation of otherwise intolerable situations. An example of fearless effort was furnished by Kingsley House, Pittsburgh. The settlement was situated among a population of diverse immigrants and Negroes, including many unmarried casual laborers, near a downtown district which had a reputation from coast to coast for vicious debauchery. Strategy called for separation of the sale of liquor from commercialized prostitution. Charles C. Cooper, head of the house, persistently collected evidence against the more notorious places and prosecuted owners. Under threat of contesting licenses, local saloonkeepers agreed not to sell liquor to women. The closing of screened rooms frequented by degraded men and women materially reduced the public display of lewdness and drunkenness, and by so much made the neighborhood safer for children and young people.

Cafés which included liquor selling with arrangements conducive to solicitation, and licensed hotels which encouraged prostitution, were recognized as a combination of forces peculiarly threatening

to city young people. Boston settlements instituted on their own account an investigation of this system. Disclosures made brought the appointment of Robert A. Woods to the licensing board, in which connection he was able to put into effect regulations which severely restricted evil methods in these places. In general an important result of settlement influence during the nineteen hundreds and the nineteen-tens was the creation of a strong and widely prevalent conviction of the urgency of breaking the alliance between liquor and prostitution.

In certain neighborhoods saloons were chiefly drinking places, and owners were not directly interested in crime and debauchery. But it frequently happened that local standards governing the use of alcohol lagged behind the excise code. Settlement residents in such neighborhoods canvassed owners of objectionable places, and occasionally secured their co-operation in enforcing the statute which prohibits sale of liquor to minors, either for consumption before the bar or for delivery in shops or homes.

The public dance hall, because of its alliance with liquor interests and its all too general control by men of low or negative morality, falls more within the scope of moral pathology than of moral hygiene. It was surely one of the anomalies of civilization, happily corrected, that a close relationship should have been tolerated between alcohol and dancing, a form of recreation whose innermost significance is based on sex attraction and whose fascination is partly found in the consciousness of venturesome risk which accompanies it. The result was analogous to permitting dizzy persons to walk the edge of a precipice. Court records, researches of vice commissions, and studies conducted at psychopathic institutes have overwhelmingly confirmed the opinion of settlement residents that separation of dance halls and saloons constituted an essential prescription in the organization of city life.

A number of houses regularly inspected saloon dance halls. Proprietors were induced to exercise a stricter supervision over stairs, toilets, and retiring rooms, to discourage sale of hard liquor, and to enforce early closing hours for young girls. It occasionally became necessary, as a matter of public policy, to bring serious and continued violation of statutes to the attention of officials; and it was always cause for congratulation if a wealthy dealer was culprit.

Municipal and state regulations establishing a minimum age below which children were not permitted to attend public dances, a reasonable closing hour, and obligatory police supervision of dancing floors and retiring rooms were brought about in a number of instances and are quite as requisite under prohibition as before. These sound restrictions furnish a slight measure of protection to the immature, thoughtless, and scatterbrained. But they represent, at best, only a feeble breakwater, which seems rather to meet the community's instinct for its own outward self-respect than to furnish effective safeguards.

These sporadic efforts at restricting the evil power of the saloon were incidental to carrying vast burdens caused by it. The most constant family problem in many tenement neighborhoods was the drunken father.[1] So great sometimes was the stake represented by the capacity of the victim, and value of the family group of which he was the unworthy head, that every ounce of emotional force and human resource at command of the entire settlement staff was devoted to his cure.

Experience with families aggregating many thousands strongly emphasized the conviction that poor home-making was a potent contributing cause of inebriety. The woman, slack and uncleanly, wasteful in her use of income, incompetent in preparing food, inclined to nagging discontent, was an important ally of the saloon. It was not a coincidence that the lowest percentage of alcoholism was found in those national groups with good dietary and consistent housewifery. Neighborhood traditions and associations hardly less than conditions within the home were seen as continually provoking causes of relapse. Results of long-continued struggle by victims, and weeks of patient assistance on the part of relatives and friends, were often swept away by the apparently irresistible power of old resorts, old companions, old mental suggestions.

A new era in the treatment of alcoholism, based on studies of how liquor affects the nervous system, and on more detailed and subtle forms of treatment, began about 1905. Settlement workers set out to make results of this new knowledge, first utilized for the benefit of well-to-do inebriates, available for workingmen. Skilled medical advice and treatment were obtained for those who manifested a

[1] Jews and Italians are notable exceptions.

desire to control their appetites, and money was raised with which to send specially hopeful cases to approved institutions. Forms of follow-up guardianship and helpful espionage were developed. Results of case work demonstrated the need of a public policy for the treatment of working-class alcoholics. Appointment of the head of South End House, as chairman of the board of trustees of Foxboro, Massachusetts, afterward Norfolk, State Hospital (1907), marked the initiation of a régime which changed that institution from a modified penal colony into a distinctly medical establishment.

Intimate and detailed knowledge of the natural history of inebriety which grew out of this new type of rescue work made possible a fresh and concrete attack on the saloon. Analysis of police and hospital records in Boston showed that an unduly high percentage of arrests for drunkenness and of hospital cases came directly from a limited number of saloons which subordinated every consideration to that of money-making. The difference between publicans who in some crude measure protected patrons, and those who recklessly pushed the sale of intoxicants upon persons already at the point of helplessness or delirium, was so great in point of effect on family and neighborhood life as to make the latter criminals of a highly dangerous sort. Settlement residents took part actively with others in a hard fought but finally successful campaign for a law separating sale of liquor by the glass from its sale in cans or bottles.[1] This rule put an end to the purchase of liquor by women in saloons.

For some years it seemed to settlement residents that they were in the grasp of a situation which compelled them to graduate children who came up through clubs and classes, as it were, into saloons. Necessity for providing the usual concomitants of drink apart from its sale was therefore driven in upon them with peculiar intensity. Inquiry showed that the great majority of boys had to overcome their initial repugnance to the taste of liquor, that the first glass was often taken in a spirit of bravado or because it was a

[1] The testimony of a considerable number of inebriates showed that many saloonkeepers evaded the law which forbid them to serve alcohol to persons already intoxicated by pressing the sale of heavy liquors in bottles when the victim could no longer be tolerated before the bar. The inebriate was by this means enabled to make himself crazy drunk away from the premises of the dealer.

traditional part of a good time. Settlement events were therefore planned specifically to undercut the saloon by providing opportunities for more enjoyable association and by appeal to personal dignity. The result was an increasing number of settlement trained youth who became total abstainers, while a very large proportion of those who drank on occasion made no concealment of their scorn of saloon habitués.

In the second decade of the new century, along with profound change in public sentiment, national action to eliminate the sale of liquor for the sake of what few doubted would be an overwhelming increase of human effectiveness and happiness began to win support of most settlement residents. They felt, however, the far-reaching need of a kind of prohibition which would not only be carried through but be amply supplemented by the moral sentiment of the community. It was very clear, from their point of view, that the satisfactions of temperance must find as distinct embodiment in men and institutions as the satisfactions of alcohol.

The coming of national prohibition was welcomed by the great majority of residents as a marvelous historical result. They rejoice that they have been privileged to contribute in ways direct and indirect toward its accomplishment. Already their neighborhoods have been profoundly changed by it. Struggle against dark facts of life, not only drunkenness and the crime associated with it, but prostitution as well, will for them be distinctly and permanently lessened. There is, of course, a considerable amount of violation of law; but the net result is an overwhelming improvement, and in due time a combination of national and local authority will reach centers of illicit trade. Now that saloons have so largely disappeared, pool-rooms seem likely to become conspicuous as centers of evil influence. As headquarters for the baser element who spread a contagion of gambling, immorality, and outright crime, they must become objects for first-hand study. More or less questionable, also, are cafés found among Levantine immigrants.

The child is father to the man; shortcomings of the two have a common origin. Just as misuse of alcohol and other vices provide morbid outlet for thwarted adult instincts, so breaking municipal regulations, hectoring inoffensive people, petty thievery, and sexual

irregularities represent the adolescent's blind effort toward larger life.

These phases of juvenile activity in their neighborhoods come insistently to settlement attention. Residents are called upon by parents to assist in rescuing erring children, members of clubs and classes, from courts. A considerable number of delinquent children are more sinned against than sinning. It is impossible to take seriously the arrest of a child for trespassing on property of a crotchety householder, playing ball in the street, and similar offenses. The qualities of daring, inventiveness, and skill of the sort embodied in certain crimes are so palpably those demanded by industry that arrest of a child exercising them seems like penalizing ability.

Settlements very early had representatives at neighboring police courts. They were able to say to magistrates, many of whom were finding the situation quite beyond them, "We understand somewhat of the temptation these boys and girls have to meet on the streets; we go in and out of their homes and associate with them in clubs, classes, and recreational enterprises; we will take continuous responsibility for keeping a friendly eye on them and for endeavoring to prevent their relapse." The juvenile delinquency law and process were forecasted, in essential principles, by lessons that came out of such informal but resourceful care. Indeed, service rendered by residents at Hull House had an important share in establishing the Chicago Juvenile Court, which contests priority with that of Denver. Settlements in other cities, on the basis of local experience, took the lead in developing public and legislative support for this admirable instrument of educational justice.[1]

Many early probation officers of juvenile courts were obtained from staffs of local settlements, and a number of others without such experience took up residence as a means of becoming acquainted with life in a working-class neighborhood. A considerable group of probation officers favors using settlements as headquarters because houses are likely to be centrally located, easily accessible to parents, teachers, and friends, frequented by other children, and

[1] The juvenile court originated in South Australia in 1890. Toronto, Canada, established such a court in 1893. The Chicago Juvenile Court came into being in July, 1899.

without stigma. Certain officers encourage their charges to bring chums and playmates to the settlement in order to find out the sources of influence which affect them morally. The probation officer is sometimes able to save these companions before they, too, become probation material. By articulating such children normally with parents, playmates, and neighbors, by giving them a chance to do creative work, by interesting them in a club and asking them to assume some simple responsibility, such a group as a whole is brought to a higher level of conduct.

The most serious form of juvenile delinquency among boys, in its ultimate effect on mind and character, is gambling. As the result of immemorial tradition, shooting craps and pitching pennies have come to be looked upon as blameless amusements, or at worst as venial offenses. The practice of matching coins to cover expenditures for carfares or ice-cream sodas carries equally little moral recoil. Much gambling is the result of vacant-mindedness, and an equal amount represents misapplication of generous readiness.

Where play resources that offer excitement and mental stimulus are few and poor, games of chance arise automatically. Waves of interest in particular games spring into being, run their course, and disappear. In neighborhoods of mixed immigrant peoples, the exotic flavor of a gambling game peculiar to one group sometimes creates a flurry of interest among those of other nationalities and leads for a little time to a very carnival of play. In not a few cases this habit brings about utter moral breakdown. All settlements seek continuously to displace the craving of youth for games of chance by providing sports of the keen, zestful sort and by stimulating a neighborhood sense of public disgrace attaching to every crap-shooting circle.[1] Permanent improvement demands a special police squad, support of magistrates in meting out adequate punishment, extended opportunities for wholesome amusement and recreation, a greater degree of co-operation with public school authorities, and some way of engaging the responsible interest of parents.

Quite as gambling, burglary, and violence are distorted means

[1] Boston Social Union and New York Association of Neighborhood Workers have several times carried on a city-wide census of street gambling games during certain days and hours and communicated results of their findings to the police. Such surveys lead to a little temporary activity. But the breaking up of games in one locality merely drives players under cover or into another.

through which boys give expression to their sense for adventure and desire for more life, the manifold approaches to sexual laxity represent the girls' distinctive delusions in their search of ease, gaiety, and romance. While the scarehead estimates often put forth about the prevalence of sexual impurity among tenement children and young people are in the nature of libel, the situation is nevertheless sufficiently serious.

Three decades of continuous participation in the interests of tenement families have made much clearer the dominant temptations of youth, motives that impel to wrongdoing, means through which evil impulses are put into effect. But such progress has only shown the necessity of going further. Within the past few years juvenile courts, medical men, and neighborhood workers have united in asking for further analyses than those undertaken of the causes and effects of misdoing in young human nature. Largely through influences set in motion from Hull House, the first psychopathic institute for treatment of juvenile delinquents was founded in 1909 under the leadership of Dr. William Healy.[1] The beautiful and terrible interpretation of present-day temptation which Miss Addams has given under the title of The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets,[2] represents a kind of first fruits of such work. Meanwhile, studies of young working girls and boys and of little girls made by the National Federation of Settlements provide clearly outlined pictures of the practical influences which hinder the graduation of youth into firm-willed and clean-minded adults.[3] Low-grade family life, presence of an undue proportion of feeble-mindedness, thwarted recreational instincts, influence of unclean recreation resorts, ignorance of the laws of sex hygiene, speeding up of adolescence, and lack of affirmative neighborhood traditions are among the more important influences that degrade and stultify.

The actual step toward a comprehensive attack upon the sources of moral contagion is due to Mrs. Louise DeKoven Bowen, an able

[1] Now with the Judge Baker Foundation, Boston.

[2] New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909.

[3] Young Working Girls: a summary of evidence from two thousand social workers. Edited by R. A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy, with an introduction by Jane Addams. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913.

Schedule on the Problem of the Adolescent Girl Between 14 and 18 Years of Age, 1911. Schedule on the Adolescent Boy, 1914. Pamphlets published by the National Federation of Settlements.

associate worker at Hull House as well as a generous donor. The law which established the Chicago Juvenile Court made no provision for payment of probation officers, and for some years the cost of this service was met by a committee of citizens. When the city finally assumed support, the juvenile court committee, under the title of Juvenile Protective League, turned its energies toward eliminating as many as possible of the conditions that lead to juvenile crime.

The city was divided into sections and a paid executive officer appointed for each district. In several cases where there was neither settlement nor similar resident group in the district, the local superintendent went to live there. The first duty of this official is to form a council of local citizens who study drinking places, cafés, hotels, motion picture shows, dance halls, stores for the sale of postcards and reading matter—all the possible sources of moral contagion. The interest of a large number of parents is enlisted in the purposes of the league. When there is no program of educative recreation such as that organized by a settlement, the league asks responsible heads of women's clubs, churches, and other local institutions to help in making such provision.

The downright appeal of this motive for the systematic and comprehensive neighborhood guardianship of childhood and youth captured the moral imagination of people all over the country, and even where a league has not been formally organized, the idea is often put into effect by school nurses, home and school visitors, and occasionally by church authorities. Thus a weir is being constructed through which fewer and fewer neglected boys and girls shall pass into the ranks of offenders.

The settlement is designed to be a center for the constructive fulfilment of law. A number include a lawyer among residents quite as they do a physician; and several have maintained bureaus for legal advice.

Residents bear testimony to the faithful and judicious service of many police officers. No arm of the city's service has larger human possibilities, and when these are recognized, there are no representatives of the government with whom the settlement can have a more effective understanding. The roundsman who stays long in a district generally learns to be discerning and patient, glad to help

either wronged or distressed once he understands their need. Many such men are true social workers as well as guardians of the law. Even where corruption among higher officials makes it expedient and profitable to countenance evil, there are always a number who refuse to besmirch themselves or do so under protest and with inner writhing.

Settlement workers are convinced advocates of policewomen. The appointment of a woman to keep track of public association of young and inexperienced girls has its sure effect both on the innocent and evil intentioned. An important result of this pioneer work is its influence on the male force. It is increasingly common for roundsmen to escort to their homes young girls making themselves conspicuous or following a course which seems suspicious. The good effects of such action are almost immediate upon both culprits and their families.

The fortunes of police departments vary in great degree with the administration and officials in charge. Shining examples of what should be have not been lacking. Innovations begun in New York by Commissioner Arthur Woods drew out the admiration and the practical support of settlement workers very much as did the efforts of Mr. Roosevelt in the same position years before. On the other hand, the existence of rampant vice always means police corruption. Situations arise in which there is nothing for the settlement to do but to fight, in season and out, for honest and decent local service.

At the time when settlements were being established, humanitarian sentiment was running strongly toward more sympathetic treatment of young offenders, as exemplified in reformatories at Elmira and Concord. Though they fully shared this point of view, residents found difficulty in appreciating the extremely tolerant attitude of neighborhoods toward those who had been "sent away." As all provocative facts are made clear, they have come to understand and in a measure to agree with such tolerance.

It is true, conversely, that settlement classes in industrial training got their start in part through the plea that such opportunities should not be limited to those behind bars; that boys who have not broken the law should receive industrial training, if for nothing else, to prevent their becoming candidates for a reformatory. From one angle a great part of settlement work is designed to exercise this

saving function. Testimony of court officers, and particularly that from juvenile courts, shows clearly that this result is being accomplished. Even before prohibition, in many settlement neighborhoods there was a notable decrease of corner loafers as compared with early days; and use of such localities as hiding places for prostitution and crime was definitely decreasing.

This situation stimulates the purpose of detecting sources of immorality and crime by means of the interlacing district relations. To elicit from neighborhoods and from the whole variety of local leadership and organization a readiness to reach and maintain a positive tone and standard in the district as against all tendencies to degeneracy, is a decisive objective toward which the settlement is always moving.

CHAPTER XXV

SCHOOL

BOTH by instinct and training the original settlement residents were educators. Almost as soon as they had unpacked their trunks they visited neighborhood schools and made acquaintance with principals and teachers. Books were gathered together and placed at the service of teachers and children. Class libraries were established, framed photographs and casts presented, and exhibits of natural objects arranged.[1] As they went into the people's homes, residents pointed out the value of educational discipline and urged parents to encourage restless boys and girls to remain in school at least until they had completed the grammar grades. Children showing special ability or talent were helped to prepare themselves for high school or college, and parents induced to make needed sacrifices. Scholarships were raised to care for ultimate deficiencies. It was efforts such as these, reaching in the aggregate some thousands of children, that led Felix Adler to call settlements "talent-saving stations."

The vague assurance of practically all educated people during the eighties and early nineties that the understanding between teacher and parent which characterizes the normal American community at its best obtained in tenement localities, settlement workers found not to be justified. Far from visiting school, seeking acquaintance with the child's teachers, and consulting about his progress, most immigrant parents looked upon school as a world in which they had no direct knowledge or part. Only when a boy or girl so far outraged order that punishment was demanded, was father or mother summoned to interview teacher or principal. In many neighborhoods it was in the nature of disgrace for a parent to be seen within school premises.

[1] As a result of Miss Starr's gift of a careful selection of framed photographs to local public schools, the Chicago Women's Club appointed a sub-committee on school art, which later became the Chicago School Art Society.

This lack of touch between educators and parents, and the fact that so large a proportion of adults had not themselves experienced public school training, were actually creating a tradition inimical to American standards. The new missionaries of education found a considerable proportion of their neighbors skeptical about the practical value of books, unconvinced that the best gift which can be bestowed on a child is a maximum of schooling, and rebelliously tolerant of the law which delays the age at which children may work.

One obvious result of this absence of American tradition with regard to the supreme worth of education as preparation for life, for vocation, and for citizenship was domination of public school administration by politicians. Schools in tenement neighborhoods showed the most serious fire risks, the most antiquated and insanitary quarters, the largest number of pupils to a class, and the least efficient teaching. In congested districts of a few great cities the number of children so far exceeded school accommodations that certain grades ran in double shifts.[1] Children altogether excluded from school or attending part-time classes ranged the streets and fell into mischief. Many were prematurely pressed into industry because truant officers lost interest in attempting to deal with an impossible situation. During the nineties very nearly the most useful service that public-spirited citizens could render was to insist, in season and out, that decent and adequate school accommodations must be provided for all children.

Indeed, the power of low-grade politicians to dictate educational appointments made itself felt in the quality of public education in all parts of our cities, and pointed a lesson of solidarity between tenements and boulevards not less in education than health. The recoil of the better-to-do resulted in a reform movement, the most vital during twenty-five years of continuous effort for good municipal government, "to keep the schools out of politics." Whatever their political preferences in other matters, settlement workers joined

[1] Hull House rescued a school building from the grip of a ward heeler who had appropriated the land on which it stood as a factory site, even though the number of sittings were insufficient to accommodate all children in the ward. College Settlement, New York, when an unusually large number of first-grade children were denied admission to public school, made itself responsible for the grade, providing room and teacher.

hands to secure the election of high-minded men and women as school officials.

In a number of instances residents were appointed or elected to central school boards,[1] and in New York some became local school trustees. A committee of these trustees had power to appoint and remove teachers and janitors, to contract for supplies, and to engage buildings. Such power was, however, so much abused that settlements took an active part in securing a law which relieved local school boards of the largest part of their administrative work. Many residents continued to serve on the reconstituted advisory groups.

The public educational system presupposes that all children live under American standards. Actually, however, a large number of boys and girls were underfed, underclothed, and ungroomed. Painful and debilitating physical defects were permitted to develop into grave illnesses. Many parents, far from being able to help their children in home studies, often found themselves puzzled, nonplussed, and humiliated before problems set by their offspring. Sometimes a child's infatuation for the teacher even made fathers and mothers jealous and subtly antagonistic toward the school.

Residents discovered a proportion of boys and girls, by no means small numerically, who were far from securing full advantage of the educational opportunities theoretically open to them. Children who should have been in school were constantly met at home or on the street. Investigation brought to light a variety of more or less valid excuses. Immigrants often claimed to be and possibly were ignorant of the compulsory education law. Certain children were excluded from school because they lacked birth or vaccination certificates. Others, in defiance of law, were kept at home to help carry on the housework, to wait in small stores, and to assist in sweatshops. A number of boys were chronic truants. Their absence often so far improved order in the class rooms that already overworked teachers were not averse to its continuance. The

[1] Miss Addams was a member of the Chicago school board during the troublous years of transition which preceded the superintendency of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, and was instrumental with others in introducing a number of enlargements of public school service and in endeavoring to bring about a constructive, progressive, and harmonious administration. Cornelia F. Bradford, founder of Whittier House and dean of settlement workers in New Jersey, in 1911 was made a member of the Jersey City Board of Education.

settlement group met these difficulties by explaining the law to parents, taking on themselves the task of securing birth certificates, sending children to dispensaries and clinics to be vaccinated, providing clothing or shoes needed to make them presentable. So far as school administration was concerned they strongly urged an annual school census.

It was perhaps inevitable in the beginning that the truant officer should limit his efforts to tracing children who were reported to him, but it soon became evident that a more resourceful type of treatment for truancy was needed.[1] In several instances a resident became truant officer and demonstrated how much more complete such service could be when reinforced by knowledge which living in the neighborhood affords. Such experience hastened the evolution of the officer from a narrow-minded and generally negative beadle to a neighborhood worker interested in discovering and intercepting causes of delinquency.

In districts where parents are obviously unable to meet their implied obligations to the school, residents, while striving to quicken family responsibility and initiative, provide temporary substitutes. The settlement library or living room is put at the service of boys and girls who cannot find place or quiet to study at home, with someone on hand to assure order and give help; while those behind in their studies are formed into groups and carried over difficulties until they catch up with classmates. Libraries, recreation centers, and schools in large cities now make increasing provision for these needs.

Hungry and anemic children whose physical weakness is a drag on their intellectual progress may easily lose the best part of what education should give. In all tenement neighborhoods a certain proportion leave home without breakfast, or lack an adequate luncheon. As early as 1894 Starr Center and College Settlement in Philadelphia began the sale of nourishing food and drink in penny portions to pupils of a nearby school. A careful study of homes was made and the reason for actual cases of underfeeding sought. The experiment, which attracted widespread attention, led houses in other cities to study their local problem more in-

[1] The first compulsory attendance law was passed in Massachusetts in 1852. The first truant officers were appointed in 1873.

tensely. In 1901 Henry Street Settlement set out to discover as definitely as possible the number of neighborhood children in need of food. So many cases came to light that it offered to organize a system of penny lunches provided the Board of Education would guarantee expense of maintenance. Difficulties in the way of public action were insuperable, and a voluntary association was formed and food put on sale at a number of schools. In several instances lunches were prepared at nearby settlements, and cases of underfeeding followed up and treated as a family problem. Robert Hunter's Poverty, published in December, 1904, and John Spargo's Bitter Cry of the Children, in 1906, drew public attention to the realities of undernourishment.

Settlement residents, however, are very far from agreeing that because some children are undernourished all should be fed at a municipal refectory. It seems clear that the need of school feeding is overstated by its extreme advocates, and that in any case money and energy expended in providing school lunches would be better devoted to meeting family problems which produce undernourishment. Investigation shows a wide range of causes, poverty usually not being the most important.[1]

While exceptional conditions which obtain in a great port of entry like New York City may at times create so many underfed children that they must be helped by direct, though none the less superficial, action, the long-range logic of family and neighborhood organization calls for an exhaustive program to reach the roots of the evil. In Boston both the possibility and practicability of bringing helpful influences to bear on the entire number of families throughout the city, from which undervitalized children come, have been demonstrated by settlements. More definitely than any other example which might be selected, the undernourished child marks the failure of industry and of the family to live up to their

[1] Working mothers who are forced to go from home before their children rise in the morning, leave a few pennies with which to buy breakfast and lunch. Many children spend this money early in the day for candy, pastry, cake, and other highly spiced and not very nourishing foods. Some go breakfastless to school because they awake nauseated after a restless night spent in a hermetically sealed room with several other people or because the food provided is unpalatable. Many make a breakfast of cake, tea, coffee, and other equally unsubstantial fare. Very often, indeed, the ultimate cause of undernourishment resides in a low standard of home-making rather than in financial inability to buy nourishing food.

underlying contract with the public educational system. That a responsible father cannot earn enough to provide food, lodging, and clothing for wife and children is a challenge primarily to organizers of industry. That a mother should have come to her duties so ignorant and incapable as not to be able to feed and clothe her children and keep them reasonably clean and healthy, is a challenge to education and the traditions upon which civilization rests. That a widow with small children should endeavor to be both wage-earner and mother of the household is a reflection on communal foresight. Poverty from such causes is so great a disgrace to industrial state and educational system alike that it must be treated not by palliatives, but by whatever broad educational and legislative measures may be necessary to secure a wholesome result.

School lunch committees in large cities now justify their work less on the basis of starved children and more on the need of all growing boys and girls for mid-morning and mid-afternoon nourishment. Recent studies made by educators and dietitians indicate that many children need a greater bulk of food than has been commonly thought, and that the human system responds more happily to lunches between meals than to excess at table. If this theory turns out to be sound, there is definite reason for serving food at school under wise and proper arrangements.

Sick children whose parents lacked intelligence or resource to give them proper care enlisted the efforts of residents from the beginning. School boys and girls were taken to hospitals, clinics, and dental infirmaries; fitted with glasses, shoes, and braces; nursed through periods of physical weakness and decline. Every settlement group also finds itself forced to meet the needs of those who while not incapacitated are chronically ailing. Many of these pupils, intellectually bright and personally winning, bloom for a time but to be carried off by disease or to fade into mental and physical incapacity. Only gradually did residents learn how vast a tribute working-class families pay to the great white plague; it was still longer before they saw ways of escape.

The discovery made available early in the new century that consumption may be arrested by means of pure air, nourishing food, warm clothing, rest, mental occupation, and refreshment led to the

establishment at Providence, Rhode Island, in January, 1908, of an open-air class for children predisposed to the disease. Settlements in several cities at once offered to call upon parents, explain the nature of medical treatment, and supply requisite wraps and food provided the school authorities would organize such classes. In a few instances they conducted outdoor classes until these were taken over by school authorities.[1]

Passing beyond merely physical limitation, city neighborhoods show a certain proportion of apparently healthy and well-nourished boys and girls to whom school experience counts for surprisingly little toward effective life. Residents sought knowledge and experience from teachers, truant officers, and principals to help the backward and delinquent. On their part teachers began to ask assistance for pupils in need of encouragement or discipline or who were suffering from brutal treatment at home or lack of parental care.

The causes of certain often reappearing forms of difficulty were found to reside in home and neighborhood conditions. Many parents to all intents and purposes relinquished control of even small children and had to be convinced that boys and girls must be called to order, their time accounted for, and regular provision made for sleeping, eating, and study. So many demoralizing conditions came to light that the need to strengthen local tradition as to what constitutes proper parental surveillance was unmistakable.

In 1905 Mary E. McDowell induced the Chicago Women's Club to guarantee the salary of a resident to serve as social secretary in a local school. During the same year Mary Marot in New York devoted herself to searching out ways through which parents and homes might reinforce and supplement the educational aim of the school. She spent the winter studying conditions in several cities, and in the spring of 1906 undertook in Hartley House neighborhood what has come to be known as home and school visiting. In the fall a small committee of four settlement residents was or-

[1] Greenwich House attempted to secure use of the roof of a neighborhood bathhouse as an outdoor school (1908); and when this plan failed, carried on an outdoor vacation school during the summer of 1909 in the settlement's rear yard. Hull House opened a small outdoor school in one of its buildings, which was later taken over and developed by the Elizabeth McCormick Fund. In Boston, Elizabeth Peabody House provided required outer clothing and luncheons, and carried on home visiting for an open-air school.

ganized,[1] and such visiting was carried on from Hartley House and College Settlement.

The home and school visitor is, as it were, a nurse practising in the moralities. It is impossible for anyone who has not in some measure experienced the full reality of life in a congested neighborhood to know the amount of cruelty and corruption which may at least be latent in it, the number of individuals and families who seem to find cover for shameful actions amid a loose aggregation of resourceless people. Restraints suggested by a responsible body of neighbors, effect on business and other relations of conduct too outrageous, constant correction to impulse which comes of participation in the life of different homes and in general neighborhood events, these forms of deterrent often largely disappear in tenement districts. In many instances the mere fact that a school visitor knows what is going on is enough to effect a certain protection for child life. Where it does not, the aid of child-saving agencies, juvenile courts, and, in metropolitan cities, courts of domestic relations, is secured.

These weaknesses of the tenement home in its implied educational partnership with the public school do not require the creation of machinery to do the work of families, but its very opposite. Lack of necessary resources and intelligence for the physical upbringing of children and frequent absence of all educational capacity and interest on the part of parents demand the kind of public assistance that will develop family powers to a point where members are equal to the strain put upon them. In every community a certain proportion of adults are only too anxious to be relieved of responsibility that can be delegated. School nurse, school visitor, school lunch, community study room, can be used so as to perpetuate the very need they are set to heal. Residents have in general no sympathy with efforts which may minimize the responsibility of parents. Even though the child might temporarily gain, a supposition generally at variance with facts, experience in summering and wintering with fathers and mothers makes it evident that adult

[1] In January, 1907, the informal committee allied itself with the Public Education Association, which has since maintained several definitely appointed school visitors. In 1913 visitors were made part of the regular force of the schools. From New York the idea thus fully worked out has spread to other cities.

life, relieved of the fullest care of children, would become so poor and mean as to imperil civilization itself.

The kindergarten, when settlements came on the scene, had proved its right to inclusion within the public school system. Residents quite generally during the nineties, almost as soon as they had established kindergartens, set about having them adopted by boards of education. This step was often hastened by the settlement's contributing, for a time, rent and janitor service. More often still, people of the neighborhood were induced to ask that such instruction might be provided under public auspices.[1]

Acquaintance with an ever-growing variety of types of handicapped children shut out from the benefit of education, including the blind, deaf, crippled, anemic, and feeble-minded, convinced settlement residents that public education must be organized to include these also in its ministrations. Classes were formed for one or more of these several groups at a few houses. Admission to already established schools was obtained wherever possible. A pioneer ungraded class for mentally deficient children, begun in 1900 by Elizabeth Farrell, had the assistance of Henry Street Settlement, which provided during the stage of getting started, special equipment, medical treatment, luncheons, and home visitors. In 1906 a separate department under the directorship of Miss Farrell was created by the school board.

The example furnished by settlement classes in handwork and home-making, while not an original influence, has been very considerable in its effect upon the public school system.[2] In several cities the first tangible step was gained through the introduction of such subjects into a vacation school under the joint auspices of settlement and school board; though more often the settlement set out to secure their adoption directly into the winter curriculum. In certain instances, among which are North Bennet Street Indus-

[1] In like manner the college extension classes in science, literature, and art in several cities had an important part in bringing about the establishment of public evening high schools. See Chapter XII, The Educational Approach, for fuller discussion.

[2] The pioneering experiments of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Boston, and the Sloyd Training School, both initiated by Mrs. Quincy Shaw, and some of the classes started by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York, served as suggestions to the settlements.

trial School and Greenwich House, neighborhood houses maintain classes in handwork which are attended by children from the public school grades. Responsibility for the continuance of housekeeping apartments and home-making centers begun by settlements has occasionally been assumed by public authorities. Public school instruction in cooking and home-making is increasingly given in cottages or tenements modeled on those established by settlements.

The keynote of settlement educational enterprise, definite and detailed training in association, still awaits public adoption. School cities and student self-government, though admirable in themselves, do not give the same opportunity for working under direction within an intimate circle which the club affords. The heart of the problem pedagogically considered, is not the degree of self-direction accorded to children, but the amount of intensive and supervised drill within a round of basic situations. Experience demonstrates that behind all experiments in self-government must be wise and strong adult control. The very existence of juvenile self-direction necessarily calls for a still deeper personal influence over children during and outside of school hours.

Settlements have sought above all else to create in their vicinage a relation between school and neighborhood such as that which obtains under representative American influences. In many working-class communities the teaching force is unhappily deprived of the discussion and sympathetic co-operation of those among its ranks who marry and gauge the school anew through its results on their own offspring. Its members recognize that their class room service would be greatly strengthened by accurate knowledge about family and neighborhood life. A considerable number of these teachers who confess a sense of being more strangers than they should be in the community in which they hold office have joined house staffs for a greater or less period. In 1906 Julia Richman,[1] an able and widely known supervisor of instruction, opened in the lower East Side what was chiefly a residence for unattached teachers. The house quickly became a center for conference on school and community relations and attracted an influential following among teachers. In several instances settlements have been established by associations of school teachers.

[1] Died in 1912.

Experience suggests that the school should be quick to take account of neighborhood demand for particular forms of education, whether manual training, elementary evening classes, or housekeeping, while seeking to stimulate interest in subjects intrinsically worthy but for which there is no ready-made demand. Not a few local school administrators have endeavored to create cultural units like those of settlement craft guilds, music schools, local art centers, through which such interests may find permanent expression. A conviction first expressed by residents is gaining ground that school principals and at least a moderate proportion of teachers should be required by law to make their homes in communities which they serve.

While the program thus outlined seems to reach some distance into the future, first stages toward its realization are steadily being worked out. Teachers, principals, and school board members are asked to address gatherings of parents and neighbors. Home and school associations make parents acquainted with teachers and with one another. Public school alumni associations enlist the loyalty and capacity of graduates. Here and there, principals, some of the most resourceful of whom have been educated in settlements, have organized associations of parents and citizens to lend a hand in dealing with problems such as slackness in study, truancy, indifference or extreme need at home. As the new generation of parents come to have the same general education as those who teach their children, and are able to join forces deliberately and effectively, a right balance between school and home will be restored.

CHAPTER XXVI

RECREATION

NO ELEMENT of their environment more impressed early residents than its unfitness to protect the spontaneity of young life. The home had become so contracted and its resources so limited that it was no longer possible for children to play there. By multiplication of apartments in a building, the disappearance of rear yards, and the distance that separated rooms from the street or yard, children who played out of doors were removed altogether from the watchful care of their mothers. The necessity for them to be quick, bold, and resourceful to escape injury nourished a kind of nervous brightness which produced the unhappy forwardness so characteristic of tenement quarters. Lack of traditional forms of play enterprise which carry participants into other homes left boys and girls increasingly out of touch with the true pattern of family life. The settlement program for meeting this problem is based on the age-long process of family and neighborhood guardianship.

The case for public libraries as elements in municipally provided recreation was thoroughly proved before the day of settlements in this country. In some instances branches were already established in districts which in themselves were as large as cities. Neighborhood libraries, chiefly under church auspices, were not infrequent, but their use was limited in effect to a few. Settlements very generally offered their books to anyone who desired to borrow. In states where public aid was available, application was made for a subsidy, and in a considerable number of instances these collections were, after a few years, absorbed into the rapidly growing system of branch public libraries. Settlement libraries tend, therefore, to become sub-district or neighborhood institutions. No large city as yet has a sufficient number of branches conveniently placed.

It was evident, however, that physically active recreation, under

wholesome conditions, was needed for both children and youth, even more than the opportunity to read. Stanton Coit set out to induce the owners of tenements in a congested block to consent to the removal of fences and the creation of a yard where children could play under the eyes of their mothers. The project failed, though the idea was worked out later in connection with model tenements. Practically all settlements established during the nineties opened their rear yards as playgrounds. It seems almost a quaint reflection that during most of that decade these little areas furnished a considerable proportion of the supervised play spaces in large cities.

The chief purpose of such ventures was to hasten the establishment of permanent neighborhood playgrounds. Although the public playground movement slightly antedates the founding of settlements, the two decades between 1890 and 1910 constituted the period of pioneering. Public spirit encompassed parks, whether in or out of town, but not playgrounds. Its vision was of a quiet oasis of grass, flowerbeds, and shrubs enclosed by a spiked fence and guarded by a policeman. To park directors and the majority of well-to-do citizens even the idea of children in connection with such an ensemble was abhorrent. It took a decade to convince the community that play is a physical and moral necessity to growing boys and girls and justifies some real measure of loss in actual and potential vegetation.

During these years representatives of settlements united with other citizens striving to secure downtown playgrounds, in a number of instances themselves organizing voluntary associations to agitate for municipal action. Among leaders in such work, Charles B. Stover stands out as a force whose influence has been nationwide. His broad outlook, his insight and sympathy with children and young people, his willing self-sacrifice, and his capacity for long, hard, sustained, and undiscouraged battle with sloth, misunderstanding, malice, and plain stupidity place him among inspired public servants of his generation. For nearly a decade he formed playground associations, argued before successive legislatures, pleaded with city officials and politicians, and forced a reactionary park department to turn land secured for playgrounds to its proper use.

Once the principle of municipally owned and controlled play spaces was established, settlements set out to secure, by appeal to neighborhood and city, at least one municipal playground in their neighborhood; and within a few years after the opening of the century in many city districts such spaces had been gained. Management, once land is secured, constitutes an important and difficult problem. Early municipal playgrounds as part of that inevitable evolution through which all public administration passes were managed inflexibly and without vision. Schedules of times and seasons were at first fixed more to suit the convenience of caretakers than to fulfil the needs of children and young people. Politically appointed employes made the atmosphere and standards of areas under their control uninviting to children and especially hospitable to fellows of the baser sort. In some instances grounds were a source of moral nuisance. It soon became obvious that play spaces should be administered by educators. In certain cities, therefore, residents united to place their direction under boards of education. Parallel with this move they attempted to induce parents to become acquainted with supervisors, and to find ways of encouraging the fullest and best use of the playground.

In cities where there is a suitable approach to river, lake, or ocean, settlements have shared in efforts to provide facilities for swimming. Ample and well-equipped bathing beaches have become a recognized phase of municipal service. Failing such opportunity, settlements have in many cases brought about construction of indoor and outdoor swimming pools.

The gymnasium is an indoor playground. The first municipal effort had its origin in a disused skating rink, purchased by a public-spirited Boston woman and lent to a district athletic association. In 1896 the association, finding difficulty in meeting operating expenses and knowing that the city authorities were considering a public bath for the district, prevailed upon the owner to present the building to the municipality. These negotiations were facilitated by a settlement representative on the Public Bath Commission, who foresaw that more districts would clamor for like equipment. From Boston the municipal gymnasium spread to other cities and has gradually come to be accepted as an integral phase of well-developed public recreation.

The considerable increase in health and vigor shown by children under the ministrations of the settlement gymnastic director next constituted a clear call for the introduction of physical education into the public school system. Since 1905 settlements have asked, whenever the erection of new school buildings was called for in their neighborhoods, that provision for indoor play be made. Some have been able to obtain evening use of school gymnasiums for employed boys by organizing classes which meet under leadership of the settlement instructor. Gradually, corrective exercise and games have come to be included as part of the recreational scheme of evening schools and recreation centers.

The gymnasium even more than the playground, demands highly skilled and resourceful leadership. Very few adults and only a small proportion of children and young people are spontaneously interested in constructive exercises and setting-up drills. The municipal gymnasium when carried on under politically appointed leadership, cannot reach them. In some cities its limited use is creating a recoil on the part of taxpayers against heavy cost of maintenance with small return. Success lies in spirited leadership, a program involving games, dancing, drilling, and tournaments under a measure of self-government and self-direction such as is being worked out at the best organized settlements.

Measured against the universal availability to country children of recreation provided by back yards, barns, attics, and swimming holes, municipal devices are insufficient in quantity. The majority of playgrounds so far established have been expected to serve a district or sub-district rather than a neighborhood. Placed in the center of large populations it was thought that children would come to them from a distance. Their use has been limited to boys and a small proportion of girls between ten and sixteen years of age.

The suggestion that certain less traveled streets be reserved as playgrounds during the late afternoons, first made from Greenwich House, New York, was an effort to increase space for free play. Whether the community will or no, the street is the child's natural playground. Little boys and girls between five and eleven years play within a block of their homes. They crave the sense of nearness to a base, and their mothers desire them to be within call. The community must recognize a child's right, under city condi-

tions, to a definite share of the public highways for play. Where necessary, automobile and traffic routes must be established and children warned away from them. The play-street gives effect to the principle that inhabitants on the block, not less than those who pass through it, have a vested interest in its opportunities. The settlement believes that until we have sufficient free areas either in rear yards, inner courts between buildings, or protected surface on roofs, the city can hardly be thought of as equipped in any real sense for the nurture of children.

The chief task of the neighborhood play organizer is to teach games to a few groups, who can then be trusted to pass them on to other children. It is quite possible to have a too stereotyped program and to create a situation fatal to a child's initiative and conscious self-direction. The real success of a settlement game room is the extent to which activities taught there are reproduced upon the streets. Club directors have on their calendars an extensive list of seasonal games, and themselves take the initiative in starting one or another of them if the street play of children seems laggard and resourceless. This is another point at which the plan of inducing a neighborhood to fulfil its life can be fostered by the interposition of a slight amount of professional service.

A day's work carries the implication, especially with working boys and girls, that reward in the shape of gaiety in association is their due. The most desired amusements, because they involve music and supervision, are costly, and the amount of money at command is not usually sufficient to pay charges of a reasonable amount of commercialized recreation. The settlement throws decided emphasis upon the sound recreative by-product of immediate local responsibilities and loyalties. While the pleasures that grow out of country occupations do not appear under city conditions, young people manage to secure a good deal of fun and romance from their work. They come to know a variety of human beings, younger and older as well as contemporary, and find their way into varied circles. They take part in the group enterprises so general in large manufacturing and commercial establishments. Indeed, many young girls regard their working hours as the most satisfactory of the day.

Settlements situated among factories definitely seek to promote

fellowship and well-being among employed girls and women. The stamp-savings visitor introduces her clients in each factory to one another. Certain houses maintain a lunch room where warm food is sold at cost; others provide a stove for heating food, and tables where lunches brought from home may be eaten. Several arrange a half hour of dancing at noon for those who crave physical outlet for their spirits, and form clubs which meet at the close of work for supper and a program. Some of the true essence of welfare work is thereby brought into the local industrial atmosphere, often, though by no means always, with assent and co-operation of employers. Settlements in such ways help to make clear the fund of human interest and capacity for loyalty which working people might contribute, under proper encouragement, to the organization and upbuilding of industry.

A large share of the group life of working-class localities, by the simple expedient of controlling all the halls available for parties and similar gatherings, has heretofore been managed by saloonkeepers. Taking advantage of that innate instinct of people to get something for nothing, the use of these rooms was generally offered without cost or at a nominal charge, with the understanding that liquid refreshments would be liberally ordered. Trade unions and club meetings, dances and wedding parties were often burdened and disgraced by results of this alliance.

There are few factors in equipment more needed in the majority of working class localities than rooms which can be rented at a reasonable charge for parties, lectures, concerts, and other gatherings. At present many groups that would ordinarily hold their meetings within the neighborhood, go outside either because there is no accommodation or because the local hall is dingy and disagreeable and seems to degrade rather than uplift those who come together within its walls.

For many years a telling argument for enlarged settlement quarters was the want of an adequate neighborhood meeting place absolutely separated from sale of liquor. The need of the East Side of New York for rooms that could be rented at a reasonable charge for parties and meetings led Miss Wald to organize a company which in 1904 erected Clinton Hall. In view of the importance of association in a democratic state, it would seem as though the com-

munity might well undertake to provide meeting places at cost, or less.

Drama and motion pictures are among the most important recreational instruments in local communities, although vaudeville, melodrama, and burlesque are still to be met with in downtown districts. Theater managers who deliberately set out to purvey salaciousness still have to be combated. Buyers of this sort of fare do not, however, come from one neighborhood, but are a special type drawn from all over the city. Apparently little more can be done than to keep the menace under a varying measure of control.

Although the cheap local theater was not of this degraded sort, its metamorphosis into the motion picture house is sure gain. The latter for a modest sum supplies an hour of adventure, romance, fun, song, music, and current allusion. Never before has so considerable a time unit of intensive interest been offered for so little money. Among the vast multitudes of people young and old everywhere who take advantage of this boon, the chief concern is lest many go too often.

Motion picture shows, especially those given in cheaply converted stores, were at first viewed by social workers with grave suspicion on grounds of inadequate fire protection, bad air, evil suggestion in the story on the screen, and moral dangers presented by darkened houses. The crude mechanism of the original apparatus, moreover, created such severe eyestrain that motion picture habitués could be told by distorted facial muscles. The variety performers secured by the proprietors of small houses to fill intervals in the flow of scenes necessarily come from among the least successful members of that class, hence those most given to gaining a hearing through low appeal. The double effort to stir in the minds of local proprietors some of that enlightened self-interest which more or less moves large producers, and to secure the passage of police regulations to safeguard tone, affords the only effective means of relief. Individual settlements, in a number of instances, have been able to induce local exhibitors to consent to a limited degree of informal censorship.

The increased mechanical efficiency of picture machines and films has greatly reduced the importance of vaudeville and promises shortly to do away with the need for individual performers. The

moral problem connected with the show tends increasingly to be focused on the screen. Unfortunately a considerable proportion of films put out are doubtful fare for adults and wholly unfit for young people and children.[1] Settlement residents had an important share in creating the public opinion that brought about establishment of the voluntary National Board of Censorship. There is a growing conviction among them of the need for further action, in which organized public sentiment and public authority shall join to secure a distinctly higher standard.

The struggle with commercialized recreation, however, only the more called for measures to provide ennobling cheer and joy. Residents recollected the evening use of the "little red school house" for spelling-bees, singing classes, lectures, institutes, and political meetings.[2] Initial attack was made on educational authorities by repeated though often ineffectual requests that the use of school halls be granted for alumni gatherings, parents' associations, neighborhood picture exhibits, and similar cultural enterprises. Gradually, rulings were secured which permitted use of class rooms or halls, but under very decided restriction and guarantees and on payment of fees so substantial as to constitute almost a penalty. These, however, were cheerfully accepted in order to demonstrate the fact that there was a strong popular demand for the privilege. New York was the first city to open the schools definitely for recreation. In 1897 the Board of Education, as a result of efforts set in motion by the Public Education Association, permitted the use of a number of rooms for boys' clubs on certain evenings when the building was open for classes.[3]

A step in advance was taken in 1903 by a group of Boston citi-

[1] Freedom to express all sides of life, including the vicious and degraded, should certainly not be extended to houses which cater to boys and girls. The considerable number of films which in effect glorify crime under guise of adventure, and lust under cloak of romance, are having a serious undermining effect upon moral standards of the coming generation.

[2] The establishment in 1889 by the Board of Education of popular lectures in the schools of New York marks the official beginnings of the broader utilization of school buildings in the metropolitan cities.

[3] Winifred Buck, now Mrs. Lawrence F. Abbott, a successful leader of boys' club work at Neighborhood Guild and a member of the association, was the moving spirit in this experiment. She was helped by a number of settlement youths, former club members, who became volunteer leaders in the clubs thus established.

zens who induced the school board to grant the use of two basement rooms in a school house as a meeting place for a neighborhood club of young working boys. The salary of a director and incidental costs were paid by subscription. In 1905 the Chicago Women's Club and University of Chicago Settlement established a series of afternoon clubs and classes covering a variety of interests and activities in a public school, paying the city the customary fixed charges for the use of rooms. Later, meetings of parents and of alumni, together with occasional lectures and entertainments, were arranged for evenings. This single experiment proved the case for school centers in Chicago. About the same time several other cities, as the result of twenty years of settlement precept and example, introduced into their school systems informal evening classes to meet the indoor leisure-time interests of adolescents.[1]

The first official school centers were placed under leadership of the regular teaching staff. But the experience and traditions of school teachers go far to unfit them to meet the unfamiliar and exacting demands of educational recreation. Special adaptability and training, an easy personal approach, power to guide by suggestion, and a measure of broad community insight must be carefully sought out if the vital purpose of this new branch of public service is to be fulfilled.[2]

The school center labors under some very decided disadvantages from the point of view of sound neighborhood organization. Its term is a short one, varying from four to seven months. There is no vital principle of continuity in its administration. The majority of clubs and classes disintegrate when the season ends. Influences set in motion within the building are hardly ever followed up in terms of neighborhood relations. Settlements are therefore little inclined to give up efforts through which groups under their auspices are securing the fruits of long common acquaintance under a high grade of volunteer leadership for the uncertain promise of public alternative.

[1] The Rochester school centers, established in 1907 by Edward J. Ward, focused public attention and made the evening use of school property a national interest.

[2] A number of settlement executives and department leaders have become supervisors in departments of education and directors and assistants in particular centers for the purpose of helping to work out an adequate and satisfactory technique of school center administration.

Experience shows that the right ordering of life in every considerable tenement neighborhood requires a library, playground, gymnasium, assembly hall, rooms for continuous association by groups, and qualified leadership for such varied enterprise. Utilization of school buildings in more or less partial and provisional ways precipitated the question of full municipal responsibility. Chicago placed herself in advance of all other cities by bringing these various instruments of association and recreation together in small parks in the heart of appropriate downtown districts of the city.[1] Los Angeles, largely under the influence of Bessie D. Stoddart of the College Settlement, soon followed the example of Chicago with a further application of settlement logic in the shape of a dwelling for directors and associates, who thus become in the full sense neighbors.

In most cities as yet neither attitude nor funds exist for such development and massing of local recreation resources. As a rule settlements in advancing this general motive have to secure each unit as the municipality can be induced to provide it, placed where exigency dictates. In a few instances public opinion has gradually been crystallized in favor of erecting school building, bath-house, gymnasium, library, as they are successfully secured, on lots overlooking a local park or playground. In this way beautiful and significant, as well as co-ordinated and convenient, centers of neighborhood life are created.

For all varied municipal undertakings that have their origin in its experiments the settlement has important responsibilities which it must endeavor to meet systematically and continuously. The school center, playground center, district town hall, as each begins to have really organic relations, will be in increasing need of devoted and enlightened leaders; and will have to face on an increasing scale the same problem of administration, the same continuous necessity of securing interest and response, the same double compulsion to check the counteracting forces of evil and to rally the collective initiative of the well-intentioned but inert rank and file which have all along confronted the settlement.

As against such a situation it is too often true that public administrators are prone to consider themselves chiefly guardians

[1] A clause in the city charter allows the park commission to assess taxes directly.

of the people's places, without power to initiate or direct. Appointments have a way of reverting to politics, with the usual effects. Lack of imagination and grasp on the part of superintendents and employes registers itself in the behavior of those who attend. Unless a positive degree of conduct is insisted on, it is very difficult for officials in charge to enforce anything more than a police standard, within which everyone is free to act as he will. A certain number, by refined rowdyism, can disrupt or degrade a gathering and be entirely within their legal rights; public opinion can thus be all but set aside. Worst of all, public recreation centers of all sorts fail to foster the gentler, more artistic, and non-resistive groups. The influence of this less forceful and more spiritually minded class is powerful where it has free play, but it is likely to withdraw when offended. The community, however, loses heavily by its failure to obtain the contribution of such persons to the common life.

In the middle of its fourth decade the settlement has demonstrated the living interest among city working people in art, science, letters, association and self-expressive recreation; it has successfully organized these pursuits apart from saloons and the commercial recreation places, and has made a good beginning toward bringing them under the protection of family, church, school, and state. The mere standardization of certain elements in its procedure, however important, it cannot regard as fulfilment of its motive. It is determined to keep the finer human influences alive and fluid in the only menstrum where a popular culture can exist, the neighborhood. Given equipment of local park, playground, gymnasium, evening school, theater, art museum, there still remains the need of a keenly alert resident group with the training and traditions which will supply just the sort of impulse that constantly makes the distinctions between fruitage, stagnation, and degeneracy. It is hardly to be expected that municipalities will at first be able to command the best type of leadership or even to be conscious of the need of it; and settlements must continue to supply persons of skill, vision, and patience who will act in suggestive co-operation with representatives of the city in these new endeavors.

Recreation in the large for the local community is the potential culmination of a broadened and enriched scheme of life toward which, on all sides, the settlement strives. Health, morals, intelli-

gence, conduce to such overflow of spirit as finds its expression in play, which in turn tends to bring those great values to their higher and surer levels. To the settlement, recreation is not merely the recoil from stress and strain of labor done nor preparation for burdens waiting to be borne, and certainly not merely a counter-irritant to lower impulses, but a way to the liberation and exaltation of life. It therefore holds steadfastly before local, municipal, and even commercial enterprise the higher standards that begin to be adopted and embodied by its own loyal companies, and hopes that a quite vital local recreational scheme may arise which shall be composed of the things that are pure and lovely and of good report.

CHAPTER XXVII

WARTIME REGIMEN

WELL-BEING and morale, as community concepts, were greatly emphasized by the coming on of the war. Even before the United States entered the conflict there were disturbing conditions which stirred the sense of local responsibility. Settlements found themselves, on the basis of past experience, in exceptionally good position to meet the special distress of the winter of 1914-1915. The immediate magnetizing of different immigrant groups toward the interests of their respective fatherlands and the presence of ever-widening alien propaganda, as it gave ground for intense public concern, opened the way to a strong, because tolerant, patriotic response on the part of the settlements.

Yet when the United States finally joined forces with the Allies, it was for a time an open question, amid the general and sudden recasting of national purpose, whether the settlements should not prepare either greatly to reduce their forces or even to suspend operations altogether. Ere long, word came first from Canada and then from England, that after a short period of similar doubt residents and public alike agreed upon the necessity of reinforcing neighborhood work as one of the most important means of maintaining national vitality and spirit. From this time, though steadily losing their young men, settlements gathered their remaining forces and recruited them when possible, so as to confront the variety of ominous problems which the war was projecting into their neighborhoods; and, what was even more important, to elicit local energies in many old and new ways as suggested by the principle, "the nation at war."

Communities in which there was a settlement soon realized that the house had the experience, equipment, and seasoned leadership which the local phases of the crisis demanded. It was always on duty. Not to duplicate existing efforts, not to go over the heads of

established local authority, had become habitual to it. It had even learned to give absorbing attention to the creation of a new undertaking and then quickly to turn the task over to other hands.

The great emergency, therefore, tested under stress the instruments which had been forged in peace. The most striking fact about the settlements was the ability of their staffs to furnish not a few but scores of different types of assistance asked by the general government or by privately organized national services. A large proportion of houses participated in more than eighty of the hundred or more kinds of war work that were developed and at least twoscore varieties of service were carried on by all. This adjustment, it should be remembered, was made in most cases by staffs diminished through enlistment of members in the military forces and in centrally organized war agencies.

In 1914 and 1915, on the basis of much general experience in meeting insinuations and establishing new traditions, settlements were ready to meet the spread of German propaganda. Upon the declaration of war in 1917, literature explaining the purpose of the nation's joining with the Allies was distributed. Frequent public meetings were held, with addresses in the language of immigrant groups. Talks in series were arranged at many houses, and maps, posters, photographs, and other memoranda of the struggle continuously displayed. Best of all, and most universal, the American attitude and motive were made clear through countless personal conversations at settlement headquarters, up and down the street, and in the homes of the people.

Responsible surveillance is likewise a function in which settlements had the advantage of location, experience, and resource. They gave skilled assistance in making up a census of non-English speaking people, in registering men of military age, in discovering enemy aliens, and in securing information for public or semi-public agencies associated with the prosecution of the war. As demand for women's services in wartime industries increased, lists were prepared, on the basis of comprehensive inquiry, of those trained for different branches of office or factory work. Canvasses in factory districts were made to discover tenements and lodgings, room registries opened, and the facilities of local restaurants estimated.

It was the draft, bringing to immigrant people complex moral,

economic, and sentimental problems, which went to the core of settlement relationships. At a large number of houses systematic assistance in filling out questionnaires and daily consultations about matters growing out of enlistment were given, and interpreters provided to accompany families before public boards.[1] The use of rooms and clerical help for local exemption boards was supplied, some of the most experienced men of settlement staffs rendering unremitting service as members. Legal advisory committees were organized and housed, gymnasiums employed for the first drills of drafted men, and impressive farewells arranged as recruits left for camp. In all this effort, which in some instances was prodigious in amount and in human values, settlements were in an exceptional position to learn the heart of the great body of immigrants and to give unassailable testimony that the mass of their neighbors would loyally respond to the demands of the nation. But they also exercised their indubitable right and duty in urging the government to exercise patient and considerate methods in calling the men to its service.

The whole project for protection of the morals of enlisted forces, negatively by controlling sources of evil, and positively by providing every sort of healthy outlet for the instincts not only of young men in uniform but of the young women who might so greatly help or hinder them, found the settlements at a point of established conviction and developed power. As this double purpose began to be expressed in and near great encampments, residents undertook to develop it in special ways amid their own environment. Lodging houses and low-grade hotels frequented by enlisted men were reported, dance halls investigated and where necessary complained against, and saloons and cafés put under surveillance. Common cause was made with both civil and military police toward enforcement of the law against the sale of liquor to men in uniform, and an exceptionally close understanding secured with representatives of the war and navy department in the matter of the suppression of prostitution.

On the constructive side, settlement resources were made available in the fullest degree. In not a few instances neighborhood

[1] One settlement helped more than half the men in the ward subject to draft; another made out 3,000 papers.

houses were near armories where the first recruits were assembled. Recreational programs to meet the moral strain of the situation, to provide encouragement for young men, and wholesome expression for the intense emotional state of girls, were inaugurated. Thereafter settlements very commonly, day and evening, kept an open house for enlisted men in general. They were welcomed in library, club rooms, and living quarters, and in some instances offered sleeping accommodations; invited to parties, picnics, dances, and dinners, and given personal service of all kinds wherever needed.

As the necessity of protecting and reinforcing the homes of enlisted men appeared, settlements were seen to be the logical agencies for such work in their districts. Residents and volunteers became local representatives for home service of the Red Cross, visiting the family of every man who had joined the colors. Efforts to alleviate grievous physical want caused by delayed allowances, as well as the bitterness and humiliation of pawning and borrowing, and mental anguish caused by delay in the mail, often precipitated upon the settlement staff a heavy burden of grave family complications. These were compensated for, however, by residents coming into fuller and freer relations than ever before with the better conditioned local homes.

The passion to do something with one's hands to help American soldiers and their allies overseas was not less strong in the tenements than among the well-to-do. All girls' and women's organizations were actively interested in providing special clothing and comforts; nearly all houses conducted classes in first aid, made surgical dressings, and carried on knitting circles which worked incessantly.

The vital relation of the industrial problem to the prosecution of the war was at once felt, and effort toward securing, advising, and properly placing industrial recruits, now including farm hands, was everywhere intensified. But, thoroughly convinced that a policy of overstrain would quickly defeat its own end, besides endangering future standards, residents gave special attention to the hours and conditions of work which obtained in local factories, and urged that the full complement of labor laws be retained.

It was, however, in those universally regimented forms of wartime service which related to the entire local community that settlements most surely proved the value of their presence. When in the

fall of 1917 Mr. Hoover asked the country to organize for the conservation of the more desirable foods, they leaped to the call. The cultivation of gardens in the city had already been systematically encouraged and many houses had co-operated in the maintenance of school plots. Farm units of young women were organized; nearly all settlements having country houses raised enough vegetables for their vacation visitors and placed an excess on sale. Neighborhood canning and preserving centers were quite generally conducted.

When the time arrived for a national roll call for food conservation, settlements were in a special position to assist. They sought to overcome the conservatism of tenement people in matters of diet by placing much stress on instruction in wartime cooking, the use of substitutes, reduction of waste, and establishment of balanced dietaries. Some houses induced schools to provide classes in cooking and lent their equipment; some organized food exhibits which were shown on streets and playgrounds. Pledge cards setting forth regulations for the use of food materials were taken from house to house, and careful explanations made of wartime ways of baking and cooking. The response was so gratifying, the educational effect so real and broad, and the approach so applicable to other than war ends that it was a matter of deep regret when Mr. Hoover's bureau failed to persist in the method of house-to-house canvass.

During the fuel scarcity in the winter of 1917 and 1918 houses in the northeastern and middle western states, where the shortage was most acute, established coal stations and helped to devise ways of lessening inconvenience and distress by proper distribution of fuel; many dispensed coal from their own bins. The number of families on the books of local stations ran from 98 to 2,600. Five hundred calls a day were made by one house during the acute period in order to make sure of equitable division. To meet the evil of fireless homes many settlements kept open house from early morning to half-past ten at night. The problem of the "idle Mondays," enjoined by the coal administration as a means of conserving fuel, led to the organization of programs of recreation and war work for children and young people.

The autumn of 1918 during the influenza epidemic saw nearly all houses turn the full energies of their staffs into caring for the neighborhood sick. They instituted special nursing service and

secured additional trained nurses. When the supply of skilled persons ran out, residents put on masks and went into the homes of the people. In some instances neighbors volunteered their services and under settlement lead, carried on simple nursing duties.[1] A number of settlements turned their plants into hospitals for adults, children, or babies and nearby summer camps into convalescent homes. In certain instances the settlement residence was metamorphosed into an emergency home to take care of the well children of stricken households. One group of residents acted as sanitary police for a small and dangerously infected neighborhood; others undertook the work of preparing the homes of mothers about to be discharged from hospitals.

The baby-weighing and measuring campaign of the Children's Bureau in 1918 met a quick response. Settlements very generally became responsible for their own districts and often helped to organize and supervise the task in other parts of the city. The high degree of completeness which characterized the registration in settlement neighborhoods was due to the excellently organized system conducted by so many houses for the care of infant life.

In addition to the wartime services called for, settlements organized patriotic expression in several other directions in their communities. They recognized the demand to sustain financially the nation at war, not only as a clear call to patriotic duty but as a tangible means of bringing immigrant neighborhoods in their entirety squarely face to face with national necessities. The response to various appeals was, on the whole, gratifying in amount and reassuring in spirit.[2]

[1] Nursing visits made by the several houses varied in number from a few hundred to over 5,000. Many prepared and delivered soups and cooked food to families where there was no one to get the meals. From 150 to 1,500 meals per house were thus distributed. The hygienic washing of clothing was attended to in families where several were sick at once.

[2] The great majority of houses undertook stated duties in connection with the four Liberty Loans. Hull House raised $17,000 among residents and took subscriptions for $50,000 among its neighbors. The houses very generally sold war and thrift-saving stamps, collecting from $74 to $8,274. Red Cross individual memberships were solicited, and numbers ranging from 60 to 1,400 secured. Group memberships were taken by clubs and other settlement associations, some groups giving as high as $100. Many houses helped in the United War Work drive and raised sums into the hundreds. Clubs at several settlements supported French orphans. Various houses helped with Italian, Syrian, Bohemian, Czecho-Slovak, Jewish, and Belgian relief funds.

The United War Work campaign, designed to give aid and comfort to all enlisted men and in which the various religious bodies so cordially united, brought settlements into a new stage of fellowship throughout the length and breadth of their city sections. To act as the means through which considerable sums were donated by neighbors to public purposes was a new experience for residents, and placed them more definitely than ever before in a position of trust among the people.

Besides pressing home patriotic demands, settlements were continuously intent on exalting the righteousness of the cause and the honor of its defenders. Rosters were kept of all local men and boys serving with the colors, and meetings organized at which their letters were read; informal visits were promoted to the homes of families having men at the front; service flags for present and former club members displayed and memorials of the dead provided. When the armistice was declared special meetings were arranged; and as enlisted men returned home each small contingent was the center of a celebration. These were the sign of a return to the prosaic reality of finding employment, in which settlements proceeded to join forces with public and private post-war agencies.

But the paramount issue to Americans before, during, and after America's part in the war, second only to that of the world conflict itself, was the building of the nation. The German onset brought the realization, with an intense feeling of shame and danger, that we were a nation only in a very imperfect sense. All settlements were stirred to a new sense of responsibility for a more coherent loyalty, including those sound affiliations old and new which should culminate in a vital Americanism based on the essential qualities which have made the country. Specifically, additional classes in English and citizenship were soon begun either in settlements or at neighborhood schools; and the subject matter was and continues to be keenly accented to promote interest in the public welfare. Regular and wartime programs were ordered so as to set forth national, political, and moral ideals.

One of the clearest results of the experience of the period is that the American spirit must find broader avenues of expression, inculcation, and confirmation.

VI

COMMON WILL

CHAPTER XXVIII

FAMILY OF FAMILIES

THE settlement had occasion to realize, almost from the beginning, that family life was closely and inextricably bound up with inter-family relations. The formation of street-corner gangs into clubs meant as a rule that members of each such group came from a particular block, in the sense of the section of a street cut off by two cross-streets. Personal relationship between boys and their leader brought the latter into the homes, and as gangs were absorbed from corner to corner, this experience was repeated from block to block. The intensely village atmosphere and consciousness which characterized inter-family groupings came to the earliest residents with a sense of discovery. Comparison of experience within the home with continued observation of the street made clear the necessity of patiently tracing the facts and forces of this complicated network. The cornerstone of settlement practice thus came to be continuous acquisition by the resident group of information about the infinite phases of community life.

Collection of all available published data is the first step. Census reports, national, state, and local, are searched for information about ethnic, religious, and economic status of population.[1] Various state and city departments are drawn upon to find the distribution of age groups in the population, number of public employes and school children, proportion of adolescents attending high school, death rates from tuberculosis, pneumonia, and various infants' diseases, types of house and percentage of dark rooms in tenement blocks, tendencies to disorder and crime as shown by arrests.

Physical environment is studied almost foot by foot. Location

[1] Workers of South End House secured from the poll list, as made up yearly in many cities, the name, age, occupation, present and previous residence, of citizens over twenty. It is possible to abstract from such a list a decided amount of information about nationality, race, religion, and the rate of movement of population. Taken over periods of years such data yield important pictures of communities.

of railways, canals, factories, schools, churches, stores, saloons, and amusement places is indicated on a large-scale map. The staff comes to have a clear mental picture of all streets, alleys, vacant lots, and public buildings. It knows the interior plan of dwellings and apartments. It discovers and brings under surveillance those areas which, because of convenient access to adjacent land and buildings, absence of light, or immunity to observation, are the foreordained stage upon which craps are played, fights arranged, robberies and assaults committed, and sexual immorality negotiated.

The social geography of the neighborhood, quite as definitely as the physical, calls for constant and minute observation. In metropolitan cities many districts in which settlements are located were once villages or towns in their own right.[1] Each such community has its traditions, memories of crime or grandeur, loyalties, shrines, heroes, men of affairs, invincible athletes, and local historians. Newspapers, aware of the curiosity and interest of people in the district in which they live, interpret public events in its terms.[2] The settlement household follows up closely all such references, gives careful attention to local newspapers so far as they exist, and in general collects neighborhood lore. It even manages something in the nature of archives through its scrapbooks of current historical data and photographs of clubs and other organizations.

The areas inhabited by special population groups; the types of operation carried on in factories; character and skill of workers and foremen; temper of managers; shops, their proprietors and people who patronize them, are observed continuously. Local dance halls, theaters, pool-rooms, candy stores, as well as recreation resorts within and without the city, are visited; meetings of churches, political parties, trade unions; conferences of propagandists' bodies for reform and protest; casual but often significant gatherings on street corners and in kitchens, are attended whenever

[1] One has only to mention Roxbury and Charlestown in Boston; and Greenwich, Yorkville, Manhattanville, in New York.

[2] Two factory girls in a Boston mill became belligerent to the point of fisticuffs over the relative status of South Boston and Dorchester. The reminiscences concerning locality which occasionally appear in letter columns of newspapers reveal the wealth of emotion which people have for their native community. As an illustration, see the letters about Fort Hill and South Cove in the Boston *Herald* for June, 1914.

possible. Ephemeral pleasure clubs and street-corner gangs, in their several degrees of development and of value to members, are studied as opportunity offers, and the multitudinous forms of leisure-time association, which make momentary vortices in the surface of the ever-moving current of local life, patiently observed. Residents are always on the lookout for indications that show how people are antagonized and how they are unified; for the shadings of like and dislike among different racial, religious, and economic groups; for hostilities and affiliations which exist within and among the personnel of offices, industries, and institutions.

The impossibility of extracting, from ward and district statistics published by city and state departments, definite information concerning the natural neighborhoods in a great district makes it necessary to gather certain forms of data by door-to-door canvass. Housing studies, surveys to discover disease and prevent its spread, inquiries into standards of living, are made by blocks.[1] The results of such experience cause settlement workers to seek in cities the tabulation by blocks or other small units of statistics covering marriages, births, disease, and deaths classified in terms of age, sex, and nationality, in order that responsible citizens may be able accurately to trace currents of life which so vitally affect homes and neighborhoods. Only through such a system can crime, drunkenness, feeble-mindedness, pauperism, and prostitution be charged to the place of its origin.[2]

Study and graphic representation of local facts is to the neighborhood organizer what a clinical chart is to a physician. The mere statement on a map of details about a territory almost always reveals significant connections between personalities and environment. Communities often fail to comprehend the meaning of back eddies of civilization existing in their midst. An alley, a pocket court, or

[1] Residents of South End House in 1897 induced the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to appropriate a sum of money with which to draw off facts about nationality in the South End by blocks from the recently taken state census. Special data were obtained by detailed examination of police calendars, court records, school census, books of private agencies. The widening use of this method influenced the director of the federal census of 1910 to tabulate census data for large cities by small local units. Hull House, University of Chicago Settlement, University Settlement, New York, and Kingsley House, New Orleans, made important block studies in fighting typhoid and tuberculosis.

[2] See Woods, R. A.: "Unit Accounting in Social Work," American Statistical Association publications, n. s., Vol. XIII, pp. 361–66, March, 1913.

a few tenements sometimes attract a group of sick souls who become active sources of contagion. Such nests can be disintegrated only by turning the searchlight upon them; by piling up evidence of one abomination after another that flourishes in them.

Many settlement studies grow out of the immediate necessity of illuminating a pressing situation or meeting an exigency. Investigations for philanthropic agencies and for legislative committees are not infrequent. Residents serving on public commissions use their detailed knowledge of neighborhoods in turning up little known sources of testimony. The more wideawake houses record the working, almost day by day, of laws and the departments charged with their enforcement, and at intervals report their findings to officials and voluntary agencies. Study therefore focuses more and more upon the unclassified, less accessible facts and forces of neighborhood life. This detail of information about the neighborhood is kept vital by continuous application. It conditions the program of the house, indicates channels for influence, furnishes the measure of accomplishment.[1]

Intensively, the settlement aims to touch individuals at the quick; that is, to engage their wills. Extensively it would elicit, so far as association, organization, and instruction may serve as a means, the latent human capacity of its given territory. The discovery of talent naturally constitutes the most exciting opportunity of local educators, and settlement workers literally comb their neighborhoods for natural gifts. The only method of keeping out of the slough of mediocrity into which all communities so easily settle is to garner whatever capacity the chance of birth makes available. Discernment and guardianship of personal skill and power in societies of simple people fall rather casually to the neighborly and professional instinct of local clergy, physicians, teachers, men and women of education and resource. In city neighborhoods, unfortunately, professional men and women are not involved in the family life of the people. Residents as they visit homes heed what parents say about abilities of their own or other children, watch

[1] The considerable range over which investigation of fact has heretofore been scattered is gradually narrowing, partly because settlement interests tend to become more clearly defined and partly because agencies specially organized and equipped for research have entered the field.

boys and girls on playgrounds and streets, encourage expression and initiative in their own clubs and classes, note gifts of leadership which youth discovers in its mates. Evidences of capacity in craftswork, sport, music, dramatics, organization, are hailed, encouraged, and fostered.

Talent of the first order among tenement children is the rare exception. But there is, in most working-class quarters, a considerable number of boys and girls whose modest, though real, promise is lost because unperceived by its possessors or because there is no interested person close at hand to give timely encouragement. The settlement staff becomes highly expert in luring such capacity and in protecting it against the ridicule of peers or the natural adversity of an environment where mediocrity is rampant and dominant. Frequently where families continue to live in the neighborhood there is success in encouraging each child in a considerable series of upward evolving families to work out the measure of his special capacity.

Below talent lies the great body of ordinary human powers. Settlements keep this stratum educationally stirred up and, as it were, aërated. Tenement-bred young people often fail to achieve goals easily within their powers because they are coarse in thought and speech, unclean in their habits, lax in their associations. Their school work and neighborhood play does not fully call out individuality and initiative. The settlement motive would provide every neighborhood with a round of educational and recreational opportunities sufficient to engage the full strength of all children. It would make opportunity for them to participate, under supervision, in athletic sports, walks, camping, club meetings, and other enterprises in association both indoors and outdoors; for all boys and girls to use tools and make things worth while; and during their adolescence to take a working part in some activities of the adult world.

The handicapped, equally with the talented and the capable, are a charge upon the neighborhood organizer. Shut-in children, sick, blind, crippled, or however incapacitated, crave association with other children and with outside friends. Efforts to meet this need brought into being the visiting kindergartner. The resident staff arranges for regular calls. Clubs are formed, with stay-at-home

member as nucleus, leader and mates meeting around bed or chair. The aged, equally with children, are remembered. All settlements keep a friendly eye on the comings and goings of old people who live alone, succor them in distress, help them over an occasional crisis. Those too weak to go out are visited frequently. Members of the women's club are asked to call. Parties, rides through city parks, home trees at Christmas, and similar pleasures add a touch of joy to age.

Finally, there is the residuum of feeble-mindedness, insanity, crime, or moral degeneracy. Children and adolescents of these types can hardly be included in house groups. Indeed, such association is often as injurious to them as to their normal fellows. But the settlement's relation to the neighborhood holds it responsible to them also. Where the individual can be nursed back to health of mind and re-established in his social relations the necessary effort is faithfully carried out. Where institutional treatment is indicated and available, considerate help is given in making the connection. Where neither disposition takes place, the settlement does all in its power to shield the healthy and to protect the person of low grade from himself.

Such efforts, reaching out of club and class work into personal circumstances, carried on year after year in an atmosphere of varied and continuous common interests, are gradually leading to a new type of case work. Drawing upon the experience of case workers below the poverty line, settlements are undertaking to learn and to apply modifications necessary in a stratum which is predominantly above that level. The fundamental difference is one of attitude.[1] The actual presence or, what is often worse, persistent fear of economic distress, does not dominate the situation.

[1] There is an important distinction in case work between the client who asks assistance to be rid of pain and one who seeks enlargement of powers. The physician, lawyer, teacher, and settlement resident know quite as well as relief workers, the discouragement of trying to serve those who refuse to interpret their situation as the portal into larger opportunity. Case workers in relief societies meet a high percentage of this latter type.

Settlement residents labor under an advantage which is also a disadvantage, of being set to work chiefly with those who are forward looking. Where the impulse is but smouldering, it is their business to fan it into flame. This is no easy task. One frequently finds a settlement worker envious of relief workers, lawyers, or physicians. "Oh," such a one says, "if only we could start with something that approximates the urge which want, pain, and trouble seem to provide."

Handicaps are of a more conquerable sort. There is a basis for courage both within the home and in the mind of the visitor that opens up and substantiates many possibilities of achievement and progress.

All services of the settlement, as well as those of locally and centrally organized agencies, public and voluntary, become items to be wrought into the family program. Nurses, home and school visitors, as well as club and class directors and leaders, become highly expert in recognizing subtle as well as obvious problems, the intensive as well as extensive concerns of family life. Diagnosis and treatment in any but simple difficulties are collective rather than individual. The opinion of whoever is, for the time being, in touch with individual and family is collated with that of other specialists and with the experience of those residents on purely friendly terms with the family.

A positive opportunity is found in families which have in good measure mastered the secret of gentle intercourse and in which traditional ties of relationship and friendship are cherished. When grandparents, aunts and uncles, godfathers and godmothers, family friends and kindly interested adult neighbors reinforce the better leanings and impulses of children and young people, a conspiracy exists which continually gives free course to influences which settlements seek to promote. It must be confessed that under the hard conditions of tenement existence beautiful family relationships of this sort are the exception rather than the rule. But the wonder does take place often enough to demonstrate the possibility of its more general achievement.

Nevertheless, nearly all mothers and fathers live more deeply in the experiences of their boys and girls, and in the hopes and dreams woven about the future of their children than in their own existence. That some parents appear to show little interest in the detail of what is being done for their sons and daughters, and to relinquish responsibility for certain forms of education and recreation, represents to the settlement not an opportunity but the challenge of a twofold duty.

The nurture and tuition of children, because they bring absorbing problems to parents, afford settlement groups their chief chance to participate in family life. Birth of a baby stirs emotions, imag-

ination, and will so deeply that marvels of family regeneration and reorganization grow out of wise suggestion at this time. The preparation of the baby's food, health of kindergarten children, recreational needs of preadolescent boys and girls, the provision of quiet for study or for practise on an instrument, become means of establishing higher standards of home-making and of living in general. Celebration of family festivals is promoted by arranging for Christmas trees, helping to prepare birthday cakes, and making possible family outings and vacations.

Difficulties into which children fall through unsupervised associations are set forth in terms of current neighborhood history. The influence of evil example on the innocent and weak-willed is brought home through stories of local family tragedy. Fathers and mothers are supplied, out of varied knowledge of juvenile careers, with argument and expedient through which to guard and discipline offspring. Almost more important than any other single fact in promoting such an end is the consciousness of parents that efforts they make for their boys and girls are watched and appreciated by teachers and friends.

The most frequent and, in many respects, most tragic family problem, from the point of view of its united progress toward higher standards, is ill-adjusted relations between parents and children. The rapidity with which preadolescent children master a new language and assimilate strange customs carries them quickly into an absorbing outside world. Early entrance on work and possession of a little money causes adolescent boys and girls to lose their sense of proportion and to become arrogant and self-willed. High regard for accessories of success, such as showy clothing and jewelry, manifested in the America they know, and scorn for the past felt by new incumbents in a status not wholly achieved, frequently lead young Americans in the making to be secretly, if not openly, ashamed of their parents.

It is universally characteristic of settlements that they seek earnestly to keep eager and aspiring young people in responsible and loyal relations with their families. Residents are often able to clear up the misunderstanding and pain of fathers and mothers who have come to think of their children as selfish, uncommunicative, distrustful, and unkind. Powers and desires in youth, the ten-

dencies of which are not plain to matter-of-fact elders, are talked over and interpreted. Children, on the other hand, are encouraged to share new interests with their families.

Residents make a special point of treating parents with the full respect due heads of families. The worth and beauty of old world handicraft, music, and literature are given appropriate recognition. The man or woman who can render folk dances, songs or tales, or practice folk handicraft is publicly honored. The stirring effect on crudely Americanized children of the discovery that there are elements of high worth and beauty in the racial life from which they spring is encouraged and directed.

Efforts to help lonely, repressed, rigid-minded boys and girls show that certain fathers and mothers fail to make affection understood through very lack of words and phrases, through atrophy of half-used powers of expression, through attempts to hide the smart of personal worry, pain, and difficulty, and inability to visualize the standard of living in this country. Residents and club leaders explain to children reasons for parental action in terms of local circumstances and old country traditions, and induct them into new understanding and sympathy with hitherto unguessed realms of adult thought and action. By patiently enforcing the difference between old and new world standards, parents who have become too absorbed in fighting off poverty for the future are brought to greater liberality in providing opportunity and pleasure for their children.

Support of educational and recreational interests of the family is supplemented through services which involve residents in basic problems of income. The natural follow-up connected with stamp-saving deposits, visiting housekeeping service, co-operative ventures, budget investigations, afford an easy and natural approach to problems of earnings and expenditure, higher education of children, care of the sick and aged. Calls made in connection with clinics, clubs, classes, and vacation houses frequently lead to revision of budgets and dietaries. Systematic hints on the technique of buying, preparing, and serving foods not only makes the home a more efficient instrument of production, but renders interplay of family life more kindly and pleasant.

Many family situations have to be approached and dealt with chiefly through acquaintance with extra-family associations. Parti-

cipation in small and large neighborhood affairs reveals aspects of personality hardly perceived and certainly not dealt with in the family. Men, women, and children kindly co-operative in the home circle are sometimes brusque and destructive outside; while others genial and helpful among friends and acquaintances, are often irritable and mean-spirited at home. Individual repulsions and affinities disclosed through association, reinforced by accurate knowledge of the amount and quality of group life open to boys and girls, often help surprisingly toward understanding individual and family problems. For it is one of the unhappiest aspects of tenement life that children and young people frequently keep from parents the names even of playmates and acquaintances.

The settlement is definitely keyed to promote association in and through inter-family groups. The mutual exchange between residents and neighbors of details about health, achievements, troubles and hopes of family and friends is availed of to increase and enrich that fund of dramatic human detail which is the staple fare of first-hand intercourse the world over. By continual touches here and there, the settlement staff leads the ordinary converse of neighbor with neighbor into the wholesome enlargement which is possible to every personal orbit as it crosses any other. The higher significance of local ideas and traditions is drawn out and forms of inspiriting co-operative enterprise devised. Edifying elements in local news are emphasized as they pass from household to household, in widening circles throughout the neighborhood. With a certain restless curiosity, possibilities of interest and pleasure in the day's work of each family are sought out and brought to common recognition. What people have learned from reading and their experiences in other places, however slight, is interpreted, put into relation with facts of history and science, and compared with what wider information or farther journeys may suggest.

Continued participation in the life of its quarter makes the settlement staff acquainted with those groupings of families which form the most important figure in the associational pattern of neighborhood life; with the organization of various miniature colonies of like-minded; with groups based on income, religious affiliation, moral or æsthetic standard, temperament and disposition, common experience at work or play; with the residuum of degenerates

against which the neighborhood protects itself, as does the body against tubercle germs, by attempting to isolate them.

Residents also learn the meaning of the many different levels of social standing characteristic of working-class life. This tendency of human nature so far as the professional and commercial classes are concerned is understood and allowed for. Experience shows, also, that the pride of the humblest family which leads it to seek some and to avoid other families, reaches the very roots both of economic and moral self-respect. Amid many gravitating tendencies, to "scorn the base degrees by which he did ascend" and to breathe aspiration toward those still modest ones just beyond, is to draw on elemental forces which make character and build civilization. Neighborhood life begins to be revealed not only in its length and breadth but in its depth and height.

So valuable is the knowledge which grows out of following threads of intercourse between families, that here and there a settlement divides its neighborhood into sections and appoints a resident to organize the spread of helpful suggestion in each. The experienced visitor can happen upon groups of housewives who gather daily to exchange news and views, and introduce what she has to say to the circle as a whole. The women best qualified to impart information to a given group are asked to gather their friends and neighbors and to interpret what doctors, nurses, and other specialists have to communicate. On the basis of such simple neighborly relations right links of connection are established among different groups, who are thus brought into the spreading interests of the neighborhood at large.

When the sum of all such intensive cultivation is realized and its total significance, in terms of personal character, the higher tone of family life, and the broader development of neighborly sentiment fairly assessed, there comes an adumbration of the moral conditions precedent to the nucleus of a better city.

CHAPTER XXIX

INSTITUTIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD

IT IS a cardinal duty and opportunity of the settlement group as local citizens to support voluntary neighborhood institutions, especially those managed and paid from popular resources. Remembering that working people, as a rule, have fewer institutional loyalties but hold them more tenaciously than the well-to-do, residents are careful not to undermine local undertakings, either positively by competition or negatively by supplying counter-attractions. They follow the programs of various societies week by week to guard against interference or conflict. It is a vital part of the settlement thesis that the staff shall remain flexible, sympathetic with diverging points of view, patient if need be with outworn traditions and red tape; ready to serve on local boards and committees whenever invited, and seeking similar participation on the part of district institutional leaders in undertakings of their own. Many instances show that houses are glad to see a local organization grow at their expense, and are even zealous propagandists for its welfare.

The main action of settlements, so far as participation in other forms of service is concerned, has been not with the undeveloped initiative of local people, but with the great responsible enterprises of the city as a whole, whether under voluntary or public auspices. The broad scheme of service carried on by most houses for the common weal is to a large extent worked out in this way. It is vital to the neighborhood idea not merely that the benefits supplied by centralized agencies shall be mediated to the people through localized intelligence and skill, but that the people themselves should be taken into confidence and enlisted in actual co-operation.

The range and complexity of human needs that reveal themselves as acquaintance with people multiplies, calls for something approaching omniscience about the city's resources for relief of distress and the protection of family standards. While to persons of intellectual training and practical experience the organization of

professional services into departments and specialties makes for technical and administrative efficiency, simple-minded men and women are frequently baffled and discouraged by distinctions which they cannot comprehend and by the necessity of going from place to place for help. The often expressed conviction that there should be a conveniently situated center of help for all the ills that may happen to mind and body is an index of their confusion.

The settlement house serves as such a center. Persons in need of help are not only adequately and precisely directed, but their experience is followed to the end. Centralized agencies are seen through reports of beneficiaries as well as through the eyes of administrators. Residents are often able to bring to the attention of leaders in a city-wide centralized service the knowledge of how tenement dwellers regard their organization and the actual experiences of workers as they touch its routine. Three decades of such interpretation has helped to bring a decided lessening of that dread of hospitals and charitable agencies in general which until recent years caused multitudes of sick and distressed men and women to bear suffering rather than to face the evils of a callous institutional procedure.

On the other hand, heads of families vary, among tenements as on the boulevards, in the judgment with which they seek professional help at the moment it may profitably be secured. Residents explain the work of hospitals and clinics to individuals, women's clubs, and other organizations. Parents are urged to take the initiative in seeking advantages offered by medical agencies, legal aid, loan funds, and other associations. Most settlements can show a considerable number of families who have learned to use these facilities wisely; and such capacity is one of the surest tests of an achieved standard of life.

Passing from problems of relief, recently organized central agencies to promote education, hygiene, recreation, and general civic upbuilding throughout the city form an increasingly potential resource for community organizers. Many of these agencies, which represent the impulse of the educated and well-to-do to spread the riches of civilization in wider commonalty, make the settlement an outpost for occasional service. Residents gather audiences, form classes, arrange exhibits, and create a local ferment of interest.

Such an affiliation, in frequent instances, results in the establishment of a branch either at the settlement or in separate quarters. Residents awaken neighborhood interest and make connection with the right people, contribute their time, office room, janitor service, and local direction. Milk stations, baby clinics, dispensaries, schools, baths, housekeeping centers, branch libraries, among other forms of service, have thus been brought into being.

Participation in the routine of district institutions, consultation with leaders, and acquaintance with results of this or that service in people's homes reveal needs for meeting which there is neither money nor staff. Residents often step into this breach. They become school visitors, visiting nurses, playground leaders, sanitary inspectors, truant officers, librarians, story-tellers, cooking teachers, to mention but a few newly developing services that go with the more thorough local application of our inventive and adventurous humanitarianism.[1]

But such joint action requires patient adjustment. A frequent cause of disagreement between settlements and centralized organizations grows out of the fact that certain among the latter measure results in terms of units, while the yardstick of the settlement is human inter-relations. Neighborhood workers know that persons living in the same vicinity meeting at frequent intervals are a vital factor in establishing a receptive and co-operative community sentiment. Such a group can both withstand attack and convert others. The convinced iteration of a fact, or the repetition of a gesture by a few persons within a neighborhood, has great carrying power. But such a cross-section of humanity always represents problems of dietary, regimen, racial custom, religious sanction,

[1] From the beginning, men and women of the settlements have stood ready, as it were, to serve tables in houses other than their own. Administratively such co-operation demands a margin of time and money. Residents and volunteers must be willing to subordinate themselves to the necessities of discipline in another institution, must overcome the dislike of subordinates to the introduction of anything new, must bear the opprobrium which falls to meddlers. Exact and definite information of a kind which takes hours to secure and compile is often requested. The question as to who shall finance localized service is bound to arise. The co-operating agency is rarely willing to pay its cost, and the settlement, burdened with its many-sided task, can hardly bring itself to sustain the detailed program of another organization. Success when it comes accrues not to the local innovator but to administrators of the general organization. Despite its discouragements such work represents one of the most important branches in the complicated range of settlement technique.

economic habit, and desires for association. Hospitals, dispensaries, educational and recreative associations lose much by unreadiness to make exceptions or even to permit innovations in order to meet the conditions and attitudes of these neighborhood circles.

Where there is no other public or private agency either within or without the neighborhood prepared to undertake some form of service which experience and judgment indicate to be urgently needed, a settlement is in duty bound, if it can command the skill and financial help needed, to meet the situation. The state, as a rule, does not count experiment among its functions. Where public funds represent the contribution of every citizen, it is difficult to secure adoption of methods or policies which rest on needs rather than results.

Specific experiment, among workers, has never been an end in itself. The settlement is always glad when an enterprise can properly be set adrift and its resources freed for work in new directions. The time unit necessary to bring about public or semi-public assumption of services established and maintained wholly or in part on settlement initiative varies widely. It is part of the neighborhood organizer's method to make a nice adjustment between absolute and convincing demonstration of a need, working out a plan for meeting it, and the moment to propose assumption of responsibility and cost by others. Henry Street Settlement in New York stipulated before stationing nurses in schools that the venture, if successful, should be publicly assumed. Kindergartens, branch libraries, playgrounds, baths, dance halls, theaters, music schools, evening classes, have frequently to be carried on for years before other agencies can be brought to assume full responsibility. Often the appropriate strategy for securing this result involves uniting with others in a city, state, or even national campaign.

In its attitude toward commercial recreation the settlement is bound to act as a vigilance committee. The resident staff must know the reputation of drinking places, pool-rooms, bowling alleys, dance halls, candy and fruit stores, political and pleasure clubs, and so far as possible establish acquaintance with the proprietors. They naturally do everything in their power to reduce the risks of associations in such resorts. By commending the sale of pure products, obtaining co-operation of managers in excluding children be-

low legal age from admission to cafés, dance halls, and movies, seeking to arouse a quasi-paternal attitude on the part of keepers of small stores frequented by boys and girls, it is often possible to decrease the harm of legally sanctioned neighborhood resorts.

The disappearance of the saloon is a phenomenal event. A great part of the harm done by it has gone with it; the scattered evils that mark its sequel will gradually be reduced. Before the coming of prohibition there was a widespread conviction that substitutes for the saloon, as nearly like it as possible, would be necessary. The best settlement opinion held that the attractive power of the saloon was appetite; that when alcohol was eliminated, saloon habitués would reassort themselves. This has turned out to be the case; and the real substitute for the drinking place is seen to be, as the settlements know from overwhelming evidence, the home. The need of new forms of local organization and association may be expected to develop as more normal groupings come into being, and will perhaps lead to special joint enterprise between settlements and the men of the neighborhood.

Governmental action as it affects the locality is theoretically a matter of, for, and by the people. For some of the more direct and generally appreciated services of the municipality, such as baths, gymnasiums, playgrounds, libraries, and, of course, public schools, this presupposition holds in measurable degree. But enforcement of law raises entirely different issues, and often compels the settlement to take an attitude which the district regards as not only alien but hostile.

Although the resident group is fully prepared to be unpopular on adequate occasion, and is always living down misunderstanding, it is greatly concerned to retain that working relationship with people without which in the long run it would be powerless to carry through its underlying program. When it comes to pressing a case against a neighbor to the point of affecting his vested interest or his personal liberty the situation becomes delicate. Thus enforcement of the housing law against a small immigrant owner who, while exploiting his compatriots, yet lives on the offending premises and under identical conditions, is likely to be interpreted as persecution. The overborne parent, who hopes to ease financial burdens and secure some

respite from work through the earnings of children during the short period between late childhood and an early marriage, finds it difficult to acknowledge disinterested execution of the child labor law.

The settlement does not invoke police authority, as it is not primarily a law enforcement league, at permanent expense of its neighborhood relations. Efforts to secure obedience to statutes are begun at those more obvious points on which public sentiment is in fair accord. In time the support of more thoughtful citizens is enlisted to bring about the enforcement of less acceptable provisions. Within these limits the majority of houses that have had most to do with the execution of law feel that in the long run their neighborhood affiliations have not suffered. The settlement should certainly never be in friendly relations with any law-breaking element. Even though enforcement is unpopular at first, in due time it is accepted and approved by the community.

Closely related to the question of attitude toward operation of the law is that of taking persons delegated with police power into residence. While it is universally conceded unwise for residents to be frequently involved in prosecutions, there are forms of enforcement which even enhance the influence of the settlement. Among instances of this sort may be recalled the appointment of Jane Addams as a Chicago sanitary inspector; Mrs. Kelley's service as chief factory inspector for Illinois; and the work of residents of University Settlement in New York as inspectors in the street cleaning department. The public servant most often found in residence at a settlement is the probation officer; but as it is now generally understood that his chief function is to keep children out of court, his presence is generally commended.

Although the settlement seeks as far as possible to secure its results through use of local resources, the cure of even petty ills and the accomplishment of relatively simple neighborhood desires often depend upon awakening public opinion of city and even of state. Whether they will or no, settlements are committed by the logic of our system of government to legislative appeal for relief of local evils and for measures of community progress. Once legislation is obtained the settlement follows with utmost care the administration and results of law. Cases of disputed justice are investigated and necessary correctives determined. Means are worked out for

meeting cases of real hardship during the period of readjustment. The results of one statute sometimes precipitate effort for another. Having brought about the passage of laws for control of child labor, efforts to bring into being an adequate system of vocational education were made the more inevitable. The law compelling midwives to register demanded machinery for expert supervision and instruction. Efforts to control dance halls and motion picture theaters open up the whole question of better standards for public recreation.

By far the most important cultural interest in the average working-class community is religion. The neighborhood worker does everything in his power to strengthen institutions through which the faith of people, whether Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Mohammedan, or Buddhist, is nourished. In neighborhoods inhabited by representatives of two or more faiths, he orders his activities so that each may reap its appropriate advantage among its normal constituency and the neighborhood as a whole be built up.[1] As the neighborhood changes and new faiths appear he can sometimes help the most recent comer in making adjustments to already established loyalties. It must be said, however, that temperamental and philosophical unsectarianism is often countenanced with very bad grace by a considerable proportion of the people and their ecclesiastical leaders. As a friend, the neighborhood worker is considered lukewarm; as an outsider insidious: he is criticized on the one hand because he is a propagandist, and on the other because he is not. But the settlement must, as a rule, hew to the line, leaving entirely to the different branches of the church in the neighborhood to carry on the distinctive offices of religion and devoting itself to what is non-divisive and universal in local reconstruction.[2] The services of the settlement staff, however,

[1] The necessity of separating religion and social work which obtains in the North is not felt in the South, where the population is, in small places, almost overwhelmingly Protestant.

[2] The necessity which settlement workers are under of differentiating themselves from missions and institutional churches is often painful and always thankless. It has borne fruit, however, in a growing appreciation among Protestants generally that the establishment of missions in disguise is a very serious infringement of sectarian good faith. While no one can deny the propriety of a certain readiness on the part of any denomination as such to spread its message among people generally, whatever their present attitude toward religion, baiting children through recreation,

are at every opportunity put at the disposal of ministers, priests, and rabbis.[1]

Not only the individual contribution of societies working in and through the neighborhood, but their relations to one another have to be considered. An outstanding feature about life in many city communities is the divorce between institutions and any concerted effort for common welfare. Clergymen, teachers, physicians, administrators, are frequently unacquainted with co-workers in the same territory, to say nothing of leaders in other types of work. During the nineties certain settlements tried the plan of calling together teachers of the neighborhood to consider local educational needs, physicians to discuss questions of public health, the clergy to take up problems of moral supervision. The plan had relatively slight success because heads of local institutions tend to think in terms of their particular task, and have an established habit of limiting action to what their position specifically entails. Moreover, workers in the same general type of service are often in an attitude of competition and find it difficult to consult together disinterestedly.[2] Experience in war service of many kinds and the

breaking up family and neighborhood loyalties, and the creation of an intense bitterness that vitiates the fundamental human instincts are very costly methods of setting about spread of any faith.

[1] Children are urged to be loyal each to his own church. Ministers, priests, and rabbis are notified whenever religious advice seems to be needed. The use of the settlement rooms is sometimes offered for the purpose of bringing together unshepherded fellow-believers, Jews, Greeks, Catholics, Protestants. It is, however, always made plain that the settlement, by such action, does not foster one faith at the expense of any other.

The charge that settlements have sometimes been lacking in vigilance to preserve religious ideals of young people has, in a few cases, had a basis of fact. The great majority of houses, however, devote themselves heartily to the task of fostering whatever religious tradition the children of the community have. The fact that religious leaders are often powerless to overcome indifference among their young people, is the best answer to this specific charge. If the church, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, with its vast resources of equipment and staff has in many cases found itself balked, it is hardly strange that settlements should find difficulty in carrying out the principle, observed by nearly all of them, of guarding existing religious loyalties.

[2] Resident professional men and women, and in some degree those who living elsewhere give regular service, are in normal neighborhoods sources of communal initiative. There are, however, in every metropolitan area, certain neighborhoods without resident professional people; others served by leaders so few and so unprogressive that their influence is negligible where it is not positively retrogressive; still others which are looked after by persons who, aside from their immediate tasks, have no interest in the life of the community.

general response to patriotic demands have created a different attitude, and better results are hoped for.

Correlation of the work of centralized agencies within settlement neighborhoods has during the past decade become a motive both of the settlement and certain among the most far-seeing executives. The settlement staff, involved with from one to fivescore societies is able, after a little, to pass on not only the results of its knowledge of the neighborhood, but the conclusions of different specialists. Where a household is being visited by representatives of several agencies it is often possible to devise a unified plan covering the full needs of the family group. Sore spots due to bad housing, contagion of evil influence or lax public service are uncovered. New forms of helpful service, based on intensive knowledge of specialists and interpreted in the light of the settlement's grasp of the entire round of local needs and powers, are struck out and put into operation.

It will have been clear that the settlement in seeking urgent legislation and increased public service, does not wait upon readiness of the neighborhood to urge or even necessarily to approve such action. The group of residents, in these as in many other matters, play their part as citizens of the greater community, and as such join hands with all like-minded wherever they may be found. Special effort, however, is devoted toward winning the approval of neighbors for legislation thus secured after it begins to prove its case; and such educational effort is an important means through which settlement and neighborhood quite completely learn to work together in legislative campaigns.

The abiding distinction of its contribution to local organization lies in the determination to develop a comprehensive educational policy. Residents seek to meet and hold young and old within the sympathetic restraints of the neighborhood circle; to organize and codify in tradition the moral sentiment of the people so as to assure and safeguard the rights of every individual; to make the neighborhood in a very substantial degree sufficient unto itself in the supply of enlarged fellowship; to secure a range of educational, recreational, and associational activities sufficiently broad to satisfy the desires, and stimulating enough to call out the higher capacities of every member of the community; to engage individuals of all

ages and types in reciprocal relations of some kind; to exercise families as families and neighbors as neighbors, so that every element of individual and collective life may minister naturally to the upbuilding of each citizen in the community.

In the flux of neighborhood inter-relations, and through the higher tone and impetus which it imparts, the whole variety of institutions, in proportion as they are locally involved, catch the spirit of progress in their inner and outer dispositions. Increasing signs of promise appear that they may grow into a somewhat co-ordinated enginery for the immediate good and for the integration of real communal power. Its beginnings are based on the vast and continuous accumulation of local knowledge through local fellowship.

CHAPTER XXX

RACE AND PLACE

NATIONALITY has important, though by no means preponderant, influence on the settlement program. The task of neighborhood workers in this connection is to impart American standards and ideals not alone to foreign born, but equally to second and third generations of immigrant stocks, the subject matter of whose interests is usually absorbingly American. Indeed, they frequently find that their efforts are distinctly needed on behalf of families of longer native lineage, when, in laggard types, these are found within local range.[1]

Twenty-five years ago citizens looked upon immigrants, particularly those from eastern and southern Europe, as among, but not really of, the nation. They were psychologically disfranchised. Each wave of newcomers was regarded as less cleanly, more ignorant, more a menace to national intelligence, health, and morals than its predecessor. For nearly three decades the settlement was practically the sole agency set to welcome the great body of strangers coming to our shores, to interpret them to the community at large, and to assist them in adjusting their life to ours.[2]

Americanization, in settlement terms, is an evolution into national fellowship through mastery of our standard of living and of life. Each nation has its own such norm. Ours is richer at some points and thinner at others than that of England, France, Italy,

[1] On the other hand, settlement workers have pointed out the fatality of the indifference that fails to discern the danger to our economic, political, and moral standards when certain types of newcomers are left to create breeding grounds for much that is incompatible with or hostile to the best values of American life. While differing among themselves as to the policy of severe restriction, many residents believe that the future intellectual and moral stamina of the nation is seriously endangered by some phases of immigration. Even so far as immigrants themselves are concerned, many would be better off at home than they are under the inhuman way of life which goes with the conditions of work into which they enter and the congestion of the neighborhoods in which they live.

[2] Of 307 settlements reporting, 283, or 92 per cent, are placed among immigrants.

Germany, or Russia. Assimilation, in minimum terms, includes learning the language in its living quality as a means of human interchange, attainment of a level of personal and household cleanliness, gradual appropriation of the moral idioms which, above all, give a nation its self-hood.[1]

The most satisfactory type of adjustment to American life occurs when one or two immigrant families settle in a town or village, earn their living in local industries, purchase at nearby stores, send their children to public school, and join institutions of religion and recreation. The immigrant family in this case duplicates under our conditions the ordinary neighborhood associations and relations through which life in all nations, at all eras, has kept sound and aspiring. Unfortunately, this method of apprehending the standard of life, dominant in the past, is today exceptional.

The great majority of recent arrivals in metropolitan areas are found either in colonies nationally homogeneous or in cosmopolitan districts shared by anywhere from three to thirty different foreign types. In either instance it is fatally easy for immigrant men, women, and children to have only the slighest touch with our life. There are many foreign colonies in this country, members of which know hardly more of America than those groups of our own compatriots in Rome or Paris or in the European colonies of Chinese and Indian seacoast cities ordinarily know of the life by which they are surrounded. The sanctions which control them are elsewhere than in the country in which the members happen to have deposited their bodies. Settlement workers can point out Irish colonies in which questions of neighborly relationship, political quarrels, and many economic problems are decided on the basis of onetime residence in a particular Irish county; Italian districts in which questions of drainage and education, band concerts and dances, are bound up with rivalries of Calabrian towns; Jewish groups in which all aspects of local life are determined by precedents worked out in Polish and Russian ghettos. Immigrants work and earn their living under direction of other immigrants, and their institutions are in charge of leaders born and trained abroad. The children frequently go to schools taught by young people of foreign-born

[1] See Appendix, p. 419, Note X.—An Experimental Definition of the American Standard of Living.

households, who speak English with the vocal maladjustments of those who have never mastered the genius of English speech, and who have never experienced the life of a typical American community. These teachers have no adequate knowledge of the customs, manners, and subtle nuances of ideas and ideals that make the real spirit of the nation.

These facts are pointed out in no spirit of criticism. Nationality, even a foreign one, is vastly to be preferred to cosmopolitanism. It is beyond measure better for this country that newcomers should settle with their own people and reproduce their native life, with its churches, benefit societies, and cultural institutions, than that they should either live isolated in the midst of an American community or become part of a commercialized cosmopolitan slum. No greater service has been rendered the nation during the stage of hurried incoming which it has not only permitted but fostered, than the rapid establishment of immigrant cultural institutions. Whether in Irish, German, Italian, Jewish, or Bohemian colonies, a standard of life is held by the people themselves until adequate connection is made with the life of America.

However satisfactorily such colonies may temporarily meet their members' needs, and they sometimes manage to achieve a most worthy and interesting social type, the result is not democracy in our terms. The settlement proposal for securing democratization in the American sense is actually to bring the largest possible number of persons grounded in the national life into friendly relations with newcomers. The key to democracy is fellowship, and fellowship in a variety of relations and associations. Democracy is real only where all kinds and conditions of citizens are in communication. The neighborhood is a highly effective medium for such interplay because the activities of a local community include a wide range of varied reciprocal experience among human beings.

The process of promoting assimilation cannot be considered under way until individuals and households of foreign antecedents are united in responsible relations on the one hand with American families and organization, and on the other with families among their own group of a higher grade and achievement who have made substantial progress toward Americanization.

The residence house of the settlement domiciles persons who ex-

press through their manners and attitudes, and in the conditions under which they live, the national standard; and through them brings into the neighborhood anywhere from a score to several hundred men and women of their like who associate intimately with individuals and households of the local community.[1]

There is a certain crossing of purposes between the settlement as a neighborhood agency and many forms of racial organization. The loyalty of a given immigrant nationality, which refers back in considerable degree to village attachments, usually finds a radius wider than that of a city district and is rather indifferent to strictly local interest. Taking account of the exclusiveness that goes with this alignment, this fact leaves little opportunity for the establishment of common ground with members of these associations as such. Many houses, through acquaintance with leaders of such organizations, attempt to bring them into a kind of diplomatic relation with American institutions. Speakers, lantern slides, and copy for publication are furnished; celebration of our holidays is promoted; now one and now another element of the national standard of life is interpreted. In numerous instances the settlement hall is rented to immigrant groups. In such circumstances personal relations between the residents and leaders of the colony are often productive. But where immigrant leadership is grossly below American standards, outright competition with it becomes not only allowable but imperative. For each nationality brings its own parasites. The cruelest types of injustice and exploitation are those practiced by sharpers, employment agents, contractors, and small business men upon fellow nationals, and by successful members of earlier waves of immigrants upon recent arrivals of another race or nationality. The establishment of legal aid societies, dispensaries, banks, and other institutions represents ways of saving people from low-grade service provided by charlatans among their own kind.

The whole career of the settlement shows that its emphasis upon American standards has not failed to conserve the best traditions

[1] Here is reason for the insistence which settlement workers place on securing American residents and volunteers in largest possible numbers. Young people brought up in immigrant households, whatever their ability, can hardly have an adequate knowledge of the manners, customs, ways of thought, subtler shades of American ideals and opinion.

which immigrants bring with them. From the beginning residents have insisted that the art, history, and moral ideals of newcomers represent a potential resource, and have protested against the waste which takes place when immigrants discard fine traditions in exchange for the cheap imitation of Americanism picked up in tenements, shops, and commercial recreation resorts.

Two deep-seated impulses are strong among newcomers from overseas. One is the desire which many men and women have, as guests in the national household, to present something fine and distinguished to the country of their adoption; the other is a certain nostalgia for the culture in which they were born and nourished. Even those who have fled political oppression and fully appreciate the excellence of democratic government, hark back to the food, music, manners, and ideals which are the fabric of their memories and their minds. This need is met by publicly honoring heroes of different races, by commending whatever is gracious and distinctive in their manners and customs, and by organizing exhibitions of craftswork, dancing, dramatics, and folk singing.

Not least in importance among the duties of interpretation is that of explaining its neighbors to the community, and the community to its neighbors, in times of strain.[1] All immigrant colonies include small groups of economic, political, and religious radicals, unrepresentative because highly individualistic and humanly unco-operative. Their organizations are therefore very small, and under normal circumstances members are more likely to be heard outside than within the colony. Settlement experience would ordinarily not support the suppression of such utterance. Converts are made not on the basis of an intellectual dogma, but through disgust and even fury aroused by instances of neglect after accident, thefts of wages, tyranny of foremen, unjust imprisonment, overdrastic use of the police power, exploitation of women and children.

While immigrants implicated in plots for "direct action" in the shape of sabotage, assassination, and other lawlessness should be adequately punished, settlement workers know by long experience that discussion about principles of social organization is most profitably met, not by prosecutions but by reasoned argument, and especially by the citation of incidents proving the essential fairness

[1] See Appendix, p. 420, Note XI.—Radicalism and Misunderstanding.

of the American government. Residents take pains to explain seeming inconsistencies in our laws and customs; they admit injustice when it exists and explain the steps being taken to overcome it. They point out similar infelicities in the countries from which the complainants come, and make clear the need of struggle toward social justice. Such interpretation is worth doing carefully and well, because America seeks not a servile citizen, but one who will bear with the national shortcomings as things to be overcome by patience and effort on the part of all, understanding that the foundations of our life are established in equity.

The most telling rebuttal of radicalism is a friendly relation between Americans and newcomers. Not many immigrants temperamentally desire either the mechanical alignments of socialism or the unlicensed freedom of anarchy. The majority are simple, inadventurous people who do not think in abstract terms either of government or revolution, but dream of security in work and regular income. The appeal of radicalism to these primary desires is indubitably a menace, and can be met only as organizers of industry set their houses in order in relation to essential aspects of the standard of life.

Criticism of settlements as instruments of assimilation focuses on two danger spots. One is an Americanism so aggressive and inconsiderate that it antagonizes more than it attracts. Certain settlements have no one in residence who speaks the language of people of the neighborhood, and little effort is made thoroughly to grasp the significance of their manners, customs, and general outlook on the world. There are nationals who make nationality hateful even to their own. Hardly less a problem is the type of house in which the residents become more or less assimilated to standards of the immigrant group or groups about it. It is, of course, among the risks of propaganda that the propagandist shall himself suffer conversion. Occasional residents take on the more showy personal qualities of certain European types, adopt less rigid standards with respect to personal relations than those of our own country, and incline toward an internationalism based on indiscriminate mixture of peoples. The fact that a few houses are overcolored by cosmopolitanism is an indication of difficulties overcome by the successful majority.

Each national type has its contribution to make to America, and at the same time presents its peculiar problem of assimilation. Early settlements were situated in neighborhoods where the Celtic element molded sentiment and controlled local politics, and residents wrought out many of their associational and political ideas by wrestling with Irish ward leaders and trade unionists. At such houses the Irish are peculiarly beloved, and their considerable service in humanizing municipal politics, keeping alive interest in sports, and safeguarding family ideals is heartily acknowledged.

Simplicity of spirit, loyalty to their own traditions and institutions, is the background which the Irish supply for whatever is undertaken by the settlement. Rare courtesy, especially on the part of those born abroad, capacity for wonder, enjoyment of situations, appreciation of the humorous, sensitiveness to hurts real or fancied, are assets to whoever understands and can direct them. Gossip is to the older people as the breath of life; comment on others, however, is almost always tinged with acceptance of the fact that every other human being is as well meaning as one's self. The church plays a deep and absorbing part in molding the mind. Loyalty to God and religion causes misfortune to be accepted uncomplainingly. That difficulties might be overcome through common action is a novel and not easily understood idea. The new has, therefore, to be brought within scope of loyalty to faith, family, and associates.

The motor-mindedness of Irish young people causes them to prefer such active recreations as athletics, dramatics, and dancing; although their keen interest in association makes self-governing organizations formed about matters of substantial interest easy and effective. Boys and men instinctively fall into the gangs so ably used by politicians to build up their power. Superabundant and largely undisciplined physical vitality creates many problems of control which demand firmness and tact. Unwillingness to admit outsiders within the group loyalty except after long probation, hypersensitiveness toward leaders not traditionally involved with them, often make it difficult to secure the best response to enterprises started by the settlement.

All in all, however, the interplay between Irish and settlement has been of decided worth in both directions. The settlement has

learned much from them of the varied meaning of loyalty, and from it they have caught certain standards which help to give loyalty a wide range of meaning.

More than any other immigrant, the Jew manifests a willingness to take advantage of educational and recreative opportunities. The underlying strength of the family tie makes it easy and natural for the settlement to include parents in programs created for their children, a tendency which serves to neutralize in substantial degree the peculiar danger of a sharp break on the part of the new generation from cultural and religious practice of the earlier.

Group loyalty among Jews is not so strong as among some other nationalities, and cliques and factions within clubs are not immediately disruptive as among the Irish. Lack of inclination toward local public spirit, and sudden shifts of loyalty are common. The boy or girl is easily spurred to individual accomplishment, but is not quickly interested in a common good. Yet club members sometimes assume an unusual degree of responsibility for the proper conduct of an organization, and a considerable number of Jewish young men and women, trained in settlements, are carrying the spirit of such service into their work as teachers, lawyers, doctors, and public officials.

A considerable number of settlements, chiefly established and manned by Americans as an expression of gratitude for the civilization and genius of Italy, are situated among Italians. Workers are peculiarly bound to consider the meaning of their activities in local terms. The close residential association of young unmarried men and women is sometimes a cause of misunderstanding to neighbors, and the households in such localities are obliged to exercise care lest their way of life provoke unfortunate interpretation. The jealous oversight of women and girls by Italian husbands, fathers, and brothers must be given full consideration.[1] Efforts to bring people together are often checked by important old world feuds and antagonisms which cannot be overlooked or neglected. Shifts of opinion and judgment are frequent. But what

[1] "The club (Italian) is now very well established, and far past the days when jealous husbands waited across the street to observe and draw conclusions as to the propriety of what went on within."—*College Settlements Association Quarterly*, p. 12, March, 1916.

would be a serious condition of affairs in an Anglo-Saxon community, measured by violence of criticism, is frequently nothing more than the expression of slight personal annoyance or misunderstanding.

Italian children and young people are easily interested in drawing, modeling, dancing, dramatics, pageantry, music, and games. A few houses provide classes in the literary language for children who speak only the patois of parents, so that they may be brought into touch with the best of their racial inheritance. Efforts to influence the present generation of young women encounter peculiar difficulties because girls are not allowed to attend evening gatherings unless escorted by a parent. While such guardianship prevents certain evils of too rapid Americanization, its excess handicaps the girl in assimilating the best ideals offered by her new country. The problem is met in many settlements by sending women residents to escort girls whose parents cannot accompany them to and from evening clubs and classes. Other houses offer classes in home-making for young wives.

Efforts to conserve the skill in handicraft which immigrants bring with them have had more success among Italians than with any other nationality. While this tendency has received encouragement through the interest of societies in Italy to preserve peasant industries, American appreciation of Italian design and workmanship has been a much more important influence. Interesting and rewarding attempts to bring together Italians who desire to meet educated men and women of their own race and to become acquainted with cultivated Americans have been made at several settlements.[1]

Lithuanians make up much of the local clientèle of an increasing number of settlements, especially in the Middle West and South. An agricultural people with little proficiency in handicraft, they have been forced into various grades of rough muscular labor and less skilled factory work. Still primitive in habits of life, somewhat unsure of themselves from long centuries of oppression, they are coming to national consciousness through a revival of interest in their language and literature. Among them in the new generation are many bright young men and women, some of whom are at-

[1] See Appendix, p. 421, Note XII.—Italian Contributions to American Culture.

tending colleges and preparing themselves to be leaders among their own people.[1]

A few settlements are situated among Bohemians. Orchestras, choruses, recreative clubs, and neighborhood improvement associations are successful in giving vent to the strongly marked group interests of the people. Their native sense of beauty and the skill in embroidery possessed by the women are cultivated as community assets.

Greeks are now found in not a few settlement neighborhoods. Strong nationalism and pride of race cause the Hellene to rate himself superior to other immigrants. He is often bitter over what he considers American disregard of his historical background and traditions. Hull House, with characteristic realism, invited a Greek into residence and studied Greek life not only in its own neighborhood but in other portions of the city. Public meetings in Greek and English were organized, out of which developed a group that presented the Ajax of Sophocles in Chicago and elsewhere and helped to form a Greek Educational Association.

Only a very few houses are situated in neighborhoods composed of families who have lived in this country for more than three generations.[2] A community of native-born unskilled laborers made up of stragglers of an industrial army the majority of which has gone forward into more rewarding work and more comfortable quarters, embodies problems of a peculiarly complex and trying sort. Such a population is smugly satisfied with respect to individual and local achievement, and lacks the impulse toward higher things which immigrants often have.

Settlements in some districts encounter a special problem in long rows of houses with "rooms to let." Large numbers of commercial

[1] A Lithuanian student at the University of Chicago established work among his compatriots with classes in the oldest of sciences, astronomy. A school of citizenship was developed out of this venture about which a fairly broad scheme of leisure-time interest, including concerts, entertainments, educational lectures for Sunday afternoons, parties, dances in the neighborhood park center, and other forms of recreation are conducted. Instruction in English is made the vehicle of instruction in civics. The classes are organized in the form of a city government. Plans for lectures or for recreative functions originate among members of the school and are carried out by them.

[2] Of 307 settlements for which data are complete, 24, or 8 per cent, are located among Americans of the third generation and beyond.

employes, American and sometimes Canadian, living in lodgings, create problems of housing, recreation, and moral control in many ways more difficult than those found in tenement neighborhoods. Modifications of procedure to meet these conditions have been worked out in a few cities. Boarding clubs for young women and for young men alleviate the condition of a very few. The first thoroughgoing study of complex problems, economic, associational, and moral caused by the presence of thousands of unattached persons centered in a single community, was made from South End House.[1] The fundamental need in rooming districts is to establish certain healthy, albeit artificial, ties which shall provide a sustaining network in place of family and neighborhood relations so largely lost. A room registry, clubs of landladies, recreative organizations for young people, passage of a law licensing lodging houses, organization of a union of lodging-house keepers, represent the beginnings of a practical program. The Boston city government in 1908 appointed the first public commission for the study of a "rooming" district.

Negroes present the particularly difficult problem of delayed assimilation. Most settlements that carry on work among them are situated in the North, and since Southern immigration into industrial states has been recent, the Negro problem has been studied in the city as a whole rather than in one locality.[2] Houses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago have sought to make clear the full meaning of the sanitary conditions under which Negroes live, the economic discrimination against them, the disabilities of sentiment under which they suffer, and the measure of their accomplishment in the face of hard conditions. The books of Mary W. Ovington and John Daniels, and the public work of Celia Parker Woolley, all three of whom made their approach to the subject as residents of settlements, have been instrumental in placing an outline of the Negro problem before a considerable number of men and women, and have served to promote the de-

[1] Wolfe, A. B.: The Lodging House Problem in Boston. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1906.

[2] Houses divide into two groups, one initiated and carried on by white for colored, the other organized, governed, and managed by Negroes.

velopment of a well-devised program of social work for colored people.[1]

A substantial number of settlements are situated in neighborhoods of white people which include a small number of Negroes. Where the ratio of black to white is slight, the two races usually mix without friction. Large groups of colored people in a neighborhood predominantly white may force a settlement, against its inclination, to choose between the two. In this case the soundest practice is to establish a separate branch, where special forms of work fitted to the needs of colored people are carried on. Settlements placed in Negro colonies naturally escape some of the more difficult problems growing out of intermixture. Among the most useful forms of practical work are visiting nursing, home-making, stamp-savings service, coal clubs, classes in sewing, cobbling, and chair-caning. Religious feeling is strong, and religious services and observances are a decided help as part of settlement work. Factions based on birth in the several southern states, on occupation, on membership in churches, lodges, and societies are pronounced and often bitter. Leaders of institutions, politicians, and professional men are sometimes antagonistic to what in any degree to them suggests segregation.

Settlement workers, white and colored, divide into two groups on the question of inter-relations between the races. One wing is convinced that promotion of association between blacks and whites is the best way of breaking down discrimination and of freeing Negroes to take a more self-respecting place in the community. Leaders of this wing naturally lay most emphasis on demands for justice and on legal and other efforts to safeguard rights. The opposite party is not neglectful of the need for interpretation, protection, and promotion of understanding between the races. Where there is legal or popular discrimination against the right of Negroes to use public conveyances, to exercise privileges of citizenship, to enjoy public educational facilities, means should and must be taken to protect them. The attempt to force personal relations across racial lines is quite another matter. Negroes, like members

[1] Ovington, M. W.: Half a Man; the Status of the Negro in New York. New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1911. Daniels, John: In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of the Boston Negro. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1914.

of other racial groups, must make their way into favor by their productive capacity and their ability to command respect.

Neighborhoods in which many different nationalities live side by side constitute the supreme problem in Americanization. Psychological isolation and inbreeding, as against inter-racial assimilation which represents too often only a mixing of the dregs of several cultures, is the sole alternative in neglected cosmopolitan localities. Imported racial and religious suspicion and distrust, differences of language and outlook, and varying economic progress make it difficult to create united opinion among neighbors, and easy for the reactionary or slothful to thwart progress by appeal to national and sectarian prejudice.

Neighborhood intermixtures of people proceed through three stages: first, interpretation of the several nationalities to one another more or less *en bloc* and in terms of racial accomplishment and powers; followed by promotion of intercourse between individuals in small companies; concluded through establishment of working relations between natural leaders of different groups. It is easy enough to bring together the most antagonistic elements in pageants, mass meetings, and large-scale recreative events in which several nationalities hold solidly together. Exaltation of popular heroes, exhibition of literary, artistic, and musical masterpieces, performance of folk dances, mass singing of national hymns, anthems, and folk songs, promote toleration, a sense of live and let live, and a measure of mutual respect. These events have their greatest usefulness in preparing the minds of individuals for more personal relations across racial lines.

Establishment of such interchange must, in the nature of the case, proceed slowly, and the intermixing seem natural, even though induced. Small classes and clubs form the best and most satisfactory mode of promoting acquaintance. Most groups are fortunately quite willing to include a small proportion of the unlike, and even seem to enjoy the flavor of strangeness so introduced. But when inherent differences reach a point that invites struggle for supremacy, the worst passions of each element are unloosed. As a rule it is wise to keep the ratio of the lesser factor decidedly under twenty per cent. Members of the minority are likely to pass muster in qualities shown by the majority, besides embodying dis-

tinctive abilities of their own type. Thus Jews admitted to Irish groups usually have something of the Celtic sporting spirit, suavity, and geniality in intercourse and capacity for group action. Irish members of Jewish groups are likely to be among the more intellectual minded of their race, capable of holding their own in the never-ending discussion carried on by Jews.

Shopkeepers, professional men, and politicians are likely to be the first to cross racial lines, because they have the most definite stake in so doing. Committee service in clubs and other local organizations is an excellent means of group interpretation. Each element comes to see the other in terms of its actual contribution of knowledge or practical accomplishment. Criticism is almost always fair even when caustic. Out of acquaintance made at such meetings some friendships result, and tracks in local consciousness are established over which the community impulse travels ever more easily and surely.

Problems coming out of the movement of population are to a large extent aspects of immigration. A small proportion of settlements have the advantage of working in a stable community. Here, long-continued and progressive building of various forms of institutional life has improved environment, the educational work undertaken played a part in turning out a better prepared type of young person, and the growth of well-established adult groups created a forceful nucleus of citizens interested in local welfare.

A second group of neighborhoods, although in process of change from one racial type of population to another, has some measure of underlying stability. It is a common experience for a comfortable or even well-to-do district to disintegrate as immigrants move in. The mobile element among older residents, seeking new homes, withdraws its support from communal institutions which have given collective expression to neighborhood life, and these are gradually starved out of existence. Newcomers are as a rule poor and bewildered, and a degree of industrial and civic chaos ensues. Here, too, the settlement takes steps to meet the different phases of this situation. Special clubs and societies are created to hold together less resourceful members of the old community who are unable to leave the district, while newcomers are helped to make headway in

speech and employment and in organizing their own churches, schools, and lodges.

Other houses are located in what is practically a flowing stream of humanity, a situation which sometimes brings residents to discouragement bordering on despair. Often all that is possible is to reach out hands to one type after another in the current, and to give some impulse which shall make itself felt in the future. There is a strong temptation to look lightly on neighborhoods and to seek to reach individuals; or to emphasize the larger district which seems to possess certain elements of stability that the immediate locality has lost. But the resourceful settlement is only aroused by the greater urgency of a shifting neighborhood. Individuals, here and there, can be enlisted, and the institutional life of the community be enriched. The fact that staff members are frequently among the oldest inhabitants is of assistance in bringing about necessary readjustments with greater acceptance. In the last analysis the very transitoriness of a population makes more vital the need of holding it in some measure of normal relationship. The settlement which loses courage because a neighborhood does not of itself assume clearly outlined communal life forgets that its essential business is to nurture neighborly sentiment, and if need be, to create it out of nothing, as a distinctive service to those who are to pass on as well as to those who are to come.

The weight of experience shows that under all but most extreme conditions the neighborhood can be in part, and for moments completely, lifted to a plane where barriers of race and tradition begin to lose their isolating power. Under responsible initiative of those who represent both American standards and accessibility of mind, a common language, charged with rich significance, becomes the means of interchange among different racial groups. And as the implied obligations of the adopted civilization are felt and the contribution of each type realized, a binder is formed, in a scene that has been a no-man's land, which makes the newly envisaged patriotism for all parties to the compact an inspiriting reality.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE LIVING CENTER

THE interaction of settlement and neighborhood creates certain nice problems. Though incubated outside a local community the settlement comes to birth within it. Once born, it must be in and of the common life, more concerned for local welfare, more jealous of local fame, more avaricious for local advantage, than the people themselves. Residents are at once neighbors and friends, servants and leaders, citizens and, in some sort, statesmen.

The first stage in settlement evolution consists in becoming familiar with the scene, establishing acquaintance with a considerable number of representative men, women, and children, and laying hold upon a few of the more obvious problems of the district. The second stage is characterized by detailed upbuilding of local institutional resources. Many older houses are now entering a third stage, which may be characterized as one of evoking local co-operation. Each of these periods has its own sanctions, and its own way of bringing about results, based, however, on the accumulation of experience and influence gained in the preceding period. For the technique of settlement work is evolutionary, changing with the development of the resident staff and the degree of interplay between house and neighborhood.

In the stage of beginnings, the number and interests of men and women in residence, size and character of buildings and equipment, order of the household, forms of work undertaken, are governed by the degree in which each helps or hinders the primary duty of becoming acquainted from within the scene with environment and people. The more nearly the settlement approximates an average family in size and manner of life during this stage, the easier for residents to become included in the normal life of the locality.

From two to four persons domiciled in an ordinary dwelling house constitutes a thoroughly satisfactory settlement germ cell.[1]

Because the age, sex, and local standing of those asked to form the first clubs, classes, and associations will exercise an important influence on all later enterprises, something in the nature of a policy with respect to them is always determined before starting. It is difficult to attract adults, and extremely easy to bring children together. Experience, however, shows that neighborhood organizations which begin by enlisting ranking men and women find it easy and natural to secure the presence of humbler adults and of children. Houses, on the other hand, that come to be locally known as places frequented chiefly by boys and girls, have difficulty in attracting men and women. The majority of settlements seek to reap full advantage of both forms of attack by building up strong mothers' clubs, members of which are invited to send their children, and by seeking out parents not already affiliated with adult clubs. But the advantage lies with those which begin by organizing adults.

The houses which initiate their work with some institutional service, such as visiting nursing, teaching music, care of infant life, have an immediate advantage over settlements which, as it were, operate under a roving commission. Few people are disturbed by a new institution whose service is obvious. The matter would be without question were it not that the majority of houses administering a specialty find that demands of the service and the thought of subscribers and neighbors conspire to hinder further outreaching. The general motive of community organization demands that specialized services for well-being and education be established as

[1] The practice of attaching a name to the enterprise is as unavoidable from the point of view of the neighborhood as from that of the general public. Because it will be much in the mouths of people, it should be chosen with regard for local prejudices and loyalties. In the absence of any clear indication, experience shows the wisdom of modest and even commonplace insignia, which shall in time be filled in with meaning.

Good names are those which attach the house to its local community, such as Gads Hill, Lenox, and Riverside; or which commemorate exemplars of service and inspiration, as Lincoln, Lowell, Kingsley, and Denison. A few houses are named for benefactors, at best a doubtful expedient. A considerable group of religious settlements are called after persons or symbols associated with the form of faith of their supporters; some others are called after a moral quality. Such names not only savor of a pietistic attitude with which the settlement has nothing in common, but they lend themselves all too easily to ridicule.

quickly as possible on a permanent institutional basis. On the other hand, it is of the greatest possible advantage that residents should early become involved in the government and administration of local institutions and have opportunity to study from within their workings and possible inter-relations.

It is impossible to overemphasize the fact that the essence of the first stage of settlement work is the intimacy which obtains between residents and neighborhood families. Practically all head workers, as time goes on, find their knowledge of the neighborhood grounded in experiences of the first years. Friends made in this stage remain friends always; they introduce new residents to the community, interpret the goodwill and purposes of the house to doubters, and are the nucleus of the settlements' convinced constituency.

The domesticated institutionalism of this first period, in the eyes of a far from negligible proportion of residents, represents the settlement at its best. Members of this group point out that enlargement of club and class work, addition of institutional features, introduction of a more formal educational motive, entail an inevitable loss in helpful friendly relations with individuals. For them the preferable unit is a small household with its friends and assistants carrying on offices of helpfulness and sociability within a small round of families. Clubs, classes, and groups meet literally as guests of residents; questions of dues, formal self-government, participation in broad-scale civic events, are not permitted to become active lest they interfere with responsive human relations. Although most residents would not approve so thoroughgoing a limitation and feel that expansion can be shaped so as to conserve the values of the days of small things, everyone recognizes the essential dignity and power of its advocates as exponents of the settlement spirit.

The second stage in settlement evolution is an outgrowth of that rounded knowledge of local life and feeling, that mastery of the multiplicity of influences which act and react on individuals and organizations, that sense of solidarity between residents and neighbors, which is gained only by continued experience of a group held together as an established nucleus, living in the district on a twelvemonth basis for at least half a decade. In this stage staff, plant,

equipment, and administration are conditioned by the purpose of creating in germ adequate and permanent organs of community life, securing as rapidly as may be their actualization in permanent form, discovering and training a group of men, women, and children who will illustrate neighborhood loyalty. Crystallization of interest and enterprise, although a necessary period in development of both plant and force, is not permitted to degenerate into rigidity. Theories and activities are held lightly enough so that they may be changed to meet newly discovered popular needs and powers.

A resident group, large, able, diversified in interests, resourceful and co-operative, is now a chief desideratum. Whenever there are more than three or four residents, some become directors of organization among men or women, adolescent young people, boys or girls, specialists in working with particular immigrant groups, teachers of cooking, craftswork, music, art, literature, and dramatics. Dietitians, nurses, and doctors carry the latest results of scientific knowledge and skill to the people.

Certain men and women engaged in work with children and young people are laying the foundations of a new profession; namely, the organization of educational recreation in strata of the population which have relatively fluid interests, without native instincts for the practice of association or of art and science, and which live under conditions where there is no satisfactory initiative from family life. Such directors of work, as they gather new groups, go after absentees, follow up organized interests between meetings, or in general seek a downright personal understanding with people, begin to know in terms of feet and hours the streets, alleys, vacant lots and buildings, back yards, factories, docks, woodyards, railway sidings, police stations, and engine houses which form the stage on which the spontaneous drama of the neighborhood proceeds. They meet with boys on street corners, in cellars, attics, caves, and dugouts, and attend the dance halls, candy stores, amusement places, and promenades frequented by girls. Impulses that engage and move larger gangs and smaller cliques, activities through which they express themselves, kinds of responsibility they are willing to assume, gradually emerge in form to suggest an instructive strategy. Personal conversation as against such background, revelation of character gained through

the interplay of mind on mind in more formal club or class relations, occasional consultation with parents, teachers, and friends, confessions of children and their elders when in difficulty, still further place the cards in their hands.

In time club directors begin to note the changed moral meaning of territory in which boy and girl move as morning passes into afternoon, twilight, evening, and night, and spring progresses into winter. They become able to forecast roughly but with something like certainty the rise and direction of currents of feeling and influence which circulate among children and youth, and the probable movement of life up and down the streets. So prepared, they are able not only to anticipate and intercept evil influences in their incipient stages, but to create an increasingly appropriate combination of forces which turn constantly emerging powers of young life into channels of worthy expression and fine satisfaction.

Each director of a department is reinforced by his or her associates on the staff. For the house with a considerable number of residents embodying a variety of interests and capacities is educationally both lodestone and touchstone. The needs and possibilities of boys and girls drawn to, and appropriately placed in, its scheme of organization, come up periodically before an educational clinic bent on discovery of positive promise and on fostering character, skill, and purpose. Qualities thought of as weaknesses by one resident are, by another, seen as powers. The group becomes fertile in devising expedients which will tap incentive and maintain interest in minds too soft to take polish. Nowhere can there be found more rounded care by specialists in many phases of unfolding child life than that practiced at many settlements.

The settlement, when it takes the initiative in promoting association, has a very considerable responsibility for results of forces set at work. All groups are watched carefully not only by leaders but by directors of club work and other residents. Indeed, a large proportion of settlement case work consists in following up children and young people whose conduct in clubs, parties, and dancing classes, and whose influence on others, is demonstrably hazardous.

Neighborliness, free interplay between residents and people, is as important as in the stage of beginnings. Though in some measure more difficult to create, certain enrichments of quality grow

out of its compounding. Specific points of departure for building up acquaintance and for visiting are manifold.[1] At most settlements the beginning of club and class work in the autumn is preceded by a house-to-house canvass. New educational offerings are explained and opinions and desires of parents solicited. Once groups are formed, fathers and mothers are consulted about progress, absences, and where necessary, behavior. In the spring a second general canvass is made for the purpose of listing those who should be invited to day outings and vacations. Additional visits are frequently required in connection with medical examinations, preparation of outfit, and payment of camp fees. The organization of parties, dances and plays, and celebration of holidays involve calls in connection with forming committees, making costumes, gathering properties, arranging extra rehearsals, and securing co-operation of parents.

The relations between residents and neighbors, as the number of persons affiliated with the house increases and the range of their services widens, become less emotional and more technically expert. The former regard themselves, and are regarded in the neighborhood, as educators. They go into homes not only to render assistance, but to secure help in meeting problems which they as teachers and leaders are bound to solve. Parents meet them on this democratic and self-respecting basis. Such resident specialists, season by season, restudy the locality, try all sorts of new ways of converting the unawakened, and scour the city at large for help in giving effect to local plans.

Parallel with what may be called visitation of purpose is another world of chiefly friendly personal interplay based on the neighborly relation. Staff members keep stated days and hours at home, and mothers and young people call freely and informally. Residents drop in upon families with whom they have a special relation of interest as they would upon friends in any other portion of the city. They receive invitations to birthday parties, weddings, funerals,

[1] It is a cardinal principle of settlement technique that all calls must have a valid reason, not only to resident or volunteer but to the person visited. At one house, in order that this branch of its work might be represented in a more technical form, as against a long program of group appointments, twenty-two different kinds of visiting were listed, each kind having a distinct objective, and all of them carried out by persons of more or less special training for accomplishing the end in view.

christenings, first communions, Christmas and Easter celebrations; are introduced to kinsfolk and family friends; asked to attend church and lodge affairs and taken to missions and jubilees; consulted about clothing, about a new tenement, about buying a piano, about problems of health, hygiene, and employment; participate in trips to theaters, shows, museums, and on day excursions into the country; are sometimes honored by having the new baby for namesake, or by being asked to stand as godparent. The man or woman with a genius for acquaintance easily comes to know a large number of people. Most settlements include a few persons with this power, and the approach of other staff members and of specialists to homes is facilitated, to a degree not easily measured, by the kindly understanding established through those who enjoy human intercourse for its own sake.

The quality of sociability between residents and neighbors is greatly enriched by the fact that families are in touch, actually or potentially, with the entire settlement household. Almost invariably some resident is on terms of temperamental understanding with some member of each household visited. Neighbors on their part interpret the personality and purposes of less understood residents in terms of their knowledge of those better liked. Each year the range of reciprocal understanding and reciprocal interest between the settlement as a household and families of the neighborhood grows more complex and intimate.[1]

An advanced policy as to buildings and equipment becomes necessary. Because they do not themselves intend to become permanently responsible for particular types of service most settlements hesitate to erect buildings frankly created for special departments of recreation or education. A considerable proportion of leaders hold that a reconstructed dwelling house best sustains, inside and out, the sentiment of hospitable domesticity at the basis of the settlement atmosphere. Institutional services of education, recreation, and health are provided for by combining adjacent dwellings. Sizable meeting halls, gymnasiums, and theaters are created by removing partitions between rooms. Windows, walls, and furniture are treated so as to suggest that whatever goes on is taking place in a home.

[1] See Appendix, p. 422, Note XIII.—Records.

A number of settlements have more or less consciously relaxed their hold upon the domestic idea in favor of a humanized institutional center. The house comes to be thought of, both by neighbors and residents, less as a dwelling for people, more as a meeting place for a series of local associations. Such a center masses its activities in a single structure or attached group of buildings, with living quarters for resident staff beside or over the institutional part. It has obvious advantages in facility of administration and a certain degree of direct financial economy. In crowded and otherwise resourceless sections of large cities, with an unstable immigrant population, there is urgent reason for massing all resources into an impressive and powerful hospice of sympathy, justice, and varied opportunity.[1]

The fact that the settlement is serving as an experiment station, rather than creating organs for community self-expression, necessarily conditions the uses to which rooms are put and the nature of their furnishing. The gymnasium has frequently to serve as meeting room, dance hall, theater, and banquet room. It is often ill adapted to any one of its multitudinous functions, a handicap which workers accept because they believe it is good policy to bear inconvenience during the stage of educational sounding.

A small proportion of houses provide separate buildings for as many as possible of the various types of work undertaken. Residents live either in dwellings belonging to the settlement or in tenements hired upon their own responsibility. Institutional buildings are more or less deliberately set forth as neighborhood town halls that shall increasingly represent the district itself.[2]

The attempt to be hospitable and democratic at the same time,

[1] It is increasingly clear, however, that the prescription indicated by these specific conditions should, to thoughtful settlement initiative, suggest departure rather than imitation. For as soon as the work of a settlement grows beyond very modest beginnings, either the physical equipment overshadows the residence with what is after all but interesting and unique institutionalism, or the residence develops to baronial proportions as compared with the other dwellings of the neighborhood. It is, of course, true that the growing circle of residents in the very midst of so many converging interests and activities often brings about particularly varied and inspiriting comradeship and hospitalities, larger views, and full summoning of powers; but the suggestion of home no longer remains, while a normal regimen of life for the residents and the value of simple and telling neighborly reciprocity are more difficult of attainment.

[2] See Appendix, p. 422, Note XIV.—Settlement Buildings.

to encourage original impulse and self-direction in individuals and groups while safeguarding property, creates problems of discipline not easily understood by the mere onlooker. Neighborhood houses are among the few institutions at which attendance is voluntary, which practically never invoke law to punish small offenses, and which bear with transgressors until seventy times seven. Residents and associates frequently suffer patiently almost intolerable boorishness, because they have seen so many cases in which energy, apparently riotous, has been brought under control in the readjustment of adolescence.

Each house, in the light of its aims and the local powers, must face the question of what shall be its irreducible standard for behavior and use of property. Determination of just how far the local mind is willing to sanction limitation of personal privileges is a delicate one. The exact value of loud ululations by those who enjoy or profit through rowdyism, extent of local inertia, and possibility of arousing a definite proportion of citizens by pushing standards ahead of conviction, must be gauged. One wing among settlement leaders insists on deportment in its dancing classes, gymnastic events, clubs, and classes approximating that of a good private school. Individuals who cannot or will not respond are finally ruled out. Where facilities are limited it often seems the highest economy to use ingenuity for enlarging the number of fine-minded to a point where they may through collective reinforcement leaven the neighborhood. At the other extreme is a small group of headworkers who seek to attract the virile but undisciplined because they believe that this element actually controls rate and direction of progress. Crudities, short of destruction and disorganization, are tolerated provided the group is able to hold together and bring things to pass. The better standards which grow out of long-continued association constitute a code of manners and morals fitted to the desires and powers of the district.

In the long run, of course, the true principle of discipline is to transcend it. A strong momentum of positive intention is introduced into practically all settlement gatherings so that they incite interest, concentrate attention, and carry group sentiment on a rising tide. This is where the art of the leader appears; and fortunately it is not dependent on rare natural gifts. It can be culti-

vated; and even amid difficulties and apparent failure a kind of confidence is won from a refractory group which tells measurably in the creation of a better tone.

The first activities of newly established settlements, as we have seen, were in the nature of outright hospitality. Without losing this motive the settlement gradually expands into a second form in which, for much that goes on within its doors, responsibility and decision are divided among all concerned. This advance of policy definitely naturalizes the enterprise. The various groups connected with it first pay fixed dues and later often assess themselves, meanwhile learning to get results by team work. But there is continuously the still wider and deeper purpose, through such preparatory training, of engaging neighborhood goodwill and financial support for the several elements of common life. Every club and class is urged to hold the ties existing among its members as a contributing factor in broadening and strengthening those stirring local affiliations in which the lives of all citizens are rooted. The development of this kind of loyalty, as the settlement comes to its third period of evolution, represents both the contest and the prize.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE NEW SYNTHESIS OF LOCALITY

THE third stage in neighborhood upbuilding has its abiding distinction in more just and subtle analysis of local problems, more natural interplay between neighbors and residents, more responsive and vital common interests. The chief need is for trained persons willing to devote themselves, through personal and professional service, to the discovery of new circles of youth and adults capable of responding, on the one hand, to finer forms of individual and group culture, and on the other to opportunities of public service. Early settlement workers cried out against the danger of overindividualism; those of today see that growth of mechanical forms of socialization is an equally serious menace. The new leadership in recreation and education, the new democracy itself, awaits growth of that friendly co-operation which discovers and brings out the neighbors' power.

The long-continued residence of a group of men and women grounded in local traditions and acquainted with children's children which characterizes this stage, automatically brings about much of the fine flower of personal neighborly interest that residents in the stages of establishment and of institutional upbuilding have to create by strivings of spirit and by painstaking efforts to discover common interests. After years, the common things are of the normal stuff of living. Residents are able to think in neighborhood modes and acquire a kind of second sight about local affairs. They see districts not with the false simplicity of a doctrinaire, but in terms of ability and achievement.

Neighbors, on their part, accept residents as they do local lawyers, doctors, and school teachers. They apportion certain duties in education and recreation, and from time to time actually create new responsibilities for them. They talk plainly, reveal their deeper thought and desires, and help the settlement staff, individually and

collectively, to realize its plans.[1] It goes without saying, however, that there are many persistent local cleavages. No district is ever harmonious. There is something invidious about individuals or groups, whether resident or nonresident, that initiate. But enlargement of the number of citizens who either actively or passively are willing to see neighborhood life built up and beautified represents a not inconsiderable gain. The strategy of such advance is to split solid inertia by appealing to temperamental interests of natural groups.

Plant and equipment, in this stage, tend to be decentralized. Separately located art and music schools, home-making centers, and other enterprises become special radiating satellites. The residence house assures those offices of hospitality which are so important a part both of settlement motive and method; and the higher standards which a host can set in his own rooms are gradually imparted to larger and more democratic gatherings.

The gains of this stage are based in important part on thoroughgoing knowledge of local social structure. Districts into which metropolitan areas subdivide are often cities, in point of numbers, containing from 25,000 to 125,000 people. These areas fall into what may be called, for want of a better term, subdistricts, with inhabitants varying from a few hundred to a score of thousands. The subdistricts divide again into neighborhoods, population of which ranges from a handful of families to several thousand persons. All communities of more than a few hundred people divide into smaller geographical areas or colonies, members of which are held together by unities of race, income, religious, or other affiliations, and not least important, claims of contiguity. Where these colonies are fairly well unified and their existence recognized both by inhabitants and bordering colonies, the settlement, when its resources permit, establishes a small household to share in the life of each such unit. For the settlement seeks to discover the effective

[1] On their part, however, people demand of residents the same permanence of stay and regular performance of function that is expected of physician, lawyer, and priest. Nothing injures the influence of a group so quickly as suspicion that its numbers are not vitally bound up with the neighborhood. When West Side Neighborhood House in New York was closed, working people all over the city voiced the fear that there was no permanence in settlements; they professed themselves unwilling to pledge neighborly allegiance and co-operation to transitory persons or institutions.

groupings by area of people of different sorts and different ages into which human life naturally falls, and to devise appropriate machinery for meeting the exact needs of each group.

Small and preadolescent children, for the most part, live within a narrow geographic compass. In this preserve the growing boy and girl adventures to satisfy curiosity about the world and to match powers against contemporaries. Beyond bounds he is oppressed with the sense of territory alien if not hostile. Settlement clinics, story-telling classes, play hours, and other enterprises are increasingly decentralized and carried on in cottages, tenements, public libraries, schools, churches, wherever room can be obtained.

The organization of education and recreation for adolescent children must be very differently managed. As keenly as childhood craves protection of the familiar, youth desires extension of range. Establishment of an attractive and frequented local center within easy reach of all parts of a neighborhood or subdistrict, yet beyond the immediate home environment, is here a safeguard.

Group activities in this period are inspired by two important purposes: to create organs for the expression and satisfaction of special powers and interests; to make individuals and clubs alike conscious of neighborhood as a loyal end.[1] The roots of this enterprise are in the club and class system which has a definite significance in its totality. Competition between groups discloses fresh types of talent and hitherto unappreciated shades of ability. Families of members of different clubs cement acquaintance in a scene of neighborhood distinction. Currents of influence and goodwill are set in motion which reach out in ever widening circles. New and rich fruits from it are brought back into the better appreciated common treasure of the family. There comes to be a new sense of reinforced goodwill, finer aspiration and enterprise among people who above all must rely upon communal intrenchment of what is best. The time comes when enterprise originating at the settlement begins quite definitely to be shaped by the outside, objective life of the neighborhood. It is impossible to mark the precise transition from the lively follow-up of club work into the stage where neighborhood rather than settlement looms up as the institutional

[1] See Appendix, p. 423, Note XV.—Group Altruism.

form in and through which large aims are worked out. But the reality is an increasing one.

Among the more important means for promoting growth of local consciousness are news sheets, house councils, festivals, pageants, and organizations of different sorts for local public betterment. A few houses publish a neighborhood newspaper, with editorials, social news of the local community, leading articles on home-making, nursing, public welfare, and short stories.[1] Through the neighborhood festival certain settlements make an impressive contribution and secure in different ways a vital response. Preparation draws in not only many of the neighbors but a variety of local institutions. A Robin Hood pageant, begun in 1909 by Greenwich House, New York, as a climax to club and class work, has developed into an important annual neighborhood enterprise which involves many different organizations in presentation and brings out a good share of the district to witness it. The pride which the community takes in its collective capacity to make a good showing, and in its importance as reflected in the public prints, makes it ready to venture into new fields.[2]

The house council represents a stage in advance of the club council in that chosen representatives of clubs legislate for and administer an indoor and outdoor neighborhood program. Its distinguishing quality lies in the fact that for certain purposes it is a body co-ordinated with the settlement governing board. Delegates are brought into touch with broad phases of social and civic work, present their point of view on equal terms with residents and board members, pass upon and revise new projects, acquire a constantly increasing experience of the machinery through which forward movements are brought to pass, and hold positions of influence upon matters over which they do not have actual authority. Reservations of power are in the main those which concern property.

Even this barrier is passed at Hudson Guild, where every aspect of internal administration has been placed in the hands of the house council, "subject only to trustees." This body is made up of one representative for every ten club members, although no club is

[1] Brooklyn Guild for two or three years issued a weekly which had a considerable circulation in its community and was truly a district newspaper.

[2] See Appendix, p. 423, Note XVI.—Festivals.

allowed more than five representatives. The head resident sits ex-officio but without vote: he has the privilege of veto though the council can overrule. On its part the council is charged with the responsibility of raising a sufficient sum to cover heat, light, and cleaning, and the house committee of the council makes all contracts for coal, janitor's supplies, and service.[1]

The significance of these experiments, which in themselves are small and halting enough, lies in the fact that working people, in the ordinary course of their lives, are almost altogether shut out from any share in administrative activity. A growing body of young people are learning in settlements how to assume the duty of planning and executing enterprises having a public outlook, and to enforce necessary rules, even against friends and neighbors, a rock upon which a considerable percentage of organizations break. The growing tendency to place school buildings and other communal equipment at the disposal of local groups can succeed only as a capable body of citizens are ready to preserve property against misuse and to develop a proper collective initiative.

The line between education for civic accomplishment and practical public achievement is passed in women's clubs. Various forms of simple co-operative action covering help in sickness, strain and distress, country vacations, and similar activities give expression to the "natural, noble village communism" of members. Woman, equally with man, is becoming a "political animal." Analysis of the difficulties of suffrage among men seems to show that a majority of wrong choices grow out of the fact that electorates are more frequently than not asked to decide upon persons and issues with which they are profoundly ignorant. Settlement clubs are training women voters, present and future, who are taking seriously their new duties, to think and act with knowledge and ideals upon issues of political life. The accredited leadership in municipal affairs attained by Miss McDowell and Miss Vittum in Chicago, where there

[1] "The work of the Guild is an attempt at self-education and self-government. . . . . Probably the best people in the community are not able to govern themselves any too well; however, there is this in common among all people, that they get more out of self-government in the long run, or at least in participation in self-government, than they do out of any other form of management. . . . . The Guild is trying to give such powers to and develop such responsibility in its club members that they will be able and willing to take a really useful part not only in the house but in the neighborhood and city as well."—Report of the headworker, 1910.

have been several years in which to test the effects of woman suffrage, suggests what far-reaching results are likely to follow.

The lack of adult men's organizations as part of the settlement club scheme is particularly felt in relation to local affairs. There is, however, enough experience to make residents increasingly eager to secure those important gains for the community which men's clubs can bring about. A really remarkable achievement in this direction is that of University Settlement, Milwaukee, under the lead of Herbert H. Jacobs. During the Socialist régime in that city, the club numbered among its members two legislators, two aldermen, a civil judge, city attorney, commissioner of public works, and four deputies in county offices. Though it has never campaigned nor taken a partisan stand, the club is regarded as very much alive in public matters and absolutely unafraid. Mr. Jacobs' political independence has made it possible for him to be of unique service to the city in keeping up effective working relations between private agencies and the municipal administration.

There is ground for confidence that a new appeal to public spirit may go further in creating organization among men than did that of earlier days. As city populations become more stable, as interest in municipal affairs increases and another generation comes forward, a new civic alignment of neighborhood men will become a practicable undertaking. Among settlement acquaintance, and often among former club members, potential leaders appear. Many former saloon habitués who have made recovery of their domestic instincts will no doubt in due time discover within themselves the impulses of neighbor and citizen.

It is by no means true, however, that absence of club organization prevents residents from reaching neighborhood men in connection with their policy to bring about local public benefits. For one thing, the men most likely to care for the recreational aspects of a men's club are usually not those ready to undertake local civic responsibility. Even when improvements are secured from city government by means of city-wide support, men of the neighborhood are involved. Particular pains are taken to have them understand the process and intelligently to utilize the result. The immigrant who knows American public administration only as represented by the brass buttons of an arrogant policeman may

doubt whether politically he has bettered himself. But when it is expressed to him and his family in health and pleasure-giving agencies, of which they have use equally with all others, this man receives a genuine lesson in the meaning of democracy.

Various devices have been created to enlarge the nucleus of citizens concerned about local municipal services. Residents seek to make their efforts to secure clean streets, regular and adequate collection of paper, ashes, and garbage, supervision of water and milk, enforcement of housing laws, suppression of vice, create a contagion in community thought and action. The men and women reached by such action are encouraged to commit themselves to an active demand for improvement by complaining in common. Fault-finding, an always available kind of expression which otherwise might go to waste, is focused and trained in directions where it will do the most good. Special meetings at which city officials and politicians are asked to be present are called to talk over definite local needs and to outline effective remedies. Local people, by combined action, begin, so to speak, to taste blood in the matter of citizenship. It is not accidental that the vote for good government in certain settlement neighborhoods in New York and Boston has been larger proportionately than in districts given over to those just above the unskilled and slightly skilled manual laborers. The training provided in settlement clubs and classes is bringing into being men and women able to discern their own welfare as concretely involved with that of neighbors.

Since 1905, neighborhood improvement associations, to some extent forecasted in the long-established village societies, have been built up in an ever increasing number of urban working-class communities. The reason for the gradual nature of this growth is clear enough. It required, on the one hand, the cumulative effect of the constructive scheme of the settlement to prepare the minds of neighborhood people; on the other hand, the expansion of its motive into an outreaching community program. The result is not one that comes by observation. It depends upon tested and confirmed acquaintance up and down the neighborhood with families who are in local terms public-minded. Settlement workers come to know just where to go in each block or court to fan the spark of interest among the men, and even more the sagacious women who,

though they never speak in public nor take an active part in politics, are powers in committee meetings and in the personal approach to immediate neighbors. The settlement does in this case for the whole round of neighborhood need and aspiration what the politician does in the matter of vote-getting.

The work of eliciting natural leadership in the neighborhood is supplemented by aligning in each little subdivision the nucleus of families capable of reinforcing one another's better life and leanings, the households between which there is a constant flux of wholesome intercourse. The establishment of any specific sort of interest or pursuit in such groups insures for it a fair lease of life. The drawing out of these groups and the constantly increasing use of their cohesive power are among the most far-reaching phases of neighborhood work.

The earliest effort to systematize the organization of the community into small and hence manageable units, and to bring the people of such areas together for acquaintance and especially for common action, was put into operation by the head of Hudson Guild, John L. Elliott. The city block, at first blush, seems to possess most of the qualities needed in a community unit. It is clearly defined. It includes from 500 to 1,500 inhabitants, or about the number of people in a typical village. Denizens have, whether they wish it or not, a considerable number of experiences and not a few interests in common. Once a citizen begins to individualize those who live near, he cannot help being interested and concerned about their lives and fortunes.[1]

It fails, however, at one crucial point: that of the distribution of natural leadership. It happens with considerable frequency in tenement neighborhoods that certain blocks do not contain available leaders with the personality, time, intelligence, and energy needed to keep in touch with neighbors and draw them together.[2] Experience shows that there are in city districts psychological neighbor-

[1] It is a moot question whether the block unit should be four square, including houses on the front street, two side streets, and back street; or should be made up of the two sides of a single street between two cross-streets. The latter unit usually represents much more of neighborly interchange.

[2] Dr. Elliott's block plan was energized by the Cincinnati Social Unit through paying one woman in each square to carry out the necessary visiting. These persons thereby became employed servants of the organization and could be held responsible for results of a routine sort. Settlement experience does not sustain such a method.

hoods, or colonies, just as in towns and villages, the actual boundaries, institutions, natural sets, and leaders of which the local organizer must discover. These groupings generally transcend the block.

On the basis of his plan, Dr. Elliott proceeded to form a local improvement association open to all residents in the district. Members were secured from each block, who elected a committee to act as guardians of block interests. The executive committee was made up of block representatives who report illness, want, unsanitary conditions in their territory. The association raises money, appoints persons to visit the sick, gives assistance in kind and service, seeks employment for men, women, and youth out of work, appeals to city departments and private agencies for assistance in meeting needs beyond members' resource.

Several residents of South End House have had an active hand in building up a local improvement society which has been continuously active since 1907. In some respects conditions affecting the society are exceptionally favorable; in others peculiarly difficult. The section covered is almost entirely given over to lodging houses. The people are for the most part American and Canadian. Twenty years ago the tone of the district was low and public spirit had almost disappeared. By means of a room registry, acquaintance and working relations were established with some two hundred well-disposed lodging-house keepers, nearly all women. Next a woman's club was formed. These two organizations provided an informal system of surveillance including every block in the section, through which specific complaints could be made to the police and effectively followed up. Many criticisms of municipal sanitary services for removal of ashes and garbage and cleaning of streets and alleys led to a public meeting at which the people found a common voice. The group was given official assurance of better service on condition that it would report difficulties systematically and specifically.

This situation brought the improvement society into existence, and the persistent following up of such matters has been its characteristic line of action. It has, however, had much to do with securing a greatly needed new system of sewerage, repaving of many streets, and improved lighting for the main thoroughfare. Aside

from a continuous succession of lesser achievements than these, it has brought several hundred men and women out of an attitude of universal distrust into a spirit of respect for many of their neighbors and readiness to work together confidently for the common good.

These are instances of a tendency which is expressing itself broadly in organized form in as many as one hundred settlements throughout the country. Indeed, with few exceptions, houses which have been in existence ten years are continuously, in greater or less degree, developing what is in essence the same method, though often its expression may be quite as genuine in spite of being informal. Such embodiment of local civic sentiment represents the beginning of a gradual process by which the mind of the common people may gather itself together, mobilize, and make the onset.

This method was developed during the period in which reformed municipal administration, like most forms of voluntary social work, has been dealing with the evils of local disintegration largely by eliminating local autonomy. The highly centralized city government of the present, with its tendency to place power in the hands of a few administrators, takes from local citizens that responsible hold upon public processes and officials which is in the long run indispensable to democracy. Government by a city manager, with heads of departments responsible to him, has great advantages. The individual settlement, by aligning itself with this tendency, has been able to secure for its community large new resources. In so doing it sets up a system of public services often far in advance of what district political leaders are capable of achieving.

But as soon as citizens begin to interest themselves in public life, needs and interests will again be represented by neighbors, and departmental activities which directly and universally concern all the citizens will be, in a substantial degree, locally controlled and administered. Looking to this time, the settlement is patiently working out a new educational method, which deals with intrinsic interests and undertakes to bring forward a body of people whose instincts as citizens shall come naturally and cumulatively out of the smart and zest of experience.

Foregleams of such a community are appearing. As it emerges it will of its own choice gather what seems worthy and lasting in

the various projects which the settlement has sought to develop before it had come to corporate consciousness: a system of training for children and adolescents in the essence of productive citizenship and in the happy and beautiful exercise of their personal powers; some well-considered and tested approaches to just and advancing standards of earning and spending, with a clear outlook toward co-operative participation in both; something of a locally applied science for the enhancement of health and vitality, protection of public morals, and administration of education and recreation for the fulfilment and exaltation of life.

Thus place fellowship, in the new potency which the settlement discovers within it, intimates the possibility not only of civic regeneration but of a more creative, more human order of society.

VII

GRASP AND REACH

CHAPTER XXXIII

SETTLEMENT FACTORS

TAKING the settlement as an agency in itself, five groups enter into its scheme of organization: the resident staff, non-resident volunteers or associate workers, financial supporters, board of governors or council, and neighborhood participants. The settlement holds no brief in favor of importing outsiders to carry on neighborhood affairs. Wherever possible, all of these groups should be composed of local citizens, and the financial charges be borne by the several joint partners. If, however, the resources of skill, leadership, and money are insufficient to demands of physical and moral well-being, men and women of goodwill from without must lend a hand; and if the manner of life is un-American, responsible citizens generally are in duty bound to act. These principles, embodied and demonstrated in the career of five hundred American settlements, were, by revelations of the war period, made axiomatic.[1]

The qualities sought in residents are few but important: character, natural ability, advanced if not professional training, power of initiative, vision, sympathy, instinct for team play, and capacity to mingle with all sorts and conditions of people in simplicity of spirit. In the case of administrators and heads of departments, these traits should be combined with something of the artist's instinct for organizing his material into a pattern at once serviceable and beautiful; and there must be an underlying potentiality for uniting morality, practical living, and something of statecraft into a vital whole. The fine tradition established by Canon Barnett, that the quality chiefly to be desired in house members is a genuine desire to understand life and to foster its highest and most democratic expressions, remains the touchstone by which neophytes are tested. The majority of residents continue to be recruited from

[1] See Appendix, p. 427, Note XVII.—Initiating Forces.

institutions of higher education, though exemplars of any department of knowledge and skill are enlisted as need dictates.[1]

A single resident could hardly make a settlement; nor do several individuals of monotonously similar ideas and powers suggest that diversity, richness, and complexity of experience, power, and aim which are characteristic of many settlement households. At its best a resident staff is a miniature world of culture and resource. The most effective groups include men and women, young and old, married and unmarried, who represent that range of interests, training, and opinion which is likely to meet the variety of life in the neighborhood. In addition to natural antithesis of age, sex, and conjugal status it is of decided advantage to have in the house representatives of leading local nationalities and traditions. The presence in particular of communicants of the dominant faiths secures a more adequate and sympathetic interpretation of the people's mind, keeps the house in a degree of religious fellowship with them, and serves to clergy as a guarantee of fair play.[2]

Closely involved with the principle of residence is continuity of service. The motive power of settlements in whatever stage of development is the nucleus of experienced residents. While maintaining that readiness for spontaneous ways and motives which is the settlement's source not only of attraction but of energy, they carry on its traditions, interpreting the local community to new residents and even on occasion to a new headworker. They steadily hold for the house the confidence of the neighbors.

What the personnel of a house can accomplish varies directly with the average length of stay of the headworker and the responsible directors of departments. Frequent infusion of fresh energy into every resident group is, on the other hand, to be desired. The local demand for novelty is thus met, and older members of the staff are stimulated to fresh enthusiasm. The quickness with which newcomers are received into neighborhood fellowship, once they are recognized as of the settlement family, is among the most striking facts about long-established houses. It is part of the

[1] See Appendix, p. 428, Note XVIII.—Resident Personnel, for further discussion of qualities desired in residents, conditions under which they live and work, and the duties and opportunities of directors and staff workers.

[2] See Appendix, p. 435, Note XIX.—Interplay of Religious Loyalties.

scheme of things to make opportunity for exceptionally able men and women who are willing to give a short period of intensive service.

The quality above all others which gives distinction and force to good work is capacity of the staff for team play. While the importance of securing strong individuals cannot be overemphasized, that sense of loyalty to one another, to the household as a working unit, and to the enterprise as a whole which characterize settlements at their best, is a priceless possession. The interplay between men and women interested in the progress of art, science, and politics rubs off crudeness and disciplines thought. Responsible discussion about broad questions of a changing civilization; stir of participation in local, city, state, and national reforms; daily first-hand contact with the dramatic cross-currents which attend political action, are in high degree vitalizing to intellect and spirit. Frequent guests from the city at large and visitors from many parts of the country and from other nations prevent a too parochial outlook.

The individuality of each settlement and the range and scope of its work are determined by the number in residence, proportion of men and women, average length of service, and the interests of members. The strongest groups include men and women in nearly equal proportions. A considerable number of houses with mature organization and recognized standing are in possession of equipment and resource sufficient to attract and maintain a staff of twenty or more. Leadership for any live local interest is easily obtained either from residents or by a call for volunteers.

The entire force at settlements which have from four to ten residents is necessarily held to the immediate tasks of visitation, administration of clubs and classes, and co-operation with other agencies. Despite often severe limitations of money and service and by the very consistency of their local work, houses of this size frequently isolate community problems of great importance and outline means for their solution.

For the proper organization of community life a considerable breadth and momentum of initiative is needed. Residents as administrators of a complex enterprise are bound to be informed about the latest and best results of research and experience in the sciences which directly affect the art of life. They must therefore be in

touch with forward-looking institutions, groups, and individuals. Volunteer associates are sought among persons of action and affairs, business and professional men, musicians, artists, athletes, leaders of social intercourse. These contribute whatever they possess of power to influence others for the satisfaction of filling out democratic fellowship across dividing lines, and induction into the mysteries of promoting co-operative action. Nearly all houses rejoice in some volunteers with an inbred sense of communal responsibility, who often contribute a precious kind of sagacity, gained through family tradition, personal observation and consultation with men and women interested in affairs, to the betterment of one or another aspect of neighborhood life.

The fact that so large a share of the institutional activities of settlements is with children and young people makes the assistance of those who have barely passed through adolescence peculiarly valuable. Young men and women about to enter professional life bring not only fresh feelings and ready understanding of youthful impulses, but up-to-date views and technique, unprejudiced interest in human beings, and readiness to strike out in new directions. Not infrequently they turn up situations the full meaning of which has escaped notice of older staff workers. Adults over forty are peculiarly dependent on youths' interpretation of youth.[1]

Responsibility to the community for financial obligations, value of program, character and ability of force rests, in the last analysis, upon boards of directors. This body, like resident staff and corps of volunteers and for the same reasons, should contain as wide a variety of interests as possible, including representatives of the major professions and the various departments of affairs. Neighborhood representation is unusual, not because it has not been sought, but because working people are hardly ever ready to match authority with responsibility, and themselves feel distinctly at a loss, when brought face to face with large and crucial problems of equipment, staff, and the standard of the settlement as an educational agency. Exceptions are in districts virtually middle-class. On the other hand it is true that neighbors sometimes fear control of the settlement by outsiders who are little involved. This entirely reasonable attitude finds its expression through the con-

[1] See Appendix, p. 436, Note XX.—Non-resident Associates.

siderable and growing range of influence which is exercised by club and house councils. Here neighbors are strongly represented, have solid stakes, and act with full assurance upon issues that have positive significance to them. Such share in administration seems to represent the normal avenue through which neighborhood control will develop. The councils spur residents to secure full consideration by boards of directors of neighborhood points of view, though the stimulus is rarely needed. This practice suggests one of several reasons for providing substantial residential representation on the governing board.[1]

The most important concrete responsibility of the board is selection of a headworker, and through him or her of the salaried and volunteer residents and assistants. The broad principles involved in the program are usually determined in outline by the governing body on the basis of recommendations made by the staff. The feeling of seasoned residents that, subject to these principles, they, a loyal group about a resident leader in first-hand daily contact with a complicated and elusive situation, should initiate and carry out the working policy of the house, represents one of the most vital phases of settlement administration.[2]

Settlement workers created the profession of local community organization. Among the qualities shown to be necessary in a headworker, several stand out as absolute prerequisites. First is an instinctive bias toward democracy as a system of thought and a plan of life, reinforced by a true, though not necessarily striking, capacity for sociability. Some of the ablest head residents do not naturally possess the innate zest for camaraderie which distinguishes a successful ward leader; though, what is more to the point, they are almost always masters of the art of creating and disseminating a spirit of fellowship under conditions of dignity and honor.

The successful settlement leader must, however, through some sort of personal power, be able to stimulate the local community to gather its resources for solution of its own difficulties. A certain type of headworker in the past has stood somewhat apart from the human interplay of the neighborhood, and through skill in analysis

[1] See Appendix, p. 437, Note XXI.—Boards.

[2] See Appendix, p. 440, Note XXII.—Head Residents.

presented a case before officials and citizens which brought about substantial benefits. Less and less is it possible to secure results at arm's length, and the community organizer of the future must exercise leadership through participation. That this sort of power is rare is generally admitted.

The spiritual energy which is the mark of good settlements must be generated and sustained by their leaders. They must carry new residents over the first feeling of helplessness and desolation, find a place for each, often through many readjustments, with due regard for disposition and ability; mediate between varying and sometimes conflicting temperaments, help to overcome the depression, loneliness, and homesickness that from time to time grow out of exceptional relations and surroundings. They must direct the activity of residents, teachers, and associates who carry on clubs, classes, and other stated undertakings, and of interested neighbors, so as to bring out the characteristic skill of each individual; weld all these forces into a loyal group; secure from this highly complex instrument maximum results of knowledge, experience, and power.

Financing of settlements, on account of the complexity of interests involved, is characterized by niceties of policy, easily misunderstood or neglected. Contributors at practically all houses are organized into an association, membership in which carries the tacit implication of moral support. Methods of solicitation are patterned upon those employed by colleges and scientific institutions. Public entertainments, fairs and similar enterprises, and forms of appeal which trade on the insufficiency either of individuals or groups are, in large degree, avoided.[1]

Nearly all houses at some period in their histories have had to take a stand upon issues which for the time made their financial problems more difficult. Experience has clearly shown, however, that aside from the inestimable spiritual gains of a program of breadth and freedom, houses administered with vision and courage ere long win a loyal body of support. Financial struggle has been the mark of all influential settlements; those heavily funded rarely show equal vitality.

The part taken by a board in raising money is affected in impor-

[1] See Appendix, p. 441, Note XXIII.—Financial Associations.

tant measure by the way in which the house originated. Settlements established by churches, clubs, and educational agencies, or by voluntary committees, naturally face the question of support as part of the detail of organization. Houses founded by residents themselves, which included most early ventures, were at first financed through their efforts. Gradually, as the number of supporters increase, boards of directors were found willing to assume regular responsibility toward raising funds. Such transition should not be made until the board fully appreciates the experimental motive at the basis of the settlement idea, since it is all too easy for directors to fall into an attitude of merely protecting already established activities. It will, perhaps, always be necessary for the headworker to prove the case for experiment, and if necessary to secure needed funds for it.

In a number of settlements head residents organize the financial campaign and personally secure the bulk of needed income. The leader in practical work is thus brought into mutually educational relations with public-spirited business men and large-minded responsible women of means. Capacity for analysis and exposition is tested at every step, actual achievement is measured, and new projects criticized. These gains go far toward compensating for loss of time from neighborhood service involved in the collection of money.

Neighborhood support in the form of fees amounts in a large number of houses to about a tenth of the budget. Moderate sums toward erection of new buildings, and toward such equipment as flagpoles, flags, street clocks, gymnasium apparatus, pictures, and books are raised by clubs.[1] An increasing number of houses are in possession of more or less substantial endowments. This relieves the head resident, in important measure, not only from burden and uncertainty but from a certain personal embarrassment. The fact that his

[1] The general expense account of the settlement appeals in much slighter degree to neighborhood givers. In a few instances, chief of which is Hudson Guild, neighbors, subscribers, and board of managers unite in organizing and carrying on an annual bazaar. This event brings all parties at interest together for work and play, promotes acquaintance, and helps with the sinews of war. Several houses, among them College Settlement, Philadelphia, and Lincoln House, Boston, call upon small business people of the neighborhood for contributions to the regular work of the house. University Settlement, New York, has come to be loyally supported by graduates who have moved out of the neighborhood.

salary is not paid out of current receipts puts him in a much stronger position with contributors. But it is nowhere felt to be desirable that the entire settlement income should come from endowments. Each year's work should present its lessons and justify its appeal.

The organization and administration of a settlement are decidedly conditioned by the attitude of supporters and residents toward religious instruction in the house, toward the way in which local reform may be expected to come to pass, and toward the immediate capacity of neighbors to participate in management. Religious affiliations of initiators, supporters, and administrators are important, because they color the activities which can be undertaken and the local response that may be expected. Most religious agencies seek extension of a certain set of ideas. Sectarian settlements, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, are effective in communities where the people are of like faith, but they find serious difficulty in planning for a religiously cosmopolitan locality or for neighborhoods in process of change.

The largest and most influential group of settlement leaders living in cosmopolitan localities, whatever their personal beliefs, order the work under their charge so as to exclude all sectarian influence in government, administration, and activities of the house. Nearly all, of their own choice, would earnestly desire their work to have the fullness and power that inclusion of a vital religious program gives. One of the bitter fruits of sectarianism, however, is the unwillingness of many people to accept even the simplest human overtures under a religious banner other than that to which they are attached. Settlements making no religious appeal are able to rehabilitate many of the human values of the parish system. A group of such houses co-operating can cover a great section of the city and assume a measure of moral responsibility for the solid body of its inhabitants in some such way as the church did before it was rent asunder.[1]

[1]While it is almost impossible for houses directly affiliated with religious organizations to attract a broad neighborhood constituency in cosmopolitan areas the miracle occasionally happens. Chicago Commons and Union Settlement, New York, organized churches to minister to persons not otherwise cared for; both, however, grant the use of their rooms to struggling congregations of other faiths and denominations. It is made clear in both cases that what goes on in the religious center is distinctly separate and apart from the characteristic activity of the settle-

Houses organized and supported by churches and carrying on religious instruction as part of an institutional program, constitute a considerable group. Nearly all of these, among which are included those that have grown out of Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, King's Daughters, and other specialized agencies, carry on some form of Protestant religious activity even where the house is located in a neighborhood chiefly Catholic or Jewish. Meetings of clubs and classes are sometimes opened with Bible readings, hymns, or prayers; there are Sunday schools, Sunday evening services, and mid-week prayer meetings. Residents are likely to be expert and zealous in methods of Protestant revivalism. Their claim to undenominationalism is true only within the range of Protestant sects.

A number of churches have been stimulated, by the example and influence of settlements, to organize and maintain institutional activities of a high grade. Clubs and classes in their parish houses are often carried on in a spirit of broad liberality and are of real assistance to large groups of families. But such effort is always frankly subordinate to religious activities, a fact recognized by the neighborhood.

The rescue mission situated among the foreign born, which calls itself a settlement on the basis of a few clubs and classes, has been from the first a serious factor in creating misunderstanding about neighborhood work, both among people of the district and the public at large. A certain taint of dishonor is cast on the essential honesty and good faith of the church that supports it. The mission serves no specific local purpose and throws settlement work into disrepute. The already difficult problem of reconciling first and second generation among Jewish and Catholic immigrants is made harder.

Though for two decades the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to the settlement was non-committal where it was not antagonistic, an increasing body of its people, lay and clerical, feel the value of social work and the importance of neighborhood re-

ment. These examples are but exceptions which prove the rule. Other houses similarly organized severed their official religious connections and placed themselves upon incontrovertible ground as to sectarian neutrality. In these instances it was soon found, as is commonly the case, that there is no real lack of churches and missions, while there is tragic paucity of organizations that can supply neighborhood need.

construction.[1] This change of attitude is being brought to pass through efforts of young Catholics who believe that the church must recognize the influence of economic and community conditions on religion. Overwork, underpayment, and careless ways of association affect loyal fulfilment of religious obligations and weaken home training of children. Immigrants especially need the resourceful secular assistance of the church, lest in the general disintegration of group life in a new country they lose the values of religious tradition. A serious danger, from the point of view of the church, is that children of Catholic immigrants may grow up conceiving American citizenship as indifferent to religion.

Of settlements which work among Jews, the larger number are organized and supported by non-Jews; but an important group of local centers is conducted specifically by Jews for Jews.[2] Such agencies aim to make the immigrant Jew as efficient as possible, so that he may progress into a more desirable quarter. The neighborhood is looked upon as a receiving station, the first step in an assured series. Officers are quite frank in stating that should their people move, the agency would follow or be given up. Certain such centers, as time passes and successive waves of population continue Jewish, develop a substantial neighborhood sense and come clearly within the settlement fraternity.

Hardly less a factor in coloring the work of various houses than their outlook on religious instruction, is the philosophy of progress held by those in charge. One wing among the settlements takes the ground that society is co-ordinated as individuals become wiser and more moralized; these seek the conversion of young people to canons of correct living. The house devotes its resources to discovering able and tractable children, developing their powers, and assisting their progress. Such centers tend to specialize in education, religion, or charity. Work of the staff is usually devoted and careful, and manifests a high degree of concern for personal character and family life. If proselytism be avoided, the house often

[1] Between ten and twenty houses organized, administered, and financed by Catholics open their classes, clubs, and recreational opportunities freely to Protestants and Jews. The faith of non-Catholic children is carefully respected.

[2] There are 31 settlements organized and financed by non-Jews which are carried on for the benefit of Jews, and 28 settlements organized and maintained by Jews for Jews.

carries on, with success, a good share of the more formal undertakings common to settlements and sometimes attains a general acquaintance with its neighborhood.

By contrast, there are a few residents who feel that the chief duty and opportunity of persons interested in furthering democracy is to assist existing wage-earners' organizations and to form new ones. They believe the necessity for taking funds from well-to-do, and assumption of institutional responsibilities, injure the spirit of the house and disqualify it to participate in people's lives.[1] Advocates of this view usually withdraw from the settlement to become organizers in trade unions and similar associations.

The majority of residents hold that their chief service is to prepare people and particularly the young for greater and more responsible participation in industry, government, and higher leisure-time interests. The settlement is to be "the yeast that starts the social rising."[2] Their point of view reaches widely enough to include those who may look to a comprehensive reorganization of society. Crudities, mistakes, or even hoodlumism are tolerated with patience because only through enduring the pains as well as enjoying the fruits of democracy can citizens learn how to govern themselves and how to unite for co-operative production. The business of the neighborhood organizer is hopefully to urge forward such work among the foundations, and to assure those groups which show themselves capable of collective self-management ever increasing opportunities of expansion and fulfilment.

The attitude of residents toward the significance of locality in bringing about reform also has an important influence on the structure of certain houses. A not inconsiderable proportion of residents live in the neighborhood without seeking to affect its public life. They organize clubs and classes, become acquainted with a number of adults, and occupy a real place among the people. Their influence is for good in the lives of individuals and families with whom they are in close relations; but they only infrequently take the initiative in movements for public improvement.

[1] An early statement of this attitude is found in Edward King's review of Stanton Coit's Neighbourhood Guilds, published in *Charities Review*, pp. 77–86, December, 1891.

[2] John L. Elliott.

By contrast, some settlement leaders, few in number but important in influence, exercise their chief function in carrying out experiments, instigating civic enterprise, and in reinforcing local forms of organization. They believe that the neighborhood is a unit within which suggestive types of social work may be focused, with a view to discovering results which by extension may be applied throughout the city. Such undertakings have been carried on by persons of great ability and from that fact have gained unique value.

The majority of houses the country over seek to secure fulfilment of all functional needs of the neighborhood in which they have thrown their lot. The scope of resident activity may be as broad and inclusive as local government, and as detailed and homely as that of the ward politician. By knowing every nook and cranny of the community, by establishing acquaintance both at the rallying center and outer circumference, by tracking the subtle course of multitudinous interests which shape local material and moral welfare, and by entering into human fellowship with men, women, and children both in their more public and in their more secluded round of life the settlement seeks to set in motion currents of good opinion which, as they interact and reinforce one another, affect families as families, village groups found in particular blocks and streets, and the loyalties, political, industrial, and moral, which hold neighborhood people in general together. Such ends cannot be secured merely by organizing clubs and classes. They are the result of initiating, accompanying, and following up organization with many sorts of adventurous acquaintance and intercourse. This opens the way toward assimilating into local life many city-wide services, public and voluntary, and toward the incitement of distinctively local forms of association and leadership. This policy by no means prevents the exercise of influence beyond accepted regional bounds. It is indeed the settlements of this prevailing type which, of recent years, have been effectively integrating their forces, and giving front to their cause, in the large scene of the city as a whole.

CHAPTER XXXIV

CITY FEDERATIONS

IT IS one of the distinctive sources of the quality of fascination which the settlement has for its adherents that, in however small a scene, they feel themselves participating in a wide-reaching enterprise. Each responsible member of the staff finds that his or her work is serving in some degree to shape a typical scheme of neighborhood evolution which will carry suggestion and stimulus far beyond local bounds. Apparently careless about multiplication of its kind, the settlement has trusted the winds to carry the seed; but its attitude has been a mark of confidence in the spreading and reduplicating power of its motive. This confidence has found its specific justification in upwards of five hundred establishments in the United States which sufficiently bear the original impress. Today still wider dissemination of the settlement motive is in forms that distinguish themselves from it, but the origin of which is unmistakable; these forms have not a little to impart, but must continue to draw sustenance from the parent stem.

Settlements from the first were conscious of the city in its entirety as a vast composite problem, as a great community against which their combined forces must, in due time, be integrated. The actual alignment of the several houses among themselves came out of the duty of uniting to gain results necessary in each locality but not to be accomplished within the limits of a neighborhood. Residents from different houses began very early to exchange results of their first broad common experience, that of acting as voluntary and in a few cases official inspectors for municipal departments. Here and there two houses pooled forces to secure more careful and frequent collection of ashes and garbage, to obtain a public playground, to control prostitution. Something in the nature of informal committees to carry continuous responsibilities of this sort

came into being. About 1900 the swarming instinct began to assert itself.

The first association of settlements, that formed in 1894 in Chicago, was city-wide. Its early meetings were devoted to distress caused by business depression, though there was also exchange of news about difficulties encountered in club and class work. Dread of anything suggesting outside control of individual houses was strongly felt; therefore little in the nature of combined practical action was undertaken, and a tradition was created under which the bond of inter-settlement organization was held lightly.

The earliest systematic attempt by several settlements to unite forces for the purpose of defining district problems and securing their solution through appeal to city and state took place in Boston. The South End Social Union in 1899 found its cue in a district situation. Located in what Edward Everett Hale once described as the most charitied district in Christendom, the federated settlements passed a rule that no person should be in regular membership at more than one house, and arranged to exchange lists of members at least once a year. A scheme of neighborhood bounds, following geographic, economic, and racial lines of separation, was adopted. This move not only eliminated competition between houses, but established the conception of special duty and opportunity within and to a given locality. Federation thus had the effect of emphasizing the individuality of each house. A similar organization was formed a few years later to cover the North and West Ends; and in 1908 the district federations combined in the Boston Social Union.[1]

The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers, which in 1919 became the United Neighborhood Houses, was organized in 1900, and in 1905 the New Jersey federation, organized in March

[1] By 1904 a definite code had been evolved which has been in force ever since. In 1908 a general card catalogue was prepared, an office secured and placed in charge of a paid assistant secretary. The question of districting is always a live one in the Union. While there is still an occasional member who, agreeing theoretically with the district plan, has felt practically hampered, yet it is the consensus of opinion that through it the settlements have gained greatly in the reality and influence of their work.

The development of settlement federation in Boston, from its beginnings, has owed much to Ellen W. Coolidge, secretary of South End Social Union, later secretary of Boston Social Union, and at present official representative in France of the National Federation of Settlements.

of that year, expanded the method to include the state. The Baltimore and Washington federation formed in 1906 reached across a state boundary. Since 1906 federations have been created in Brooklyn, Buffalo, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Richmond.[1]

The new background provided by federation leads to systematic comparison of notes about the several types of work maintained at the various houses, such as club activities for both sexes at different age periods, instruction in hygiene, home-making and dancing, visiting service. Out of such conferences a committee system develops which means, at least during formative periods, a comprehensive organization of these specialized services. A certain dignity is thus imparted to each phase of service, which as a fractional part of the work of individual settlements it could not have. Less experienced directors at the more recently established houses are brought under the influence of a kind of professional loyalty, while exceptionally capable exponents of specialties are given a wider opportunity of leadership. From the point of view of educational administration, this inter-departmental method affords something of the values represented by supervisors in a public school system in contrast with the work of general superintendence.

This principle, from time to time, leads a federation to employ a director in dramatics, gardening, or some other subject, whose full time no one settlement could expect to reserve. Services of such leaders are shared among various houses, a portion of each week being set apart for plans undertaken in the name of the federation as a whole.[2] Through this circuit-riding method certain residents and associates at each house develop into skilled assistants; and more proficient members of clubs and classes at various settlements are brought into working fellowship.

[1] According to the best practice, city federations are made up formally of a group of constituent houses, each house having one vote. Individuals are received as members without vote. General meetings take place usually once a month at one of the houses. Boston and New York federations maintain offices and secretaries. Funds are raised in the beginning through small fees supplemented by gifts from houses, with occasional subscriptions from individual donors for special purpose. The later tendency is to raise the budget by a membership tax proportioned on annual income.

[2] This director usually lives at one of the settlements, or makes a series of visits as a temporary resident at several.

These steps toward more thorough inter-settlement organization by departments usually lead to appointment of committees on standards, which set down as specifically as may be what is desirable and practicable in equipment, training workers, record keeping, detailed conduct of club and class work, managing entertainments and parties, and developing a visiting system. Development of these several ways of co-operation among houses increases wholesome emulation and reduces the tendency to narrow rivalry. Judgment comes to be based on fact; ill-considered condemnation is replaced by constructive suggestion and the growth of the habit of mutual aid.[1]

Removal of overlapping and the establishment of definite territorial responsibility are, in some of their aspects, important parts of the work of most federations. Each house becomes a recognized authority concerning its own neighborhood. The federation comes to public knowledge as a distinctive agency striving to secure an integrated and co-ordinated grasp on the facts of life in great working-class districts of the city.

The policy of inducing the municipality or well-equipped voluntary associations broadly to apply forms of service demonstrated at settlements is strongly reinforced through federation. Several houses experiment with each given type of work and study its adaptation in different kinds of neighborhoods. Claims of the new enterprise are presented effectively to municipality and general public in the name both of neighborhood and supporting constituencies. City federations have been particularly influential in bringing municipalities to devise comprehensive playground systems.

When the municipality has organized a new service the federation provides from locality to locality that reasonable surveillance with classification of results so essential to any city-wide undertaking. In the not uncommon event of failure to carry the enterprise through, the federation sometimes assumes responsibility until the argument is once more made convincing to the public.[2]

[1] Experience shows a distinct difference in this respect between cities in which the settlements are and are not actively federated.

[2] The Boston Social Union established and carried on gardening as an object lesson to the public school administration. After several years garden work was assumed by the school board. It was soon dropped, however. The Union took up the gardens again on a broader scale and maintained them until they were resumed by the school system.

Federation fosters an extensive system of law enforcement, cognizant of facts in their full range, that is ready to function. Among the first uses settlement federations make of their strength is to sustain the work of housing commissions. For these material of great value has been assembled and detailed support provided in efforts for better administration of tenement laws.[1] Even more significant has been the creation of a solid demand for the thorough enforcement of outdoor sanitary laws in crowded neighborhoods. The first comprehensive idea of juvenile delinquency as a problem to be followed up closely in the districts in which it was most evident originated through team play among settlements. The united houses are a continuous vigilance force, on the one hand bringing facts about gambling, thieving, and immorality to the attention of police, and on the other, formulating a general policy of preventive work. In the case of newsboys, bootblacks, and messengers who carry on their tasks to so great an extent outside neighborhood limits, the problem has to be handled for the city as a whole.[2]

In dealing with moral problems affecting child life the individual settlement is bound to take account of the results of its action on local public sentiment. Federation represents the city as a whole: its action casts no reflections on any particular locality. Its committees study commercial amusement resorts and work in conjunction with police and with societies for the regulation of morals, forcing proprietors of drinking-places, pool-rooms, dance halls, theaters, motion picture shows, and amusement parks to obey the law.[3]

The maintenance of cordial relations and co-operation with centrally organized societies sending out family visitors is of immediate crucial importance to neighborhood agencies. Upon matters in which both types of service are agreed, federation pro-

[1] The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers, through residents, club members, and volunteers, undertook a survey of various streets in tenement neighborhoods, and sent a report of findings to the commissioner of streets and to the mayor. It requested that special attention be given to crowded neighborhoods during warm weather. In 1907–1908, as a result of the report of the association, the commissioner placed rubbish cans at street corners, and issued cards in four languages asking the co-operation of householders. Householders and merchants who offended against the sanitary ordinances were complained against.

[2] See Appendix, p. 442, Note XXIV.—Street Trades.

[3] See Appendix, p. 443, Note XXV.—Commercial Amusement Resorts.

motes swift and productive interchange. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers responded at once to the campaign against tuberculosis, now national and international, as soon as it was instituted by the Charity Organization Society. Federation is, however, not less valuable in cases of divergence. The well-nigh universal disagreement between settlements and organized charity ten years ago on the question of widows' pensions was in good part a manifestation of opinion crystallized and pointed through federation. Productive co-operation between the baby hygiene association and the settlements of at least one city dates from an ultimatum presented by the federation with regard to local facts and issues the significance of which had been persistently ignored. Only through united action is it possible to bring home effectively to the public authorities the fact that there is a science of localized adjustment as well as of centralized efficiency.

The promotion of new legislation as a separate phase of federated activity has not been continuously prominent. There are always a few resident groups which, magnifying the duties of neighborliness, respond but slowly to any broad-scale program before the public, and perhaps last of all to proposals for new legislation. Among the whole settlement personnel of a city, only a few experienced residents will have given much attention to such work, and the majority enlist in it but gradually. One marked advantage of this attitude is that the possibilities of existing statutes are likely to be thoroughly followed up before new laws are proposed, and federation facilitates the local testing process. While it is true that all federations give general support to certain measures from year to year brought forward by various other agencies, committees on legislation more and more limit their energies to a few bills which can be supported with united power.[1] Proposals that come directly out of actual settlement experience are emphasized. Eye witnesses and participants who speak of what they have seen and experienced from street to street and neighborhood to neighborhood, have a peculiar degree of authority with legislators. Such natural influence

[1] In New York and Boston there has all along been continuous federated effort of this rather scattered sort. In New York, since 1906, the plan has been incidentally to assist other societies interested in legislation, but in the main to limit the work of the Association of Neighborhood Workers to bills which vitally affect neighborhoods. The Boston Social Union has followed very much the same policy.

is lost when settlement representatives appear in support of a variety of measures upon the merits of which they can have only a general opinion.

Though the number of new laws sought by settlement groups purposely has been kept small, two of the most important legislative developments of the generation, from the point of view of more intelligent and resourceful democracy, trace their beginnings, in an important degree, to neighborhood houses; namely, the movement for abolition of child labor and the effort to bring about universal vocational education. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers was a pioneer in connection with child labor; the Boston Social Union in the matter of vocational education.

Among early acts of the New York association was the appointment of a committee on child labor. The group not only collected results of settlement experience, but enlisted outside individuals and organizations and drew up a bill safeguarding the child's right to education against low-grade parents and grasping employers. As effects of the law on boys and girls, home, school, and local industries became clear, needed amendments were obtained. An historic interest attaches to this enterprise since the committee, after a time, became the State Child Labor Committee and later the nucleus of the National Child Labor Committee, which has accomplished truly noteworthy results.

The services of federation in the advancement of vocational education also represent an important contribution to national welfare. In the days before public school authorities were interested the subject was taken up with spontaneous unanimity first by Boston settlements and then by those of New York, Baltimore, and Chicago. In each city results of consequence were secured, and momentum given to an educational policy which soon had a marked effect on municipal, state, and national action.

In like manner, associated action among settlements in New York and in Chicago has been a vital factor in calling attention to certain important aspects in the treatment of immigrants. The first suggestion for the New York State Committee on Immigration was put before Governor Hughes in 1907 at a dinner of the Association of Neighborhood Workers held at Henry Street Settle-

ment. Miss Wald was appointed a member of the commission. The findings of the commission have also had an important influence upon the action of other states than New York and of the national government.

The discovery and utilization of power which resides in the continually increasing intelligence and collective capacity of settlement constituencies is an important motive of federation. The humble beginnings of such work may be traced back to exchange of information between residents about institutions and resorts offering the rarer intellectual and esthetic pleasures. When federations began to get under way they assumed as a regular service the issuing of bulletins descriptive of art museums and art schools, called attention to opportunities for instruction in the arts and crafts and the securing of properties and dramatic materials, and conducted groups of children, aggregating large numbers, to museums, parks, and historic monuments.[1]

In Boston and New York inter-settlement dances are organized, for the purpose of creating what will be remembered as a notable social event, with residents and members of women's clubs as chaperons. The Boston Social Union arranges inter-settlement dinners largely attended by young men and young women club members. Distinguished speakers are usually invited, but addresses given by some of the young people are even more memorable. Because dramatic art makes the liveliest of all educational appeals to neighborhood young people, the giving of plays furnishes a highly important means of educational intercommunication among settlements. Federations see that especially good performances at one house are repeated at others. At intervals of years inter-settlement dramatic companies, made up of the best players from different houses, are formed and performances of standard dramas presented in some central place. Inter-settlement debating in several cities provides an educational stimulus for small groups. The most rewarding effort, however, toward inter-settlement club relations thus far has been found in the mass meetings of settlement women's clubs, which have been held in New

[1] In 1908 the New York Association of Neighborhood Workers issued a bulletin descriptive of available art museums and schools of art instruction. Within the past few years a bulletin has been prepared outlining courses in various art crafts and giving sources of material for festivals.

York under the lead of John L. Elliott, an undertaking realized after years of consecutive effort at the different houses in connection with the individual organizations.

The logic of such enterprise finds its most unqualified expression in connection with athletics. Here local group initiative strikes out most confidently into inter-neighborhood relations. Baseball leagues have been maintained with a considerable degree of continuity in the larger cities. Tournaments in track athletics are quite common. On the whole, basketball, being the one vigorous game that can be played indoors in winter, has been the most available inter-settlement sport. It will easily be appreciated that all the benefits and all the dangers that go with this great interest at colleges present themselves to settlements; and here young men residents who have had responsible experience of intercollegiate athletics work out some of the most important issues in the whole scheme of settlement federation.[1]

One very important result of inter-settlement athletics, and in general of inter-settlement recreative occasions, is that they bring together young people of capacity from different parts of the city into that wider acquaintance which they so deeply crave, and give to such interchange a higher quality than it would otherwise have. The fact that it is through a similar process that political machines are constantly recruited, leads settlements to take deliberate pains that this wider acquaintance shall grow in a sound environment. Boston settlements are gradually bringing about such relations, summer and winter, among boys whom, to the number of from three to four hundred yearly, they send to caddy camps in connection with White Mountain hotels. Leaders feel that through interchange in camp and at reunions, the wholesome loyalties that are the essence of the plan will help create a new type of organized political leadership. At this point the co-ordinated

[1] Inter-settlement gatherings usually go on at the local houses where, naturally enough, the representative neighborhood groups dominate the scene. For some years, however, there has been an increasing tendency to organize such events on an impressive scale. The New York United Neighborhood Houses hold athletic tournaments in an armory. In different cities the final contest between winners of inter-settlement games is often played in one of the best known halls for such purposes, before audiences composed of representatives of all houses belonging to the federation. Pageants, picnics, parades, are given in large city parks. Dramatic shows, dinners, and balls are held at some central place under conditions affording city-wide significance to the occasion.

settlement program gives promise of a civic method as downright and thorough as that by which the machines train up their trusted lieutenants.

The federations look forward to the time when they will as a regular part of their work organize large public gatherings attended by neighborhood constituencies of the different houses, before which types of public question vitally affecting them will thus find place in the city's counsels. This problem, like every one upon which settlements are engaged, cannot be solved by any sort of device which may prove successful with a selection of specially responsive people from out the general public.

The elemental challenge of the war period proved that federation is the precisely adapted instrument through which government, in its various official and semi-official phases, can at any and all times call for local information and service. In New York the United Neighborhood Houses, in order to enter fully into the national project, reorganized its own forces. The Chicago federation was quickened into new and vigorous life, while in Boston the organization of district forces, of which the settlement federation is the solid nucleus, was considered sufficiently complete to obviate the need of local councils of defense.

Ever clearer perception of the range of resource demanded for adequate treatment of most forms of need, an important outcome of wartime experience, tends strongly to bring the co-ordinated settlements into more organic and continuous working relations with other agencies for improvement of city conditions. The general councils of social agencies furnish the most tangible sign of this tendency. There are signs of promise of what will be still more significant, a linking of settlement federation, representing districts, with the varied and increasing forms of community organization that are beginning to combine in some cities to cover the outlying sections.

The true settlement policy, and this the federations solidly represent, is to provide from early childhood the kind of psychological training and experience which will develop democratic citizens; and to bring the young person, first of all, in terms of his own keenly felt interests, into that large organism of the city in which sense and habit of citizenship can and will grow. From this precise point

of view there are two general directions in which federations in different cities are working out their thesis. They are seeking to develop the best abilities of existing resident leadership at individual houses, whether administrative or specialized. This purpose is reinforced by a profound sense of the enriched service which experienced settlement workers are able to render amid complicated and exacting demands. It is also stimulated by the conviction that residential groups at the settlements, as a specifically devised training school in democracy, must discover and engage the rare type of leader capable of drawing out tenement people, securing their convinced co-operation, and bringing them to a real spirit of self-expression and adventure. Skill of this sort is not common. When it is found among people of wealth and leisure it is set apart and honored; the political leader largely builds his fortunes on it; and it is eagerly sought by various commercial enterprises. Its possessors must be encouraged to give their services to making life more romantic for all.

On the other hand, the federations increasingly seek neighborhood representation for those interests in which substantial groups of local people are clearly ready to participate without any sort of forcing process. The results thus gained may, from the direct point of view, seem to lack importance; but considered as the product of inter-neighborhood team work they have much immediate significance and carry a dynamic promise of great things for the coming years.

In its ultimate meaning, settlement federation suggests a city plan through which the city's good shall not only take shape but draw life from its manifold human realities.

CHAPTER XXXV

NATIONAL OUTLINES

ALL residents bear testimony to the change wrought in them through watching, day after day, the ebb and flow of workers as of a mighty tide, to and from the mills; through experiencing the downward pull of an ugly and unclean environment, while finding fellowship with men and women whose opinions and personalities are as piquant, soundly formed, and as interesting as those of their acquaintances in other quarters of the city. The mind is not only enlarged by multitudinous new experiences, but takes on edge by dealing with an actual world of people and events. The neophite fresh from college finds himself, practically for the first time, in a situation where material is no longer presented to him, selected and predigested. He is forced to deal with purely objective complexities made up of the raw materials of human acts. Education, culture, and the refinements of life he finds to be discounted rather than at a premium. Cherished plans and beliefs are measured by their profitableness under the hard conditions of practical wage-earning life. Often he has to acknowledge himself outclassed in native powers by those brought up in poverty. Gradually he escapes from the binding habit of utter dependence on the printed page and learns to judge for himself. The experimental motive which underlies all forms of settlement work develops and trains a spirit of inquiry and encourages a willingness to follow leads off the beaten track.

Many residents and associate workers, through just this measure of experience, are freed from the incubus of conventional and literary points of view, and learn to work productively with people of other rounds of life. One of the greatest of American teachers notices in college youth who have had the advantage of living in a working-class community a more than usual quality of sympathetic alertness, whose value to them he believes to be far greater than

anything they can contribute in return. This result is particularly marked among recent graduates whose neighbor instincts have been somewhat dulled by their spending a period of years in an academical background. For a generation the settlements, in a unique and almost exclusive way, have been providing to educated young people in all sections of the country an intense experience of neighborliness. This radiating and interlacing influence can hardly fail of recognition by the future historian of American morals.

A profoundly significant phase of settlement leavening power affecting the whole country grows out of the influence of those men and women who have been in residence for a time and then passed out into almost the entire range of vocations. An impressive list could be made of persons in important public positions who are avowedly putting into practice some of the ideas and impulses which they developed while in residence. Most permeating of all is the contribution of women who, as wives, mothers, and neighbors, are translating into their environment motives which were wrought into their lives by months and years of coming and going in a tenement neighborhood.

The continuous working personnel of the settlement is always alert to spread its messages. The National Conference of Social Work during the last decade has had four presidents from the settlement fellowship: Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Robert A. Woods, and Julia C. Lathrop. Among the head residents whose services have reached out through the country are: George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; John L. Elliott, New York; Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Jane E. Robbins, New York; Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, New York; Harriet E. Vittum, Chicago; Lillian D. Wald, New York; Eva W. White, Boston; Gaylord S. White, New York. Beyond these there is a group of heads of houses who, through years of close-range experience, have achieved broad and far-reaching influence in their regions of the country. Some of these are: Elizabeth H. Ashe, San Francisco; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Anna F. Davies, Philadelphia; Frances McG. Ingram, Louisville; Herbert H. Jacobs, Milwaukee; William E. McLennan, Buffalo; Eleanor McMain, New Orleans; James A. Rath, Honolulu; Bessie D. Stoddart, Los Angeles; James O. White, Cincinnati.

A remarkable fact about settlement work is found in the long periods of service which these head residents have rendered. All have been at their present posts for more than ten years, and some for more than twenty-five. Nearly all are at the highest point of their power and influence. The question is raised with interest and sometimes with seriousness as to their successors. Undoubtedly the pioneer stage of any enterprise makes its special appeal; but it is clear that every settlement with an established history has a loyal following of present and former residents from among whom a qualified leader will come forward when the need arises. But in general the strong claims of so thoroughly an established tradition of leadership, and the breadth and momentum of the cause, furnish ample guarantees for the future.

A marked characteristic of the settlement is the large proportion of those attached to it even for short periods who have served to broadcast its message, undoubtedly the most vital way through which its motive and spirit have been disseminated.[1] In more formal ways hardly a staff member but has in some degree been an interpreter from the platform, while resort to the printed page has been general and continuous.[2] Exponents have not been lacking who have reached the large and general public by their writings. Jacob A. Riis, devoted settlement godfather, Lillian W. Betts, Zona Gale, Myra Kelley, and Ernest Poole, to name but a few, have been able to make their readers feel that people of tenement districts are neighbors indeed.

It is the rare fortune of settlements that their chief interpreter is also their pre-eminent leader. Reverencing individuals and the fundamental personal relationships as only a woman can, Jane Addams interprets each particular outward situation in terms of the deepest convictions. The reserve force of essentially sound, wholesome human feeling which lies in almost all men and women shows through and glorifies the procession of saints and sinners that, in modern instances, move across her pages. The veniality of the ward boss does not blind her to his warm, kindly qualities

[1] See Appendix, p. 443, Note XXVI.—Interpretation through Conference and Print.

[2] See references to literature in the authors' Handbook of Settlements and the bibliography to this volume.

any more than his good deeds hide the fact that half unwittingly and half knowingly he tears down the fabric of the common life. Through the misguided acts of youth thrown upon the city streets she discerns the upward striving of the child mind and soul. With simple feminine directness she points out the duty of the state to guard and upbuild individuals and families. Whether interpreting immigrants, pleading for a better educational system, showing the reasonableness of peace or the promise and power of woman suffrage, there looms through all her words the vision of a redeemed society.

Moral and financial supporters of the settlement are, in different degrees, affected by its attitude of mind and the tendency to disseminate its aims. Associate workers in large numbers are desired not only to reinforce neighborhood services, but for the sake of the influence upon them and their circles of friends. It was partly to this end that houses were often placed so as to make passage between the contrasted portions of the city as convenient as possible. Associate workers become acquainted with a few aspects of the background and meet representative local men and women. Many are on terms of friendship with a small group of families.

Financial supporters, not less than residents and volunteers, both give and receive. A substantial number of contributors have at some time participated in the work of the house and follow with informed interest the use to which their money is put. Givers who can be induced to do so are brought into personal touch with the department toward which they have some natural inclination. Those not coming into direct contact with the settlement are still willingly held in a net of conversation, letters, and reports.

The proportion of subscribers free to set aside a regular period of time for neighborhood relations is small. While this fact is a source of disappointment, residents have discovered many who, though unwilling to attend gatherings or exercise personal leadership, are ready to help with some of the broader house efforts. The general resources, affiliations, and interests represented by the body of givers are important assets in securing civic improvements and hastening legislation. These allies often assist not only by taking a stand themselves on public questions, but by missionary work

among their friends and associates. Ramifications of such influence extend far and crop up in unexpected places.

The earnest hope of the founders that after settlements had attracted and molded the physically virile, rough-and-ready type of ability characteristic of working-class localities, it would produce a new type of leaders in trade unionism and local politics has not been fulfilled. A few such labor officials might be cited and a larger number of rising politicians; but given the opportunity of education, youths of this quality do not for the most part aspire in these directions. While their influence has been lost to popular movements, many have brought the results of their knowledge and training to the organization of public education and to different forms of social work. A number of new settlements have been established by such graduates. There are not a few masters of schools, lawyers, doctors, business men, and public officials who are using their settlement upbringing to good purpose. And quite as encouraging as manifestations of leadership, is the already great and constantly increasing constituency of men and women, former members of settlement clubs and classes, who are establishing a higher type of home life, a more gracious neighborhood association, and a more ethical attitude as private citizens toward public affairs.

In manifold ways influences set in motion from the settlement have helped to reduce the total of class bitterness. In season and out, residents convey to the community at large their profound respect for the fundamental moral rectitude of tenement dwellers, and their appreciation of the sustaining and regenerating power of even low-grade homes. They have also enforced the truth that, despite burden and tragedy, working people have great reserves of simple gaiety and humor; that the practice of generosity and kindliness is carried to a degree beyond the conception of those who know only the charity of the well-to-do; and that the capacity to triumph over every kind of obstacle is far more common than is believed.

The attitude of the older American stock toward immigrant racial groups, the right orientation of which is now known to be essential to our national existence, would today be less developed, less discerning, less fraternal without the presence in nearly all of

the great urban immigrant strongholds of men and women whose reason for being there is the cultivation of reciprocal interests between people of native and of foreign antecedents.

Interaction of residents, volunteers, and supporters with neighbors has its sure effect on local opinion. As working people come to know men and women of culture and organizing power, they understand the responsible and humanizing use of the resources of life and are less moved by irresponsible and railing criticism.

The response of wage-earning and immigrant communities to the settlement overture is best indicated by the steady continuance and progress of neighborhood houses and by the increasing amount of responsibility in their enterprises which is assumed by their neighbors. While estimates of the measure of local response would differ, much testimony from accredited leaders of varying opinions shows that the original motive for "bridging the gulf" is finding some real degree of fulfilment.

It is close to the core of settlement principle that the various professions, already pledged to standards of service, should be reaching out to all the extremes of human need with their special training and skill. The settlement house provides a station through which every form of professional capacity may find this wide reach of opportunity. It furnishes special incitement, aids in the origination of methods, reinforces generally what the specialist undertakes, and joins in co-ordinating local enterprise with wider reaching organization. In what is called the socialization of the professions, a fact of far-reaching moment, the settlement has played a creative part.

Education and religion, as in some measure sponsors of the settlement, are particularly affected by its attitude toward the problems of society. Thirty-five years ago economic thinking both within and without the universities was still based on the theory that unrestricted competition would somehow secure the common good. While a few propagandists of the new economics prepared the way for certain expedients advocated by residents, many careful observers believe that during the transitional period settlements have had a significant influence in bringing human facts and motives within the range of the social sciences.

A number of residents have become instructors at colleges and

universities, and staff members are often asked to lecture. An ever growing body of one-time residents fill chairs in sociology or economics. Holders of settlement fellowships almost always report their experiences either to classes in economics and sociology or to student associations. Bureaus to canvass the student body for volunteer club leaders, teachers of English, coaches in athletics, dramatics, and other activities are maintained at large universities. Students of sociology are sent to settlements for short periods of observation to obtain material for theses or to be put in touch with various phases of city life. In many instances courses are offered in social work and community organization, which draw largely upon recorded settlement experience for their material.[1]

It is unfortunate that nowhere yet has there been complete cooperation on the scientific side between settlement and university. Settlements have sometimes been accused, and quite justly in certain instances, of working without proper tools of knowledge, while universities, with few exceptions, have so far been unwilling to apply their resources to the hard conditions of life.

The settlement owes much to the church; it returns much. It has helped to free religion from the crust of formalism and spurred it to humanize its attitude toward adherents and non-adherents. It has served to check the far-gone isolation of the Protestant denominations from working people and immigrants. Religious leaders see more clearly how anomalous it is for congregations to neglect the community most immediately about them. An increasing number of churches which, twenty-five years ago, would have changed their locations, are now courageously holding their ground. Here and there, in such cases, neighborhood houses, hospitably open to people of the vicinity and without embarrassment to any form of faith, are being provided, a step toward recovering the parochial conception in community terms.

Religious neighborhood centers are being established by churches and lay organizations, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Subject to limitations already expressed, such extension is sound, and it is not impossible that the tendency to combine among evangelical

[1] Residents in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Louisville, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and San Francisco give lecture courses in neighborhood work at local institutions of higher education.

denominations may lead to the creation of religious neighborhood centers which, in predominantly Protestant neighborhoods, may prove to be the most expressive and productive type of local organization.[1]

Most important of all, the church has come to see that society must be organized for the progressive building up of all the people on all sides of their lives. This philosophy has been expounded at schools of theology where residents have been members of the faculty, before national gatherings of religious bodies, and at innumerable conferences. The social programs of great Christian fellowships directly influenced in an important degree by the settlement, exhibit a marked similarity to the line of action for which it was long a voice crying in the wilderness.

Public education, even more than university and church, feels the force of settlement thought and experiment. Both men and women residents, in considerable numbers, would have become teachers had they not been attracted by the more experimental motive of the settlement. They remain educators none the less. Their influence on the school is toward the adjustment of educational processes to actual needs. The factoring out of special classes, adaptation of curriculum to the child's future work, establishment of relations with the home in order to get a better hold on individuals and to secure reinforcement for the things done in school, must come from outside school organization.

The settlement's developing thesis for a closer relation between education and locality is becoming the accepted one. Certain school men, in their haste, are even suggesting that settlements should now discontinue their work and give themselves to the task of securing public adoption of an enriched scheme of local life built in and around the school. Such hints perhaps indicate the beginning of a new era in the conception of education in which the community organizer will eagerly participate without sacrificing pro-

[1] The Young Women's Christian Association, Young Men's Christian Association, Jewish unions of young people, and groups of Catholic lay people are carrying on similar enterprises. A considerable number of churches have established neighborhood houses, and the tendency is on the increase. The Southern Methodist Church has sponsored a score or more houses called after Wesley, which are doing intelligent and valuable work in the cities of the South, where there is little or no problem of sectarianism.

found values which the school, however expanded and revitalized, will never be able to provide.

Medical services among working people are decidedly affected by the spirit which has gone forth from the settlement. The crusade to eradicate tuberculosis found a compelling clue in its demonstration that the resources of state and city can be drawn upon to meet the range of district needs. The ever growing movement through health centers and the multiplication of clinics, with adequate curative and preventive medical facilities, is in large part a development of the settlement principle that the issues of public well-being can be met only by working comprehensively from the local base. This point of view is laying hold of the medical profession in remarkable degree.[1]

The calling of the nurse has been directly and widely influenced. Nursing settlements, in a unique way, serve as laboratories in which highly trained and resourceful women abstract the ripe results of years of painstaking service and accumulated knowledge. They have been able to establish an increasingly higher standard of professional technique, resource, and responsibility. Under Miss Wald's leadership, Henry Street Settlement stands out as a center of forces in this new field.[2] Members of the staff have prepared a History of Nursing, and edited a directory of nursing organizations in the United States.[3] Some of its residents give instruction in

[1] Two significant contributions to the literature and practice of medical organization in local community terms should be noted. The first is a paper published under the title, Organizing the Community for the Protection of Its Mental Life (*Survey*, Vol. xxxiv, p. 557–60, September 18, 1915), in which Dr. Adolf Meyer points out the importance of the districts and sub-districts of a city. The other is the statesmanlike experiment of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the National Tuberculosis Association, formerly National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, in seeking a norm of medical organization for a population group of 20,000 (Framingham, Mass., Community Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration). The conclusions of the medical staff, about the number of physicians and nurses and the distribution of local centers needed to care for the population indicated, is of great importance. The district boards of health being established in several large cities and the efforts being put forth to federate local health resources should also be noted. Out of such experience something in the nature of adequate norms of equipment and service may be expected.

[2] See Wald, Lillian D.: The House on Henry Street. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1915.

[3] Nutting, M. A. and Dock, L. L.: History of Nursing, 4 vols., G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907–1912. Waters, Ysabella: Visiting Nursing in the United States. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909.

schools, colleges, and hospitals. The Department of Nursing and Health, created at Teachers College in 1910, is carried on in affiliation with this settlement. A National Organization of Public Health Nursing, meeting for conference and joint action and having far-reaching influence in its field, was initiated at the Henry Street house.

Settlements furnish a pre-eminent opportunity through which educated women, on the basis of a normal extension of their hereditary and traditional service in home and neighborhood, have been able to win a position of increasing power in local and general public affairs. Women residents have served on important committees of city, state, and national federations of women's clubs, and have had much to do with setting the directions of practical service into which the energy of local clubs and federations have been turned.[1] The cause of suffrage has engaged the energies of the majority of the ablest women residents, and a number of them have had an active share in state and national propaganda. The civic insight, political common sense, and ability to secure results under severe disabilities shown by them have constituted an argument in favor of equal suffrage which no opposition could gainsay. Looking to the future, the influence of women residents in leading the membership of settlement women's clubs and women of the working classes generally to use the power of the franchise intelligently in the interest of their homes and children, will represent one of the most important values in the life of city and nation.

But greater in the total than all that may come of organization and system in spreading the influence of women residents, is the continuous suggestion of their example as it reaches women generally. The wife and mother as she seeks to bring her family into relation with its neighborhood, gets both illumination and power from the settlement. Everywhere the new figure of the woman in the community catches some of its central suggestion from this source.

The influence of the settlement on philanthropy is important in

[1] In several cities, at their instance, women's organizations have used their buildings for the benefit of the neighborhood as well as for their own stated purposes. Saturday evening concerts and dancing for young working people, parties and talks to mothers, and play periods and gatherings for children represent standard forms of such co-operation.

two principal directions: in the disclosure of needs and organization of services among families above the poverty line, and in the development of the neighborhood as the unit of many forms of social work. Before the coming of settlements, charity had begun to envisage individuals as members of a family. Settlements set out to deal not only with families as families, including all their members, but with family after family, taken as they come in their neighborhood setting. Building on the admirable case work technique developed by charity organization societies, settlement workers have liberalized its spirit and extended the range of its influence to include many new forms of advice, assistance, and education. In so doing they are increasingly proving to broad-scale agencies of reform and progress the necessity of working through local units. As case work societies, on the one hand, reach further out into the field of preventive effort with families, and as civic and educational agencies, on the other, come down to close analysis of their problems, both kinds of service will more and more draw upon settlement methods of approach.

Many forms of remedial work can be adequately carried on only in neighborhood units. Relief organizations in small towns seek to anticipate certain types of breakdown by employing visiting nurses, establishing special classes for children, and even undertaking the special observance of festival times. These enterprises, though they lack the lively background of all-round community reconstruction which makes the settlement what it is, are more and more carried on in accordance with its methods. The extension of service from schools, municipal hospitals, courts, and reformatories calls insistently for a neighborhood setting into which each case may safely be returned. It is dangerous to place physical and moral convalescents in a district not organized to include them in some network of wholesome relations. That institutionalism which, on the one hand, waits within doors for its beneficiaries, and, on the other, dismisses them to shift as best they may, is happily on the decline. In its place is being developed a series of aggressive, well-rounded forms of organizations which both "prevent and follow" those who need their service, and which attempt always to make their work truly educational by eliciting some active response from even the least capable families and the least resourceful local com-

munities. This tendency is bringing strong, and in a sense unexpected, confirmation to those who insist upon the reconstruction of neighborhood life.

The growth of schools of philanthropy, many of which are affiliated with colleges in large cities, has opened the way for settlements to present the distinctive lessons of neighborhood experience. It is recognized that practice training is an essential in their curriculum; here settlements play a distinctive part, not only through their specialties of service but through the range and actuality of their contact with life. The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, founded in 1903 by Graham Taylor, from the beginning organized its curriculum about the local as well as the centralized administration of philanthropy, education, and government.[1] For some years the neighborhood point of view was represented at schools of social work only by occasional lectures; but interest in the local community has resulted in the establishment of several schools devoted chiefly to training in community organization; and to a number of new departments in colleges and universities having the same object in view.

Influence of the settlement on managers of industry has been real. Conferences between representatives of business and trade unionists were frequently organized by settlements during the nineties, and open-minded men of affairs gathered into groups for the study of industrial questions. Welfare work has become more co-operative and less patronizing, and a definite savor of the neighborhood idea pervades the attitude of many large employers. A growing proportion of business men are now convinced that the best form of welfare work in large cities as well as in smaller places, consists in supporting local agencies for building up sound standards of physical life, adequate opportunities for recreation, and a system for the care of the sick. The new profession of industrial counsellor or employment manager is carrying the settlement demand for sympathetic understanding of the workingman's needs as operative, shopmate, householder, and citizen into broad-scale practice. One-time residents undertaking such work are making

[1] The school was absorbed by Chicago University in 1920. The Chicago settlements, however, are supporting a very interesting School of Recreation, which holds its sessions at Hull House. The Boston Social Union maintains a training class for new residents, running through the year.

notable contributions to its philosophy and technique. Beyond question the marked developments of the past two decades of personnel services in connection with industrial and commercial establishments owe much to such influence, as does also the increasing activity of general organizations of business men in measures that affect the well-being of city populations. Clearly, also, the settlement as a means of interchange between classes has served, with a kind of underlying power, to facilitate and humanize negotiation between capital and labor. Perhaps the most potential result in this connection is found in the attitude of many of the foremost younger leaders in industrial enterprise, a number of whom have had direct experience of settlement administration, who are seeing their great stake in the solution of the human problems in the organization of industry. And this suggests the part which the settlement has played toward bringing about the changed perspective of industrial leadership in general. Had it been exclusively designed to bring a new influence to bear upon leaders in industrial and commercial enterprise by reorienting members of their families and of their circles of friends, it could not more surely have accomplished the result. There is no way of marking out such an achievement; the reality and value of it cannot be doubted.

The large settlement outlook is based on a gradual development of capacity on the part of the people to create their own collective life. They must come together, as consumers, to procure not only the kind of material goods and professional services they need, but to carry out the recreative and cultural activities that best give effect to their desires. In the long run, however, all these things depend on productivity. Settlement exponents have always looked forward to an increase of working-class participation in the administration of industry; but their whole endeavor is based on the conviction that such responsibility can be exercised only by workmen mentally alert, able to associate in long-continued organization, capable of self-control and initiative. It is of the essence of neighborhood experience that the realities of the new order will come slowly as bands of workmen acquire the qualities needed to save capital, manage processes, and discipline themselves through achieved power to work together.

Resident staffs which have had the advantage of living among

the people and of observing them on many sides of their lives, find that they possess exactly the same fundamental qualities and desires as the rest of the world, but with relatively little initiative and slight power to plan broadly and deeply. The future, as settlement workers see it, lies in discovering and training groups capable of acting together, and through these reaching ever widening circles. The spread of general education and technical training for industry, supplemented by continuous exercise in the ideals and practice of co-operative action, will accomplish this end. Meanwhile the workman, for moral as well as economic ends, must have a surer hold upon the great producing scheme of life, with its reasonable returns, in order steadily to sustain family well-being and dignity.

For long, settlements trusted for the dissemination of their message to whatever currents of influence might be flowing. Even for the values of broad fellowship and interchange among themselves residents continued to rely upon intermittent and scattering ways of coming together.

Though the national scope of the settlement as an influence was in the minds of residents of the original houses at their first meeting in 1892, not until the second decade of the century were steps taken to bring about a formal alliance for the purpose of collecting and registering experience all over the country and of focusing the power of all the houses for nation-wide enterprise.[1] After three informal gatherings leading up to it, the National Federation of Settlements was organized June 11, 1911, by representatives of houses from every part of the United States.[2] A tentative program was outlined which included: reinforcement of all phases of urban and regional federated action among neighborhood agencies; development of a clear and strong policy with regard to the complex problems which, with substantial uniformity, confront settlement work everywhere; publication of the co-ordinated results of expe-

[1] Conferences had been called, however, at frequent intervals during the intervening period.

[2] The constituent members of the federation are composed of settlements and such other neighborhood agencies as are approved by the executive committee. Individuals in sympathy with its purposes are enrolled as corresponding members without a vote. It is provided that the federation shall have at least one meeting a year, and that each member shall contribute toward expenses not less than two dollars for every one thousand of its annual receipts.

rience in specific directions; attracting college men and women to settlement work; stimulating and encouraging the higher and more democratic organization of neighborhood life in city and in country; and promoting more effective co-operation with other forms of social work organized for cities, states, and the nation as a whole.

The federation is distinctively a working body undertaking to achieve results on a national scale which will, on the one hand, be the result of joint effort on the part of many houses, and on the other, bring its benefits specifically to a large number if not to all. The annual conference centers its program about the continuous work of representative and capable committees, led by those intent upon the development of the subject matter in hand. Committee activity is promoted by two secretaries, both of whom have served from the beginning. Recently a mid-western secretary, and one to co-operate with European settlements, have been added to the staff.

Perhaps the most distinctive service of the federation has consisted in gathering up broadly the results of settlement experience in neighborhood work among boys and girls. Here is a field of national need and opportunity which, to a large extent, has waited for the settlement to open up and develop. After twenty years it appeared that, with experienced leaders in such effort at many houses in many cities, there should be a national taking of stock; that the process would be of marked value to all the participants in immediate relation to their work; that the results would offer many suggestions to practised workers and provide manuals for the use of new recruits. The first co-operative study of this sort had to do with adolescent girls. Contributions were received representing some two thousand club leaders. A summary of conclusions, as has already been noted, was published under the title, Young Working Girls.[1] A similar comprehensive method was followed out in a study of preadolescent girls. The adolescent boy in the settlement scheme is the subject of a national inquiry now under way.

The National Federation of Settlements follows, in appeals for governmental action, the principle of restricting itself to the lessons of widely experienced facts in hand. This gives its efforts a definite quality of authority, which has been productive in such vital causes as the creation of the Children's Bureau, the investigation at vari-

[1] Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913.

ous points throughout the country of problems affecting working women, the prescribing of federal standards for state child labor laws, the promotion of vocational education on a national scale. During the war the federation served as a unique medium through which important information about urban immigrant districts throughout the country was made available to the government; and at the request of officials at Washington, settlements gave them valuable information and assistance.[1]

A very fruitful branch of the federation's service is that which makes available to the different constituent houses the personal counsel of experienced leaders from a distance. Possessing a considerable number of such exponents, but, by definition, holding them closely to the immediate local task, it is all the more necessary that the settlement enterprise should find ways of disposing its generalship from time to time so that the whole force shall, so far as possible, have some of the advantage of the houses most favorably staffed. The federation sees that this is brought about in several different ways. At each annual conference there is a strong nucleus of persons of experience not only in general administration but in specialties of service. Conference discussions are divided between what must be done at the individual house by the single local group and what can be achieved only in broader formations for city, state, region, nation. Practice, skill, and vision that go with the subtle analysis or the broader outlook are, with much prearrangement, brought to bear upon the whole assembly. The gathering is usually arranged so that the entire company can live together for a period of three days with a minimum of outside distraction. In this way fine and full intercommunication is assured; and, in particular, all the influences of generalship are disseminated and count for the most.

During the year, leaders are sent to places where they can be of particular help. Of late the policy has been established of organizing local and regional institutes, under national and local federation auspices, conducted in each case by persons selected for their

[1] It was possible thus to place before the public the attitude of settlement workers generally toward the question of participation in the war. More than ninety per cent of them were positively in support of the action of the government. The remainder represented not more than such a minimum of conscientious pacifists as would certainly be found in any humanitarian group.

fitness to meet a given situation. These institutes are attended by residents, volunteers, board members, contributors, and, in some cases, neighbors.

The secretaries of the federation carry on a considerable correspondence reaching every part of the country as well as many foreign countries. Each year they visit a large number of settlements and make an important continuous link between the various city federations. They are alert to insure the transfer of ideas and methods. This result is obtained, aside from conferences and institutes, by occasional bulletins and special reports. Numerous inquiries are received, and an effort is made to find an answer to each from the source best qualified to reply. The securing, instructing, and placing of recruits, and the disposition of trained capacity are a constant preoccupation. A broad outlook is maintained over related fields of action, and in particular those that have to do with any branch of neighborhood work. But the happiest of all the experiences of these national executives consists in welcoming initiative toward the establishment of new houses, an almost spontaneous tendency which, since the war, in a considerable group of smaller industrial cities is illustrating afresh the vitality of the settlement motive in relation to present and future national development.

The National Federation took a responsible part in calling the first International Conference of Settlements, which met in London in July, 1922. The conference brought together American interests with those of similar national bodies in England and France and laid the foundation for continuously and mutually helpful relations between houses in these three countries and settlement beginnings in various other parts of the world. Aside from the direct value of such wide interchange, this fellowship among the like-minded, across national lines, on the basis of stirring positive aims and achievements, has begun to make a definite contribution to the forces of international understanding and goodwill.

The settlement looks out beyond its own widest bounds of affiliation upon a remarkable spread of the impulse embodied in it. Since 1910 community organization through school, park, playground and other types of local center, emphasizing now a building, now municipal management, now this or that factor in organiza-

tion, support or program, has had widespread manifestation. Such enterprises nearly always go with districts higher in the economic scale than those in which settlements have place. It is easy to overestimate the direct, or even the indirect, influence they have had upon this tendency. The large truth, of course, is that all such phenomena but mark the rise of an elemental tide. It is concretely to the point that, as beginnings of these later modes of communal association came upon the scene, the settlements of the United States had developed a system compacted for national action with twenty-five years of experience behind their programs.

When the United States entered the war, a group of leaders in the community center enterprise induced the National Council of Defense to accept the suggestion that local community councils be organized on a scale as nearly universal as possible to foster productive industry, encourage wise economy in the use of food, preserve law and order, co-operate in financial campaigns, and help the national government in every practicable way. It is said that more than 160,000 such councils were listed. The most ambitious of these undertakings appeared in New York City, which was divided into one hundred districts, in each of which a local center was to be created. Settlements entered heartily into the plan and, by pooling their resources, effected most of the really successful organizations. While efforts are being made here and there throughout the country to carry over some of this momentum, the National Council of Defense has gone out of existence and the district councils have largely been dissolved.

But the far-reaching significance of "the principle of locality" in country-wide upbuilding is not to be lost. A pattern has been disclosed which carries some intimation of "the whole nation organized for righteousness." Seventeen working branches of the federal government are more or less definitely concerned in the well-being of villages and townships; several national wartime organizations, in modified forms, are continuing to promote communal action for the public good; some thirty-five different branches of the church are setting themselves to bring about, on a wide scale, measures of local association among the different communions for the welfare and progress of neighborhoods. Whatever may happen to these particular enterprises the underlying motive

is laying hold of the American people, and will more and more give its quality to American civilization.[1]

One of the irreducible lessons of settlement experience is that the subtle art of community organization requires an exceptionally high quality of ability and purpose in its exemplars. Sometimes advocates of the community center, in their zeal for the fullest participation on the part of local citizens, strangely lose sight of the fact that such a result calls for leadership which shall be both concentrated and unremitting. Districts able to command expert service of this sort will certainly not deprive themselves of it, however far they may have to send. Even more surely will it still be necessary for localities from which resourceful citizenship has been largely drained, to have the advantage, whether through private beneficence or municipal action, of trained, devoted and locally involved initiative.

It is probable also that community organization under the restricted conditions which obtain among the tenements will continue to demand a round of expedients more penetrating and extensive than find suggestion among better-to-do populations. The settlement has carried through a series of experiments to discover and draw out capacity, individual and collective, on several levels of working-class life and at several stages of assimilation, through which much light will be thrown upon similar undertakings at higher levels of ability and resource. Just as the fullest medical experience is to be had in hospitals, settlement houses will be increasingly important headquarters for the training of future leaders. Those of the first generation are confident both that the new community opportunity will provide its own vision and summons, and that the settlement, in the breadth and height of its human meaning, has established its case for the kind of living center required, however it may be provided.

It may be that through the wide expansion of its neighborhood motive, its other characteristic aim of bringing together those separated by cleavages that threaten the fabric of order and progress will begin to be broadly realized. Only the best aspirations of mind and heart, embodied in all the actual interchange of life, can make the forces of democracy, involved as they are among the

[1] See Appendix, p. 444, Note XXVII.—Organizations to Promote Local Welfare.

American people with those of cosmopolitanism, equal to the appalling responsibilities which almost unconsciously they face. At first settlements were concerned, even though forced to stand in the light of partisanship, to have workman and immigrant achieve reasonable economic and associational foothold. There is still need of the settlement approach to such issues; but the haunting fear of today is not that the dynamic of democracy may in the long run be repressed, but that it may attain its limit with no due regard for the distinguishing values of the higher life, for those finer implications without which, above all, what is human in American civilization could not continue to exist.

The settlement must therefore all the more earnestly apply itself to its great accepted task. This has to do not so much with any of the processes of democracy as with its spirit. A pioneer in constructive social work, it nevertheless is not moved by merely "structural dispositions." It is no respecter of persons. It is not drawn to the "mechanical juxtapositions of individualism"; no more is it the calculating arbitrator between classes. It is not committed to any doctrinal scheme of society, past, present, or future. It seeks only the general good, the widest fulfilment of human faculty, the most creative interplay of human wills. But it is satisfied that good cannot come of itself, or as a mere by-product of economic or political readjustments. As the prefatory suggestion of a vast, enlightened, affirmative adventure in human fellowship, applied at many points of isolation or estrangement, and turning them into ganglia of practised democratic association, through which a genuinely higher order shall be wrought out, the settlement represents some of the focal energies of history and destiny.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

CHAPTER IX.—MIXED COMPANY

NOTE I.—SEX EDUCATION

ATTACK of the settlement on problems grounded in sex, as the development of this chapter shows, has purposely been a flanking one. The necessity for taking steps to repress open prostitution forced early residents to recognize the propagandist quality of vice and to ally themselves with the more rigid advocates of repression. Probation records disclosed some of the ways through which youth was being lured to destruction, and clinched the case for recreative opportunities that offered outlet for the physical and emotional nature. Efforts to help unmarried mothers, young girls driven into precipitate wedlock to save honor, married men and women prematurely wrecked in bodily and mental health, revealed situations which demanded plain teaching about elementary laws of personal hygiene and sound human association.

Experience with youth proved beyond question that children and young people who have good homes and are engaged by ideals and causes, seldom give themselves to evil. The surest guarantee of honor is a live interest. A main incentive to evil is paucity of real occupation, caused by inhibitions or lack of opportunity for self-expression. Provision of active exercise to dull the physical urge of sex, participation in common enterprises under supervision to satisfy the desire of boys and girls to be together, and gratification of the instinct for romance as far as possible through plays, stories, music, and the arts seemed to settlement workers the means through which to meet this problem. They knew that once sex instinct is aroused, to control it is difficult. Their prescription, as we have seen, was to delay its conscious awakening.

The method proposed succeeds in a considerable number of cases. Where family oversight is wise, kindly, continuous, the time of children accounted for, adequate opportunities offered for recreation and self-expression, an ideal interest fostered, working-class young people show the same bloom of healthy innocence which is more common among the middle and upper classes. In every neighborhood a proportion of parents exercise such wise care. The proportion unhappily is hardly ever large, and its multiplication furnishes one of the most to be desired results of good social work.

Impossibility of meeting a local situation through transmutation of

energies set free in adolescence, gradually drove settlement workers to consider the idea of providing instruction in sex. The word "driven" is used advisedly. The impelling motive was discovery of the extent to which children are informed about the details of sex and the evil results everywhere visible of letting innocent children range among dangers the meaning of which they did not understand. Wherever home life is sound and parents live up to their responsibilities there is no need of outside interference. Where home and neighborhood guardianship are nonexistent, knowledge is the only safeguard.

The decision of just the exact amount of information that will help boys and girls to avoid pitfalls without breaking down nature's barrier of reticence, to the settlement staff with its first-hand responsibility, is a grave one. Most residents believe that school and settlement perform their most useful service in educating parents, either through public meetings or in the course of home visits, to recognize premonitions of sex interest in early childhood, to take proper hygienic steps to overcome abnormal sensitiveness, and to deal with emotional disturbance in such a way as to develop and strengthen will power. Such instruction the majority of settlements undertake. Teaching can often be reinforced in its detail by prenatal and baby hygiene nurses and by local medical examiners.

Pending the time when fathers and mothers can and will instruct their children, an increasing belief among settlements is that a good measure of responsibility rests upon them. Residents have to take practical account of the fact that the strength of the impulse differs with different children; that some come to consciousness of sex slowly and are easily able to control their cravings; while others are highly precocious, manifest little delicacy, and suffer from intense inner conflicts. Medical examinations in connection with gymnasiums and vacation houses show that this abnormal sensitiveness often traces back to definite physical causes easily diagnosed and treated. Unfortunately, few parents recognize symptoms of this sort; children, unless they fall acutely ill or come before the juvenile court, make their way under these handicaps as best they may. This group of child problems is beginning to receive expert physical and psychological care.

Meanwhile it is being found possible, given the right kind of leadership, to answer the questions small children ask about origin of life in such a way as not to injure moral delicacy and reserve. Cooking, sewing, home nursing, and instruction in the care of children afford the best possible opportunity through which to impart, reticently and imaginatively, the modicum of information which satisfies the curiosity and safeguards the innocence of girls. The gymnasium and the camp, with boys, offer a wholesome means of approach to the subject of a strong body and clean mind.

For adolescent young people the club is the most satisfactory unit of instruction. The great truths of sex can often be interpreted as part of what Dr. Richard C. Cabot has so finely called "education of the affections." Club members listen with attention and respect to suggestions about life made by a wise and well-liked leader. The fact that the word is spoken for all robs it of any suggestion of personal meaning, and the easy acquaintance of members lessens inevitable self-consciousness. Several talks which include not only the main items of personal counsel but the large significance of sex to character and to human welfare, seems a wise plan. There should always be opportunity for discussion and the way paved for private conference if desired. For such far-reaching talks it is necessary to have a speaker who is able to steer between the Scylla of centering attention on sex and Charybdis of seeming a foolish visionary. The regular club leader should attend such lectures and be prepared to follow up their implications.

The creation of a high standard of popular thought and morals for adolescent boys waits a finer type of home and neighborhood life. Today the prurient-mindedness of the baser element is in reality reinforced by the abnormal blindness of parents, teachers, clergy, and reformers. Fortunately a new generation of mothers and fathers who look on sex as natural and holy, is gradually coming into existence. These parents will not shame the child into prudery and revolt, but will answer questions with honest simplicity. They will encourage boys and girls to play together under supervision, and will foster sound, healthy, reciprocal activities. Adolescent children, instead of finding themselves the center of trumped-up sentiment will be welcomed into the adult world, awarded tasks within their power, given developing responsibilities, and trained for the duties of parenthood. It is perhaps from this third generation that the nation will experience the satisfactions of life in a community where, in ever increasing degree, love shall extinguish lust. (See p. 106.)

NOTE II.—PLAYTIME ACTIVITIES FOR CHILDREN

For children, the best kind of training in rules to govern relations with the opposite sex is that given by the adults of a family and neighborhood circle which exemplifies and insists on rigid obedience to a sound code of manners. Good form represents moral experience crystallized and made available. It is character latent, ready to be accepted during adolescence by an act of the will. Residents therefore seek to make all their work with children correspond as far as possible to the relations and regimen of a fine and resourceful home.

Playground and game room, story hour, simple handwork, and dancing

represent the main types of organized activity through which boys and girls between four and eight years of age learn to associate with one another. The program of children's work in settlements owes much to kindergarten philosophy and practice, and the first children's groups were known as Kindergarten Graduates' Clubs. They not only afford recreation but soften the break between the sympathetic reciprocal atmosphere of the kindergarten and the more formal organization of the graded class. Through self-directed activity and collective play the moral values worked out in the kindergarten are projected with all needed adaptation into the primary school stage.

The story hour is an important factor in providing recreation and ideals for little children. The tale supplies information based on the child's own interests, teaches concentration, and lays the basis for finer tastes. At many settlements children are encouraged to give expression to the story's mood through simple marching exercises, or by a free dramatic rendering of the plot in their own words, or through games with toys.

Some form of simple handwork, such as that given in the kitchen garden or little housekeepers' classes, and in simple craftswork, is an important means of introducing children to standards which obtain in real households. In a well-conditioned locality boys and girls make the acquaintance of mothers of their playmates, have the freedom of a few other houses, and store up a considerable range of impressions about family life. The settlement class, while only a substitute, puts the child into touch with fresh reality in personal and household matters. (See p. 107.)

CHAPTER X.—SUMMER IN THE CITY

NOTE III.—WINDOW-BOX GARDENING

THE window-box idea as a program started in Cleveland, and was carried on from Goodrich House. Settlements in Boston have perhaps been the leaders in encouraging window boxes and gardens in tenements. A committee of the Boston Social Union, made up of one representative from each settlement, buys a supply of boxes, earth, fertilizer, and seeds, and employs a supervisor who visits settlements and public schools and gives talks illustrated with lantern pictures. Children are taught how to fasten boxes to window ledges and to obtain drainage, and methods of overcoming common difficulties. Prizes are awarded for the best exhibits of different sorts; and there is usually a concert or party at the end of summer at which flowers and vegetables of high grade are shown.

In New York and Chicago central agencies have been established for the distribution of boxes and seeds which are sold through various neighborhood centers and settlements. In Philadelphia an interesting extension of window-box gardening is the distribution of seeds, bulbs, and plants for winter growth, followed by an exhibition with prizes in the spring. (See p. 115.)

NOTE IV.—VACANT LOT AND SCHOOL GARDENS

While scattered instances of back-yard and vacant-lot gardening had occurred in 1892–1893, if not before, the educational possibilities in such gardening first found expression at Goodrich House, whence it spread to other cities.

In the summer of 1901 South End House, in co-operation with Boston Normal School, secured the use of a plot of ground on school property, which was cultivated by boys and girls from upper grammar grades. Although the first Boston school garden was established in 1892, it was as a result of this latter experiment that gardens have since been more or less a feature of Boston school life. Later on, residents of South End House carried on gardens in a neighborhood playground.

Within the past few years vacant-lot gardens have been established to help reduce the cost of living. The leader in New York of this form of work was Bolton Hall, and several settlements induced young people to raise vegetables and flowers. In Chicago, settlement residents participated in establishing the City Gardens Association in 1910. In many other cities, notably Los Angeles, Minneapolis, the Oranges in New Jersey, Worcester, and Baltimore, good work of the kind has been done by settlements. (See p. 115.)

NOTE V.—VACATION SCHOOLS

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in the summer of 1894, obtained use of four public school buildings from the Board of Education and maintained classes in manual training and allied subjects. Previous to this, however, as well as during the years which followed and until the city system was fully developed, several settlements maintained summer schools. In 1897 the Board of Education made vacation schools a part of the school system, and New York took the leading place in this form of education.

In Chicago the earliest vacation schools were carried on by settlements, and a movement for municipal assumption grew out of the experience of early residents. In the spring of 1896 settlement workers organized a group of people under the Civic Federation which secured a grant of pub-

lic money with which to provide for a public vacation school. The success of this experiment furnished inspiration for a long campaign to induce the school board to establish such work. A year later public-spirited women gave Miss McDowell money to support a vacation school; the school building and part of the equipment were lent by the school board. The year following, the Chicago Women's Club organized a vacation school committee which until 1908 raised a fund to pay teachers, when the work was assumed by the Board of Education. In Boston, where in spite of early beginnings no large expansion could be secured under the school board, Denison House joined with the Associated Charities in carrying on a vacation school, Hale House for some years maintained one in a South End school house, and other settlements have carried on private schools in their own buildings. (See p. 116.)

CHAPTER XIII.—TRAINING IN HANDWORK

NOTE VI.—COOKING CLASSES, KITCHEN GARDENS, AND OTHER HOUSEHOLD MATTERS

CERTAIN young women care only for the frills of cooking; others have a great objection to incidental work such as washing dishes, towels, and floors; still others never try recipes at home. Moreover, it is not easy to interest mothers and daughters together. These difficulties have to be overcome by visiting, by talking with each class member and arousing her interest, and by constant and resourceful encouragement.

Classes for Children.—Most settlements carry on classes in cooking and home-making for girls between ten and fourteen years of age, and where cooking is taught in public school the settlement varies its teaching in such a way as to broaden and strengthen the total effect. In many cities school children under twelve years are not taught cooking, and it is common for settlement classes to be made up of children under this age, and of those attending parochial schools where cooking is not taught. For older girls settlement classes provide opportunity to use recipes in full amount, to develop practical skill through repeated employment of certain processes, and to emphasize the relation of the subject to sociability and hospitality through serving the meal.

A real danger is found in the confusion sometimes caused by lack of harmony between the teaching in public schools and in settlements. Differences in method and conflicts in authority have been known to lessen the usefulness of both sets of teaching. Certain houses solve the difficulty

by keeping instruction parallel. When the lesson in public school is ginger cookies, the settlement class makes sugar cookies; settlement lessons are considered practice work for school, and pupils receive credit for work done. The great aim in teaching young girls is preparation of common articles of food in a wholesome and inexpensive way. Some attention is given to cost and nutritive value and to planning meals within an agreed sum. Valuable practice is gained by inviting guests, each girl acting as hostess when her special friends are present. Public school teachers are among the most favored guests.

FOR YOUNG WOMEN.—With young women, interest has to be stimulated by following their inclinations rather than by attempting a logical development of the subject. Classes are successfully organized about the problem of living on small wages and planning meals and expenditures within a given sum. Groups are organized to study special subjects, such as preserving or salads. Many houses induce older girls to feel some responsibility for standards of hospitality in the settlement and to take part in preparing refreshments for parties, picnics, and summer vacations. Supper clubs have become a device to sustain interest.

FOR HOUSEWIVES.—Instruction for women has necessarily to be even more informal. The difficulties experienced grow partly out of conditions under which tenement mothers have to work, and partly out of satisfaction with their measure of knowledge and skill. Perhaps the most useful feature of class work is the light gained by talking over facts of daily experience with others. Many also enjoy the chance to see a well-organized kitchen and to become acquainted with up-to-date conveniences and utensils. Special courses in preparation of types of food, such as meats, desserts, and vegetables, are often successful in arousing interest. Houses in immigrant communities assist housewives to adapt their particular dietary to American commodities.

FOR BOYS.—A few houses maintain special classes for boys, who are often highly interested pupils, especially where instruction can be related to the summer camp or made practical through picnics or excursions.

IN THE HOME.—Attempts have been made to carry on cooking classes in the home. Tenement women are extremely sensitive about showing their equipment to strangers, and dread what seems a prying interference. At several houses residents have successfully engaged the goodwill of a neighbor who has given the use of her kitchen as a demonstration place.

LAUNDRY.—Laundry classes are most successful with children, who enjoy dabbling in water. They serve best as part of the home-making course in a model flat or apartment.

KITCHEN GARDENS.—When settlements came on the scene the kitchen

garden was purely and simply a scheme of play with diminutive domestic toys. It has been developed into the little housekeepers' classes now so distinctive of settlements. Kindergartens frequently lay much emphasis on home-making, and teach dish-washing, setting the table, making the bed, sweeping, dusting, washing and ironing, by means of sizable materials and special songs. Such instruction, however given, is valuable in that it awakens the child's interest at a time when manual routine is pleasant, not always the case as the girl grows up.

Household Furnishing.—A few settlements have tried in one way or another to bring about a higher standard of taste in furnishing. Some have fitted up model rooms with neat and carefully selected furnishings. The best work of this sort is done in housekeeping flats where equipment is seen in place. So-called "model" rooms, especially those included in welfare exhibits, have not been worth while, the mass of things shown being on the whole less tasteful than those in the average tenement home. Exhibitions of casual commercial products represent a misapplication of time and money. Only where the services of persons of acknowledged taste and resource can be secured, and where articles having human interest and beauty can be provided, are exhibits justified. The most influential of this sort are neighborhood "retrospective" exhibits where people of the quarter exhibit treasures and heirlooms in which they take pride, and where local knowledge gives point and emphasis to what is shown.

Problems of Instruction.—The chief difficulty in building up a strong department of household science lies in discovering teachers. Many settlements are unable to afford the salary of a resident cooking teacher, and are forced to limit themselves to hourly instruction and assistance of volunteer pupils from cooking schools. Professional schools are as yet more interested in their science than its human application, and have paid little attention to training young women for special problems in tenement neighborhoods. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions. Lewis Institute of Chicago, and Simmons College, Boston, have appointed supervisors of students' work who sometimes live at settlements. Students are marked both on their work and on their ability to attract and interest classes. Similar interest and oversight are being brought about in other cities. (See p. 142.)

CHAPTER XVII.—WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

NOTE VII.—SETTLEMENT ASSISTANCE IN LEGISLATION

IN New Jersey settlement residents took the lead in securing legislation for better child protection. Miss Bradford, of Whittier House, spent some time during 1900 in bringing about a unified demand from public-spirited bodies of all kinds for a revision of the child labor law. In 1903 a statute was secured raising the age at which boys might become wage-earners from twelve years to fourteen, girls being already protected until their fourteenth year. Through the efforts of the state Children's Protective Alliance formed in 1904, a bill was passed in 1907 prohibiting the employment of children in mercantile establishments between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m., and limiting their hours to not more than fifty-eight a week, though the effect of the law was weakened by Saturday evening and Christmas exemptions. A law prohibiting the night employment of children under sixteen in manufacturing establishments was brought forward under the same auspices and its passage secured in 1910.

In California, as in many eastern states, child labor legislation before the beginning of the century was chaotic and unenforced. In 1903 San Francisco settlements joined in an effort initiated by the State Federation of Labor to raise the working age from twelve to fourteen years. The bill was defeated by the fruit interests. Turning in another direction, settlements endeavored to secure a similar result through enforcing the compulsory education law. An exhaustive investigation of school attendance was made by South Park Settlement in its neighborhood. The head-worker, Lucille Eaves, became a special agent of the State Labor Bureau and studied conditions generally under which children worked in San Francisco and Oakland. In 1905 settlement residents and others again introduced a bill applicable to commercial establishments, manufacturing plants, and street trades, prohibiting employment of children under fourteen, requiring an educational test, and forbidding night work for those under sixteen. The law was passed by the legislature, was declared constitutional by the courts, and has been enforced. (See p. 186.)

CHAPTER XIX.—STANDARDS OF WELL-BEING

NOTE VIII.—SETTLEMENT MILK DEPOTS, LAUNDRIES, AND SALES OF CLOTHING

A FEW houses have carried on milk depots for the sale of clean milk to families with small children, and candy counters for the sale of sweets of assured purity and cleanliness.

Laundries with set tubs, hot water, and driers, the use of which are rented at a moderate charge, have been installed at several settlements. Immigrant women reared in the tradition of a public washing place, and a few of the native born, chiefly those who wash for a living, bring their work during the coldest winter months. But for the most part neighborhood sentiment is indifferent.

Sale of cast-off clothing, twenty-five years ago, was a common form of philanthropic enterprise. The majority of residents have always regarded the "rummage" sale as a peculiarly undemocratic and unpleasant undertaking. As a rule, too, the neighborhood constituency is above the economic level of those most keen to purchase. Partly worn clothing, when offered at all, is given outright to families which through sickness or other misfortune are in temporary need.

Settlements that carry on rummage sales have usually inherited the tradition from religious charities. Too often they attract a group of buyers who come to know the house only as a place where bargains may be obtained. They are more characteristic of small than large cities. One or two houses sell garments to persons whom they know to be in real need. Others form sewing clubs of poverty-stricken and hopelessly unsuccessful women who repair such clothing and are paid at a low rate or given the opportunity to buy the garments upon which they work. (See p. 202.)

CHAPTER XXIII.—HEALTH

NOTE IX.—INFANT SAVING IN CHICAGO

THE development of the Chicago infant saving campaign demonstrates the high potentialities of intelligent and humanistic civic service under municipal auspices. The city is divided into districts each of which has its local staff and headquarters. A house-to-house canvass is made and a census of babies taken. Meetings are arranged in local schools, churches, and community centers. Information on child care is printed in general, local, and immigrant newspapers. Department of

health bulletins are distributed broadcast. Posters in the several immigrant languages are displayed on billboards about the city. For some years the director of the bureau was Dr. Caroline Hedger, long identified with settlement work.

Nearly half of the local branches are in settlement houses. Procedure at University of Chicago Settlement illustrates resources which a well-organized neighborhood house affords in such a campaign. The district nurse, who resides at the settlement, is in charge. Additional nurses and house-to-house visitors are provided by Board of Health and Department of Charities. The assistance of neighborhood physicians is elicited both for their own patients and for those who cannot afford to pay a private doctor. Work of the medical staff is supplemented by appeal to influential leaders. The priest of the Lithuanian church calls women of the congregation together to listen to an address in their own tongue by a local physician. The settlement uses its knowledge of the people's way of life in assisting mothers to establish their household regimen on the best possible basis. Previous acquaintance established by residents is of inestimable value in bringing about cheerful and willing acceptance of advice on which ultimate success mainly depends. (See p. 251.)

CHAPTER XXX.—RACE AND PLACE

NOTE X.—AN EXPERIMENTAL DEFINITION OF THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING

THE American standard of living is not easy to describe, though it is by no means incapable both of qualitative and quantitative statement. A tentative description is ventured under a few main headings.

Language: The use of English in its living quality as a means of human interchange.

Food: Daily rations of meat, milk for children, wheat flour, and sugar in sufficient quantity so that the strength of adults is maintained and children make certain average advances in weight and development.

Room: A living room sufficiently large to permit the family to meet together, and a bedroom for every two persons, with additional space where necessary to insure decent privacy.

Cleanliness: A bath at least once a week, and sufficient underclothing to permit of weekly change. Indeed this is an indispensable factor in the American standard; one worked out by Americans under conditions much more difficult to encompass than are met by most immigrants.

Clothing: Of a pattern and quality so that the wearer may feel incon-

spicuous and comfortable upon the street or in any public conveyance or place of gathering.

Association: The meeting of the entire family at meals once a day; group observance of holidays and festivals; a certain consideration in the relations between men and women which is difficult to describe but which everyone recognizes.

Child Nurture: Devoted care for health, cleanliness, and dietary; constant oversight of play and association; watchfulness for the appearance of ability or talent; readiness to sacrifice convenience or substance in order to provide education and opportunity for advancement.

Moral Idioms: Chief among these are willingness to meet with others for creation of a better environment, interest in local affairs, and general attitude of hope and opportunity toward communal activities.

A noticeable thing about the American standard of living is the fact that it is being modified in cities. But America has always refused to contemplate continued existence of a lower class. It has preferred to regard anything below its standard as a temporary stage in an upward process which will be passed through within a relatively few years. This is a unique contribution made by our country to the world and must be actualized. (See p. 327.)

NOTE XI.—RADICALISM AND MISUNDERSTANDING

Immediately after the assassination of President McKinley, the editor of a small paper in Chicago was arrested as *particeps criminis* and deprived of his legal right to see an attorney and communicate with his friends. A short time before, Prince Kropotkin, while on a visit to America, had lectured at Hull House, where the editor, a quiet, scholarly man of philosophic mind, had visited him. Upon his arrest, certain newspapers suggested that encouragement of violence was one result of the liberalism of settlements. Miss Addams and Raymond Robins, then a resident of the Commons, went to see the mayor and asked that, for the sake of the great Russian colony which was only too familiar with the drastic methods used by the police, the man be allowed to consult an attorney and communicate with his family. They pointed out that the worst kind of advertising Chicago could receive would be to fasten the crime on it, which opprobrium should be escaped if it could be honestly done. The mayor thereupon permitted the visitors to see the accused man, an act that drew upon them a great deal of newspaper vituperation.

The "Averbuch" case a few years later presented similar problems. Early one morning a young Russian Jew appeared at the house of the Chicago chief of police on an errand of which no one ever knew the import.

The city was in one of its periodic panics over a murder that had been committed shortly before in Denver. The chief of police assumed that Averbuch was bent on assassination, and in a panic shot his visitor dead. Members of the Russian Jewish colony and the West Side of Chicago were thrown into intense excitement by the incident. The police made a drastic search of the Jewish colony, put the family of Averbuch and a number of his friends through the so-called "third degree," and aroused law-abiding and peaceful citizens to a state of great resentment. Hull House felt that every effort should be made to find out just what had happened, before the crime was attributed to a colony of peaceful citizens. The work of various civic agencies in building up a more sympathetic and awakened citizenship should not be torn down by crude measures of law enforcement. (See p. 330.)

NOTE XII.—ITALIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN CULTURE

Hull House Labor Museum and its affiliated shops, which made the beginning in this direction, produce and sell woven stuff, laces, embroideries, pottery, and jewelry. The New York School of Italian Industry made a start in rooms furnished by Richmond Hill House in New York. Little Italy Settlement in Brooklyn for some years carried on a lace school employing more than a dozen women. Denison House, Boston, gives employment to a considerable group of Italian women who produce laces and embroideries at home. Hull House very early organized a branch of the Dante Society, an orchestra, and other organizations of men and women for recreation and fellowship. In recognition of its interest, members of the colony, at a meeting attended by some of the men who had served in Garibaldi's campaign, presented to the house a bust of the hero. A Mardi Gras masquerade and celebrations on the birthday of Italian patriots and men of letters were used to cement the finer phases of loyalty. The Circolo-Americano-Italiano organized at Denison House, Boston, in addition to its monthly meetings carries on weekly lectures during the winter, issues leaflets outlining the duties and rights of citizens, and gives sociables which bring progressive Italians in touch with leading Americans. One-third of the membership of the Circolo is made up of Americans. (See p. 334.)

CHAPTER XXXI.—THE LIVING CENTER

NOTE XIII.—RECORDS

THE passage in the second stage of settlement development from more or less casual neighborly acquaintance to a considerable measure of domesticated institutionalism brings in its trail certain bookkeeping and administrative responsibilities. One does not document one's friends, and large numbers of people who come to the settlement would forbear if they suspected that anything in the nature of a journal of personal conduct was being kept. The earliest records were in the nature of a visiting list. As clubs and classes were established, attendance sheets, minutes, and other data came to be needed. Parents occasionally draw on such records when they suspect that a son or daughter is making attendance on the settlement a pretext for absence from home. Young people refer to club and class leaders when asking for help in seeking employment. After a few years, family records, with a statement of the name, age, and occupation of each member of every household, are compiled as a guide in sending out cards of invitation, making up possible groups, and in general keeping the settlement widely in touch with its local constituency.[1] In most settlements the card system is kept in the office, and any neighbor who questions the nature of the facts tabulated is permitted to examine his own card. As dispensaries, clinics, special schools or vocational bureaus are founded, the types of record which go with such work are kept. These records are, however, shown only to those who have a legitimate right to the information which they contain. (See p. 347.)

NOTE XIV.—SETTLEMENT BUILDINGS

However institutional the exterior, most settlements endeavor to make the inner arrangements of their buildings express the motive of homelikeness, hospitality, and beauty. The entrance hall has the three functions of being a place of introduction and direction, a center which leads to other parts of the building, and last but not least, a base for guard duty. In most settlements one or the other of these functions of the entrance is dominant. Where a building is used by boys and youth, control of the entrance is important. In those devoted to the needs of girls and women, problems of control are less onerous, and emphasis can easily be placed on the room as a place of reception. It is sound practice,

[1] Where the settlements have been long established, people feel aggrieved if for any reason their names are dropped from the mailing list.

therefore, wherever possible, to arrange separate quarters for boys with a separate entrance.

The chief room in most settlement buildings is a place for assemblies. This room usually has to serve as meeting hall, concert room, gymnasium, dance hall, and theater. Some of the larger settlements, with the passage of years, have come into possession of separate meeting halls, gymnasium, and theater, with the equipment proper to their uses. Such rooms constitute an important part not alone of the settlement but of the neighborhood institutional resources.

Beauty is an integral part of culture, and it is one of the traditions of the settlement that buildings and furnishings should express a certain delight in its manifestations. A few settlement buildings manifest some distinction of design. Within doors there is often more of beauty. Hull House has several distinguished rooms, notably the theater and the dining room. It was a fine stroke that led the architect of University of Chicago Settlement to face semi-public rooms with smooth finished brick of a full deep color which lends itself to decoration, and which at the same time is indestructible and easily cleaned. (See p. 348.)

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE NEW SYNTHESIS OF LOCALITY

NOTE XV.—GROUP ALTRUISM

WHILE it is highly desirable to set young and old at work doing something that will benefit the people about them, group altruism should not be forced. It is possible to enjoin a form of civic and social idealism so high that disenchantment wrecks the very basis of faith and hope. It is not a sound process to seek to call out from working people that type of altruistic concept which goes with special cultivation. This does not mean that social service should be neglected in the club. On the contrary settlements have constantly reported that altruism is native in working-class neighborhoods. It is concerned, however, to elicit and welcome that natural altruism of club members most likely to take such form as will meet the needs and opportunities of the local situation. (See p. 353.)

NOTE XVI.—FESTIVALS

Autumn Festivals.—One or two houses give plays and dances which have the qualities of a festival and act as a kind of setting-up drill for the ensuing winter. It is increasingly desirable that a way be developed by which city children can enter into the natural joys which harvest time brings to country children.

Christmas Celebrations.—These afford the opportunity to express both motives of neighborliness and the sense of beauty and joy. The treats provided for children are widely varied. A few settlements employ professional entertainers; others send their groups to theaters or public places of amusement; others still have entertainments given by children themselves. There is a growing tendency among older and larger settlements to discontinue presents to all but small children.

In some houses volunteer workers make presents to members of their clubs, although this plan has failed more often than it has succeeded. They do not always understand tastes and needs sufficiently to give wisely; moreover, some club leaders cannot afford to give presents. Lack of uniformity creates difficulties where giving is not thoroughly personal and based on a long-continued relationship. It is common, however, for all settlements to serve simple refreshments at Christmas parties as an expression of that hospitality and goodwill neighborhood people so generally offer to those who call upon them during the season.

Young people's parties take the form of more elaborate dances, although several houses prepare plays to which friends and neighbors are invited. Some settlements at the Christmas dance invite neighbors who have moved away, to meet their old friends. Parties for members of the various women's groups are generally arranged and are most successful in arousing the spontaneous responsiveness of guests. Women's cooking classes give special parties for husbands, or arrange a formal festival, or find some other way for expression of the unhampered sense of fellowship felt at this time of the year. There are varied and cumulative values in good-fellowship which are attained directly and indirectly by the very succession of events, involving one group after another from day to day throughout the holiday season. At many settlements the program begins some days before Christmas and continues until Twelfth Night.

All settlements devote a good deal of energy to the work of engaging men, women, and children more actively in the several aspects of preparation, giving to others, and participation in merrymaking. In most settlement kindergartens children prepare gifts for their parents as a part of the season's program. Older children in arts and crafts classes make articles that are to be used as gifts. Clubs rehearse plays which will be presented for entertainments of other clubs, or for common enjoyment of the house membership; spare the necessary time for making and filling cornucopias which are later used at children's entertainments; and give parties for old and house-bound neighbors. Adult organizations furnish refreshments for children's and young people's parties.

The growing tendency thus to emphasize boldly the human aspects of

Christmas, to use its meaning for the purpose of dissipating barriers, enkindling neighborhood loyalty, and reinforcing the home, represent a really decisive step in the direction of broader and deeper application of the original and essential spirit of the settlement. But the result comes partly because such observances are almost necessarily undertaken for and by the people as a whole; and by contrast with the rest of the year the season suggests the possibilities before settlements when they shall have learned to pour themselves out with utter freedom into the general current of community life.

Closing Festival.—There is a widely growing tendency at present to end the settlement year with a festival. Instead of merely exhibiting products of classes in handwork the attempt is being made to bring every sort of class or club pursuit to formal expression. This gives point and motive to chorus singing, sewing, dancing, and many other forms of group work, and reflects back something of its spirit into the successive sessions of the winter.

Immigrant Festivals.—In immigrant neighborhoods the national celebration yields additional results in strengthening the relation between the first and second generations; enriching the content of American life; preserving the art values in the popular amusements of our newest citizens, and in making use of that festival tradition and capacity which is a heritage of so many foreign nationalities.

Hull House and Henry Street Settlement have, the one through its Greek plays and celebrations of national holidays, and the other in festivals built about Jewish life and faith, demonstrated some of the cultural resources that are to be found among immigrant people. Settlements in Chicago have had unusual opportunity to bring national groups together, and the education provided by playground festivals has developed bodies of people sufficiently trained so that the arrangement of festival performance is constantly more easy.

New Year Celebrations.—A large number of houses have developed a distinctive celebration of New Year's Eve for men and women of the neighborhood. In these cases the house is open early in the evening, and there is a concert, dancing and refreshments, with appropriate speeches and general singing as the New Year approaches. Former neighbors are gathered back for an old neighbors' reunion. In several instances, through long custom, the New Year's Eve party has grown to be the most important social event of the year. This occasion avoids all chance of religious misunderstanding where there are Jews; and it stirs reminiscent and forward-looking sentiments which are profitably and effectively emphasized.

Patriotic Festivals.—The settlements have united in efforts for a safe

and sane Fourth of July in various cities, furnishing floats for parades, organizing pageants in the public parks, and taking charge of neighborhood celebrations under municipal committees. One house, with the co-operation of its neighbors and the street and police departments, regularly organizes a program of events which includes a band concert, street dancing, and the decoration of street and houses.

In Chicago the settlements have united in a great field day, organized by the newspapers. Although this broad form of celebration resulted in decreased deaths by accident, it created an opening for very grave moral dangers. Experience made it plain that the great opportunity of the settlement is to organize the Fourth on a neighborhood basis, casting around the celebration the combined protection of police and the moral sentiment of the community.

A few houses have carried on successful Washington Birthday festivals, which are of especial value in immigrant neighborhoods. Lincoln's Birthday is also celebrated, and several houses have found it an opportunity to bring about a better feeling toward the Negro by giving colored people a chance to be heard.

Spring Festivals.—Much has been made in some cities of the spring festival, especially in New York with a traditional May or June children's walk. A number of houses on the upper East Side and in Brooklyn organize open-air festivals in parks, to which children march preceded by a band and dressed in their best or in costumes. There are king, queen, attendants, Maypole, various dances, sports, games, and ice cream. For several years settlements in Brooklyn have held a festival under the auspices of the Neighborhood Workers Association.

Spring festivals in dramatic form are given by an increasing number of houses. In 1905 Henry Street organized such a festival about Eastern conceptions of spring, and in 1907 gave a phantasy called the "Revolt of the Flowers." Neighborhood House in Washington in 1910 organized a festival in imitation of the ancient Greek Daphnephore, celebrated every ninth year in honor of Apollo, which offered interesting costumes and dances. Elizabeth Peabody House in Boston has carried on interesting spring festivals and pantomimes at the Charlesbank playground. (See p. 354.)

CHAPTER XXXIII.—SETTLEMENT FACTORS

NOTE XVII.—INITIATING FORCES

WHILE the settlement established by the founder headworker is, all things considered, the most typical of the settlement motive, an important and growing proportion of houses are established by institutions of education and religion. Alumni and undergraduates at universities and colleges form themselves into associations and appoint committees to carry on the complex tasks of defining motives, seeking support, determining on a neighborhood, securing a house, and gathering a group of residents. The College Settlements Association, made up of alumnæ of several women's colleges, was the first fruit of this method of organization. Graduates of normal, kindergarten training, and technical schools establish settlements to give missionary expression to their knowledge and skill. The most important of the dominating specialties are nursing and music.

Theological schools, uniting religion and education, were responsible for the establishment of several of the earliest settlements. It is interesting and significant that three leading settlements in Boston, Chicago, and New York, which are the ones principally concerned in holding forth the responsibility and opportunity of settlement work as a field for men, should have had their start in theological seminaries. From the very beginning the head residents in each case have stood for Christian unity, and have devoted their efforts, apart from all sectarianism, to the building up of the Kingdom of God.

The first church houses were founded by liberal congregations and tended to be unsectarian both in name and in deed. After a little, however, settlements began to be organized under the auspices of the more conservative groups, and religious education and propaganda were introduced into the routine. Experience has demonstrated beyond peradventure that sectarianism in the establishment and direction of the settlement hinders its influence not only in the neighborhood but throughout the city. Possible volunteer assistants and donors hesitate to invest time and money in an organization whose denominational loyalty they do not share.

The settlement established by a founder-patron who provides building, equipment, and support constitutes a third type. While this plan insures an adequate budget for established work, it leaves the question of experiment and expansion wholly within the caprice of an individual. The fact that the house has the reputation of "belonging" to a person of wealth causes those who might render financial or personal service to hesitate be-

fore becoming even a voluntary part of a personal undertaking. The reputation of unlimited backing sometimes awakens a desire on the part of the people of the neighborhood to get as much out of the settlement as possible, and to give as little in return.

Lastly, there is a group which has grown out of boys' clubs, kindergartens, day nurseries, and other local institutions. In certain instances the transition has been made with great skill. But in other cases the board responsible for the work has entered into the new venture either half-heartedly, or it has been so wedded to an old procedure and point of view that the whole scheme has lacked the spirit of adventure and convinced democracy which characterizes the normal settlement. (See p. 363.)

NOTE XVIII.—RESIDENT PERSONNEL

Qualities Needed in Residents.—The primary qualities noted in the text should be reinforced by cleanliness of person and neatness of dress, cultivation of voice and speech, candor and truthfulness, accuracy of thought and expression, and businesslike standards. It seems necessary to speak of these traits because, unless the recruit has them, he may be carried away by the oftentimes stronger native force of natural leaders among boys and girls of the neighborhood. Sensitiveness, flexibility, affability, alertness, even-temperedness, good judgment, and sense of humor are well-nigh indispensable.

All settlements are familiar with the sentimentalist caught by a shallow sympathy for and desire to help the poor, but who fails in fundamental democracy, humility and resource when brought face to face with normal people of an industrial neighborhood. Certain men and women are attracted by a supposedly ascetic flavor and undertake residence as a sort of moral scourging under which they hope to be unhappily happy. Closely related to this type is the missionary, the man or woman enamored of duty for duty's sake, and the charity-monger.

A small number of men and women seek residence either to tide over an interim, or to find an agreeable place to stay, or to gain what they suppose will be a better social station. An occasional candidate labors under the delusion that he or she can in some way escape binding restrictions in another environment, but falls away after discovering that an industrial neighborhood is not in any sense a Bohemia, and that the very seriousness of experiments under way precludes the settlement from encouraging or tolerating a variety of irresponsible fancies.

A certain number of men and women without consciousness of special vocation are attracted in the hope that actual contact with human life and need will discover them to themselves. An occasional person is received on

this basis and allowed to test out his interests and powers in the widest and freest way. In their own self-education, settlement workers often apply the principle which governs so much of their class work, namely, that of allowing the individual to touch life at a sufficient number of different points to discover his mind.

Economics.—A very small proportion of the resident force at a few of the largest and most important metropolitan settlements continues to be composed of men and women who live at their own charges and give their entire time. Such residents often bring to local problems an attitude unhampered by personal considerations; and certain among them initiate and carry on promising undertakings for which at the time it would be difficult to secure support.

At an early stage ways had to be devised to make it possible for young men and women just out of college, and dependent on their own efforts for a livelihood, to devote themselves to neighborhood work. Fellowships paying from three to five hundred dollars, enough to cover board and lodging, began to be offered at some settlements.[1] In return holders give their services to research, and to carrying on various enterprises projected by older residents. As the development of clubs and classes called for persons to administer and direct education, modest stipends began to be allowed for continuous service in these fields. Ere long the staff at nearly all settlements tended to be composed of residents on full salary or specific compensation, carrying on stated duties in education and administration.

The economic democratization of requirements for residence, settlements feel, has made possible deeper understanding of the problems they are set to solve. Most groups include men and women who know conditions under which artisans live through previous actual experience, and count people of widely different fortunes and occupations among relatives and friends. Such residents not only supply a corrective to oversentimentalism, but are able to interpret working people more realistically and to help them with more knowledge. Payment for service makes it possible to seek out the exact type of skill, training, and temperament needed for the development of specific house activities.

The danger to open-mindedness, freedom of speech, and initiative, where

[1] The first fellowships were those granted in 1892 by the Andover Theological Seminary for participation in the work of Andover House, which soon became South End House. These continued only a few years; since 1899, fellowships connected with Harvard University and Amherst College have been steadily maintained. About the middle of the same decade the College Settlements Association established fellowships for research, some forms of which have continued to the present time. These fellowships also required residence in the settlements of the association. A number of other settlements have provided scholarships or fellowships for short periods.

residents are dependent on salary, which Canon Barnett foresaw, is real and constant. A few settlements have gone down before it. Salaried residents continue to participate in the motive of the founders, supporters, and volunteer residents by taking less income than they might obtain in other callings. As adventurers on the firing line of reform they accept the hazards, hardships, and disappointments that go with a stirring motive.[1] They have a correspondingly independent attitude toward their tasks and withdraw whenever they suspect attempts of coercion by administrators or supporters.

It is obviously unfair to expect all who participate in settlement life to share equally in its motive. Residents should not attempt to force a standard of self-sacrifice which they have voluntarily assumed. Underpaid employes in routine service of a settlement are a disgrace to its motive. Salaries and working conditions for secretaries, stenographers, janitors, scrubwomen, domestics, ought at least to equal the average market wage. It is, however, worth calling attention to the fact that in most houses secretaries, janitors, and the domestic staff make substantial contributions to its work in the form of patient, responsible, and consecutive service of a kind that transcends possibility of payment.

Men in Residence.—More or less definite efforts toward keeping up and strengthening the appeal of the settlement to men, and of providing appropriate opportunities for them are made. It may be said that in positions of special responsibility the number of men and women is about equal; and there seems to be a stronger tendency for men than for women to remain continuously in such service. It is an interesting fact that a majority of men who have remained in settlement work during a considerable period of years started originally with some measure of training and experience in parish work, an atmosphere and background which has seemed to provide for them some of the same sense for neighborhood realities which is instinctive with women. Their numbers are filled out by men who have made more or less progress in other professions such as teaching, medicine, law, and of late years by those who are seeking more human ways of industrial and commercial leadership.

Women in Residence.—A highly significant aspect of settlement work in America is the fact that it has been predominantly a creation of women.[2] Neighborhood work offered educated women a chance to test their powers

[1] On the other hand, salaries so small as to create constant financial anxiety and the fear of dependency in illness and old age defeat their end. The accepted practice is increasingly toward approximating the average wage paid educators.

[2] A canvass of 250 of the most important settlements shows residents totaling 1,411 persons. Of these 1,090, or 70 per cent, were women and 321, or 30 per cent, were men.

in the actual thick of affairs. Whatever might then be said about the propriety of their entering professions and public life, and the possibility of their developing their best capacities and achieving the highest order of success in such callings, settlement work offered an opportunity for ample exercise of those spiritual, domestic, and associational instincts, minimized in other occupations, which are so important a part of women's heritage. In undertaking to re-establish healthful home conditions and neighborhood relations, in bringing about better administration of the more human departments of city government, the enlightened woman is simply making new and larger adaptations of her specialized capacities.

The opportunity which settlements afford of discovering and training exceptional leadership among women, makes them one of the most significant agencies through which they have substantiated their case for unrestricted influence and authority in the larger life of city and nation. The very thoroughness of the achievement of so many women residents has, however, by weakening the claim of such service upon men, sometimes resulted in a one-sided outlook and approach, and made it so much more difficult for the settlement to encompass its fundamental task of knowing people and institutions in the whole round of existence.

Families in Residence.—Family groups are a much to be desired factor in the resident force, because many individual and community problems need the insight and experience of married men and women for proper comprehension and solution. But the proportion of families in residence, either on a paid or volunteer basis, is very small. The chief hindrance in securing a larger number centers about the problem of the nurture of children. The air of working-class localities is generally malodorous and heavy and is in most cities laden with smoke; street noises are extreme; and the difficulties of taking little children outdoors for exercise under even fair conditions are very great. Adolescence brings new problems. Parents are forced to decide between sending children who would normally have a good measure of reinforcing and stimulating associations, the power of which should last through life, into continuous associations with playmates whose standards are limited; or of seeming to put at naught democratic standards by sending children out of the neighborhood to private schools and recreation institutions. But the fact that there are very few settlement environments in the United States in which under ordinary circumstances it would seem wise or just to bring up a growing family, if there are other alternatives, makes it evident that the settlement itself must go deeper into its own neighborhood problem and look forward to such a reorganization of every aspect of local life as will make the coming in of resourceful families a reasonably possible thing.

There are a number of instances in which families have brought up several children each in the settlement environment with nothing, on the whole, to regret. On the other hand, there have been some cases of serious disappointment in family life transferred to the settlement. It is only fair to say that in each successful attempt there has been sufficient income to provide long country vacations and other compensating advantages.

Resident Associates.—Residents whose principal connections are outside the settlement are variously judged in different cities. Officials of charitable and civic organizations, artists, literary people, librarians, and other professional men and women, even though they give no great amount of time to routine of the house, gain much for their own enlargement, bring a certain informed but unhampered outlook, and create a point of departure into new and interesting fields. Where several such allies remain during a course of years, they frequently succeed in tiding over disturbing changes in staff, in preserving a certain freshness of view which might otherwise be lost, and in keeping up local acquaintance and friendship outside the lines of organization.

Training and Routine.—The predominant characteristic of most resident groups is youth. The founders were youthful guides of youth, and the genius of the movement continues to be suffused with that natural good humor and excess of spirit characteristic of post-adolescence. The cheerfulness that is the note of the best settlement households is, however, very far from being a crude or irresponsible reaction from depression. Indeed, an important share of the subject matter for gaiety is caught from the elementary strength of character, bravery, and hopefulness of people of the neighborhood.

New residents pass through a period of probation and training. Each recruit is conducted about the neighborhood by an older resident; visits to local schools and recreation resorts are arranged. The significance of environment and the part played by local traditions are explained. Reports, publications, and other printed data are assigned to be read. Routine tasks, such as addressing envelopes, answering telephone and door bell, and running errands make the neophyte acquainted with the main outlines of the work. Calls are made in connection with library, stamp-saving service, dispensary, fall and spring canvass, and special recreation events. Participation in clubs, classes, and societies, under experienced guidance, gradually leads to positions of responsibility. Assistance is given in preparing maps and charts, following up the work of public departments, making investigations of nuisances. Monthly conferences for discussion of the principles of social work, lecture courses on local institutions and the tech-

nique of group work for newcomers, and staff meetings to talk over details of programs create a constantly enlarging body of group experience.[1]

Staff workers, whatever their specialty of service, are expected to give from seven to eight hours a day, six days a week, to a program of administration, visiting, and group meetings. Much work has to be done in late afternoon and evening, on holidays, and in the most heated months of summer. Like physicians, actors, and clergymen, residents adapt their periods of rest and recreation to those times and seasons which best fit the necessities of their tasks as a whole. Most settlements endeavor to assure each resident two free evenings a week, occasional week-ends after periods of unusual demands, and a vacation of one month with pay.[2]

The routine of settlement work, while not without strain, is not necessarily unwholesome. To newcomers the necessity for entering emotionally into the situations of many different people and groups with whom burdens take the place of opportunity, makes for a time a severe draft on mind and sympathy. It is, however, one of the triumphs of the settlement that its system and course of living create and maintain a sufficient corrective. The mawkish gratification that may once have been felt over nervous breakdown as a proof of faithful overwork has disappeared, and it is becoming a settlement conviction that illness is an indication of unfitness, bad hygiene, or short-sighted administration.

Responsibility in the settlement is democratized to the very limit of possibility. Determination of broad policy in the light of group experience and will is hardly more of the essence of settlement administration than the effort to order the tasks of individual residents as far as possible by liberty. Indeed, the flexibility and vitality of the various enterprises depend on giving each person as much opportunity as is possible to develop his own best standards. In the earliest groups a weekly meeting of residents decided details of co-operative housekeeping and outlined the program of neighborhood work. As settlements grew in size and complexity, it became necessary that some one assume continuous responsibility for the larger outline of administration and management. Under pressure of organization, settlements changed from a co-operative society to an institution in charge of a duly appointed executive.

Many of the motives and some of the activities of administration on the co-operative system remain. The more experienced residents still consti-

[1] Hull House, Chicago; College Settlement, Philadelphia; South End House, Boston; Henry Street Settlement, New York, have carried on regular courses for residents.

[2] In many settlements vacation periods are assigned for the interval before or after summer work, that is, from mid-May to mid-June, or in September and the first half of October.

tute the active cabinet of the headworker, and the resident body as a whole meets periodically to talk over problems of general concern. In many settlements a variety of matters of practical procedure are referred to the whole group for vote, and the executives act in accord with the plans thus determined upon.

Periodic meetings[1] to consider the deeper motives of the settlement, in distinction from all that goes with its administration, are held at the largest houses. The headworker leads the discussion, which centers on the one hand about questions of broad reform, the larger problems of local organization, ways of carrying the ripe results of culture to the people of the neighborhood, and, on the other, about the re-interpretation of science and literature, ethics and religion, in relation to the residents' personal incentive and outlook. Invited speakers bring the latest results of work which they are doing, or of their observations in other communities at home and abroad. The great end in view in these meetings is the constant refreshment and renewal of insight and inspiration.

Residents' Living Quarters.—Of very decided importance in securing and holding residents are the convenience, comfort, and distinction of the living quarters.[2] Stanton Coit sought to obviate the need of raising funds outside the resident group and at the same time to secure the completest possible overlapping with the people by living in a tenement. New residents as they came on the scene hired tenements in the same or nearby buildings, each living at his own charges in his own way. A number of limitations of this plan, however, shortly developed. Tenements were found to be too dirty and uncomfortable and inconvenient even for men; for women they were impossible. The Toynbee buildings with their comfortable resident quarters, commons, and meeting rooms, reminiscent of college life, called for like provision in this country. Resident quarters at the smaller settlements are very like those in a home. Accommodations in the more recently erected institutional buildings approximate the college dormitory, except that space is even more restricted. The dining room usually serves as common room for the household, though a small proportion of houses have a residents' living room with fireplace, piano, and a sociological library. In most settlements, however, rooms of any size have

[1] Usually monthly, though some houses meet twice a month.

[2] "A settlement, if it is to be true to its title, must keep within itself the characteristics of the society from which it has been drawn. It is an off-shoot of cultivated life planted in the midst of industrial life. It must therefore be made up of persons who have had the advantage of culture, and they in their new home must keep around them the things which culture demands. A settlement must not be a social workshop, nor must it be just an inn in which travellers put up with inconvenience. It must be a home furnished with the books, the pictures and luxuries which have been found for life's good."—Canon Barnett, 1906.

to be drawn on regularly or occasionally for clubs, conferences, and special meetings.

The conduct of the household according to the best tradition is co-operative. Residents meet weekly to decide on expenditures for food and service and to formulate rules. Each member of the staff serves a turn on the various committees which assume responsibility for administrative detail. Other groups find it more convenient to manage the kitchen as part of the general work of the house, charging board at actual cost. The presence of young unmarried men and women in the household creates certain internal and external problems which have to be met by the responsible heads of the enterprise. While leaders are far from averse to the friendships of the socially minded, too great intimacy easily hinders the work which the settlement is set to perform. Even more important is the danger growing out of the tendency among certain nationalities to misinterpret the freedom of personal relations which in this country obtains between men and women. A few houses maintain a separate establishment for each sex, and this furnishes perhaps the most satisfactory solution of the problem. Others set aside a wing for men and one for women, or place the men on one floor and the women on another. In a few instances where the staff is small and conditions are congested, it is impossible to secure even this degree of separation. (See p. 364.)

NOTE XIX.—INTERPLAY OF RELIGIOUS LOYALTIES

Settlements founded and maintained by sectarian organizations generally select residents among fellow communicants. In undenominational settlements the form of faith held by candidates for residence is not regarded as important. Any inquiry instituted is chiefly to discover whether the prospective resident's attitude toward denominations other than his own is such as to make it impossible for him to work amicably with their adherents. Resident groups often include Protestant Evangelicals, Unitarians, Catholics, Liberal and Orthodox Jews, and Christian Scientists working together, in mutual respect and harmony, for broad ends sanctified by their several communions.

While the settlement seeks to bring its staff into the attitude of students of history and civilization toward local religious organizations, there are a number of practical stumbling blocks. Many neighbors and some residents are incapable of religious impartiality. Certain professed neutrals are found to be so only within the field of Protestant denominationalism. A proportion of theoretical liberals, when actually brought face to face with men and women otherwise minded, discover to their own surprise that inherited religious, educational, and class prejudices persist

in spite of the most consistent effort to see sympathetically and without bias. The more resourceful settlements therefore require each new resident to give indubitable assurances that he or she is not about to use the sacred name of friendship as a subtle cloak for what amounts to propaganda. For the final test of unsectarianism lies not even in the intention of its professors, but in the actual results of their words and actions. (See p. 364.)

NOTE XX.—NON-RESIDENT ASSOCIATES

The qualities of mind and the training called for in non-resident associates are the same as those desired in residents. Practically basic is capacity for democratic fellowship and open-mindedness in social affairs. Skill of some definite kind is a prerequisite. Teachers, doctors, lawyers, musicians, artists, craftsmen, men at different points in the scale of leadership in industry and commerce, and young people in training for such callings are eagerly welcomed. Regularity of service, a sense of responsibility for settlement equipment and tradition, force of character sufficient to control group sentiment, are absolutely necessary. A considerable proportion of young people fail quickly under the acid test of group management and depart discouraged. Many are unequal to the long, strong pull.

Sources of volunteer assistance, though various, fall into several categories. A numerically small but ethically important percentage of men and women, desirous of coming into touch with working-class problems, seek out the settlement and offer their services. Houses which are managed or supported by educational and other organizations naturally draw on their membership. A considerable share of volunteers come from young women whose introduction to the world has been that of fashionable society. Colleges, normal schools, institutions for teaching the practical arts, and schools of social work increasingly seek opportunities for their pupils to make practical use of skill. Some of these institutions, recognizing the value of knowledge about working-class neighborhoods and of experience in associating with working people which the volunteer gets in the settlement, are given credit for faithful leadership in clubs and classes. In a few instances supervisors of practice work are employed by the educational institution.

The fact that so large a proportion of volunteers are both young and inexperienced lays a heavy burden on the administrators of the settlement. Head residents and club directors must be swift to recognize latent personal ability, resourceful in helping young people to find themselves, tactful in pointing out, when necessary, the effect of infelicities of dress, conversation, and deportment on neighborhood young people. They must be able to stimulate originality, induce the neophyte to interpret his problems in

the light of his own childhood and youth, provide personal suggestion and reading, help the capable through struggle for second wind. They will mediate between the qualities and desires of members of the various clubs and classes on the one hand, and the powers and interests of volunteers on the other.

Training of volunteers in the larger settlements is becoming increasingly definite and detailed. Newcomers are personally conducted about the neighborhood; the character and significance of its geography are pointed out; the meaning of local institutions and the significance of traditions interpreted; effects of national, religious and other loyalties on the character of local life explained and the powers, aptitudes, and antipathies of the people noted. The history of the settlement is outlined, its accomplishments indicated, its hopes for individuals, families, groups, and neighborhood as a whole, set forth. Such information is sometimes given to small informal classes. Some directors of club work utilize the introductory visit for explanations; others arrange luncheon or dinner parties which are addressed by headworker and skilled club leaders. Still other directors make a special point of seeing new workers both before and after the club session.

Training courses for volunteers, extending over a number of weeks, are now being carried on in several cities. Lectures are offered covering the motives and interests which engage children and young people, and the activities by which they can be influenced and helped. Practical instruction in parliamentary law, simple handicraft, the conduct of games, dancing, and management of parties are offered. Talks on the theory and practice of local organization in its broad aspects are given.[1] (See p. 366.)

NOTE XXI.—BOARDS

The majority of governing boards are made up of women, or, if there are men members, women in effect provide the initiative and sustain the responsibility. In those instances where a deliberate effort is made to command the full interest and service of men, the board is formed entirely or chiefly of men. It is, however, a very general custom for such boards to organize women's auxiliaries, which take part in raising money and in building up a strong body of moral support for the settlement and the causes which it espouses.[2] They maintain, in different instances, dis-

[1] Henry Street Settlement offers an extended course on preparation for club work. Settlement federations in various cities offer lectures in work for children, boys, girls, young men and women, in dramatics, and other special subjects.

[2] This policy has been followed at Union Settlement, University Settlement, and East Side House in New York, Friendly House in Brooklyn, and South End House in Boston. It must not be thought of in any way as representing an out-

trict nurses, kindergartens, domestic science centers, libraries, monthly concerts, and like enterprises. A few settlements have organized committees of younger men and women into junior councils, both to enlist interest and to discover and train future leaders and supporters.

Practice with respect to representation of residents, volunteers, and neighbors differs at different houses. Neighborhood representation on boards of managers is unusual. In a few cases efforts have been made to secure such representation. Neighborhood House, Chicago, raised in the neighborhood a considerable sum of money for a new building, and stockholders are represented on the board of directors. In other instances, house councils have been created, to which the board of directors delegate some of their authority.

Volunteer workers are not often appointed definitely to represent their group. The majority of boards, however, include persons who contribute both money and time, and these carry the spirit of the volunteer before board members whose chief contact with the work is through determining policy and raising money.

Residents are, in a few instances, ex-officio members of boards of directors, and in a number of houses it is customary to elect senior residents to membership on the council. There are, however, a substantial number of settlements where the headworker is sole representative of the house group. Such practice is unsound. Both residents and neighbors instinctively fear control by outsiders with slight knowledge of the neighborhood and its citizens, and even less experience in the technique of local organization. Residents, sympathetic on the one hand with the loyalties of the neighbors and, on the other, with the broad purposes of the final authoritative group, should have substantial representation in council.

A restrictive and retrenching board can easily engender a feeling of personal irritation that altogether inhibits the initiating power and vitality not only of headworker but of the entire resident group. The type of council which monopolizes all planning and decisions, which asks a headworker to present a report and retire, usually has to be satisfied with an unimaginative director and house group. It sometimes happens that the strongest member of a council, by virtue of his ability to coerce his fellow-members and head resident, becomes a virtual dictator. An occasional head resident is able to dominate his board and by careful elimination to secure a group of merely complacent members. Such a situation, when it occurs, negatives the whole principle of settlement work, which depends in such large part on the interplay of mind on mind, the building up of

worn conception of the place of women. The object of such division of labor is to place the strongest emphasis upon the call for men in such service.

knowledge through exchange of experience, and accomplishment through team play.

There are, however, a number of cases in which the board, through its committees, secures funds necessary for the work and initiates even the detail of policy. Members quite naturally come to feel that they have a better knowledge of the spirit and method of the work in hand, and a sounder basis for judgment, than residents. This type of organization occurs oftenest in houses where, either as cause or effect, the headworker withdraws every few years. It is always an unfortunate situation when this reversion of authority occurs, because it renders impossible the resourceful and energetic leadership in the fullest and freest exercise of its creative powers, which is necessary to reorganize local civilization in crowded city districts.

The council is in duty bound to be acquainted with the opinions and personal capacity of each staff member. While it is a rooted policy to interfere as little as possible with the right of individual resident, volunteer, supporter, and neighbor, whether Methodist or Catholic, single taxer, dress reformer, or socialist, to think and act according to his own conscience, this freedom has to be curtailed where opinion jeopardizes the free range of service for other members of the group or appears to commit the settlement as a whole to a position which, for practical purposes, will disqualify it as a harmonizing and constructive force.

Members of the council and residents should be personally acquainted and conspire together individually and collectively. Heads of departments in many houses are asked to report at board meetings. Members of the council are periodically invited to the settlement table. Fortunately there are usually a few board members who are also faithful volunteers. In almost all cases long-established residents come to have good working acquaintance with board members, and in many instances relations of cordial character grow out of continued interest in common work. The exceptionally free and flexible relationships that often develop between board members and the house group are a result of the high skill of both these bodies in the difficult art of working together productively in the spirit of moral adventure.

Acquaintance between board members and neighbors is hardly less important than association between the board and residents. Such acquaintance proceeds through reports, meetings, committee service, attendance at special neighborhood events such as pageants, plays, closing exercises, visits to camps, rounds of inspection. Where a women's club is conducted by a board member, which happens in a considerable number of houses, a fine relationship not only between club and leader but between club and

board comes about. A certain proportion of board members are one-time residents or volunteers. These never altogether lose track of members of groups formerly led by them; and the neighborhood on its part is very unwilling to let them go altogether. A few settlements bring women of the board and neighborhood together to make articles for a yearly bazaar, to arrange the hall, and to serve at tables. (See p. 367.)

NOTE XXII.—HEAD RESIDENTS

In a degree which is hard to underestimate, the head resident in the most vital settlements is the heart of the enterprise. Sound administration demands that in carrying out the policy agreed upon after consultation between head resident, staff, and board, the first shall have the utmost freedom of initiative and movement. The endeavor of boards to limit the service and influence of headworkers to purely institutional activities is one of the most frequent sources of friction. A man or woman of capacity and energy uncovers facts which demand presentation before the city and consultation with leaders of municipal departments and private philanthropic organizations. To ask the one in charge to confine himself to a formal program is to restrict hopelessly the range and growth of that program itself, to cut off the enterprise as distributing agency of many resources of the city for its district, and to negative that large leavening and teaching function through which settlements are in all probability rendering their highest and most unique service.

The extremely complex conditions of the position make it clear that in their relations to residents and associate workers, headworkers should have final authority and responsibility. Every step on their part must, however, be won by that ingenuity of personal adjustment and conciliation which is of the essence of democracy. Where a large staff exists, older residents come to have practically complete control within their own fields, and the relation between the head resident and such associates is on an essentially cooperative basis. While, of course, members of the staff, and also the general membership of neighborhood organizations attached to the settlement, should as a matter of last resource have power to appeal to the board, favorable action on such an appeal would in most cases be considered tantamount to a request for the head resident's resignation.

Among the most important tests, both of head resident and settlement, is length of the leader's connection with the enterprise. The finest fruits of the settlement motive ripen slowly and demand patient and intensive cultivation. There are certain kinds of experience which come only as a result of a decade of work with the same environment and people.

Settlement executives fall into three fairly distinct classes with respect

to length of consecutive service in one locality. There is, first, the group of pioneers, who caught the original motive directly from the English founders, and who are in surprising proportion still giving the active service of their best productive years. The spirit of members of this group is, on the whole, so much alike that it overbalances the different personal qualities that exist among them. The likeness has not come about through intimate association, because even in the same city such coming together has not been much practiced. Rather it is to be traced to the principle of continuous participation with all one's heart and all one's mind in a certain restless complex of human relationships. It is not accidental that the houses started by this group are among the most suggestive in the country, for it could hardly be otherwise with a venture whose beginning so challenged the capacity and persistence of its leaders.

After the pioneers, come a group of head residents with original prepossession for the work, but not under the spur of new enterprise in an undiscovered country. The size and importance of this group is significant because it demonstrates the quality of the settlement's second wind. Its members have rendered an indispensable service in developing the technique of neighborhood work, and several houses established by such leaders are among the strongest in the country.

To the more recent head residents, who constitute in some sense a third generation, the settlement begins to represent a career. They look upon neighborhood work as a fresh and stirring professional opportunity. They are not so emotionally inspired because they have not been exponents of a new message and mission, have not seen this motive grow from a feeling to a force, and know only by hearsay the toil of exploration through which this result has been brought to pass. They do acquire, however, in marked degree, that democracy of mind and spirit which is at the heart of most of the fine and permanent things that were initiated in pioneer days. (See p. 367.)

NOTE XXIII.—FINANCIAL ASSOCIATIONS

The majority of settlements are maintained by an association, membership in which is conditioned by payment of a sum of money ranging upward from a minimum fee. Some classify subscribers in from two to six rankings according to the value of their subscriptions. In a considerable number of instances, though not invariably, residents and volunteers are ex-officio members of the association. As a rule, these bodies are made up of persons living in the general population center of which the settlement neighborhood is part; and to belong implies a recognition of direct moral responsibility on the part of members. Sometimes member-

ship is more scattered; in which case it is often augmented by special chapters and auxiliaries.[1] The association, in most cases, meets annually to receive a report of work accomplished and future plans, and to elect officers.

The more substantial wing among settlement workers has held steadily to the founders' principle that support should not be sought through channels suggestive of relief-giving and sentimental patronage. While it is of decided advantage, as a means of extending the influence of the house, to have money represent as large a number of people as possible, it is not possible to sustain the cost of a large plant by small donations. The settlement is therefore compelled to seek the interest of a group of persons who will undertake, with more or less assurance of continuing goodwill, to make very considerable donations.[2] (See p. 368.)

CHAPTER XXXIV.—CITY FEDERATIONS

NOTE XXIV.—STREET TRADES

IN 1902 a committee of the Chicago Federation of Settlements was appointed to study conditions surrounding children who work on the streets. In July, 1903, the federation constituted itself a committee of the whole to investigate the newsboys' problems. In two days and nights an investigation of one thousand newsboys was made and later a report was prepared and published. In Boston a study of street trades included also district messenger boys. Whether boys are roving or more nearly stationary, whether working or at school, the temptation to street gambling is ever present. Nearly all federations from time to time have made attempts covering the range of settlement territory to deal with this demoralizing pastime. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers in 1903–1904, and again in 1906–1907, made general canvasses to determine the extent of crap-shooting, and each time brought a serious situation to the attention of the chief of police. (See p. 379.)

[1] College Settlements Association had chapters in various women's colleges and in some thirty finishing schools for girls; Lenox Hill House, New York, has class auxiliaries in the Normal College of that city; and School Settlement in Brooklyn has chapters in secondary schools and among school teachers of the city. The Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church South contributes a proportion of the expenses of various Wesley Houses in different cities, and reserves authority to appoint the head residents of each settlement.

[2] A useful type of financial co-operation is that given by such organizations as the Junior League in New York and the Sewing Circle League in Boston, associations, made up of young society women, which appropriate money for certain specialties of settlement service. The Junior League has made possible several interesting and useful settlement experiments.

NOTE XXV.—COMMERCIAL AMUSEMENT RESORTS

The Boston Social Union in 1905 made a special study of commercial amusement resorts, and in co-operation with the Watch and Ward Society secured regulation of dance halls, theaters, and skating rinks.

Sunday recreation in its various aspects is a periodic matter of settlement discussion. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers voted in 1908–1909 to support a movement to open athletic fields on Sundays, and the Boston Social Union (1909–1910) made a careful survey of the forms of play observed about the city on warm days. As a result of such observations there is increasing sentiment in favor of permitting active play as a means of reducing gambling and its allied vices.

As for motion picture shows, the Boston Social Union (1905–1906) prevented the granting of licenses to several places, and has had part in securing adequate exits, better lighting of the auditoriums, and provisions to lessen danger of eye-strain from flickering films. In New York the Association of Neighborhood Workers has co-operated directly with the National Board of Censorship. The problem continues, however, to be among the principal ones with which the federations have to deal. The Boston Social Union assisted (1919–1921) in a successful attempt to secure state censorship of motion picture films. (See p. 379.)

CHAPTER XXXV.—NATIONAL OUTLINES

NOTE XXVI.—INTERPRETATION THROUGH CONFERENCE AND PRINT

IN NEW YORK, during the late eighties and early nineties, residents at Neighborhood Guild and at College Settlement, gathered together school teachers, nurses, and volunteer settlement workers to consider various phases of East Side life. As early as 1892 the residents of South End House and Denison House, in Boston, organized special public conferences on trade unions, on social Christianity, and other related subjects. In 1893 a Social Science Club was formed to discuss the labor movement. In Chicago, both Hull House and the Commons carried on for some years conferences which brought together settlement workers, teachers, clergymen, economists, labor leaders, and business men. The Commons organized periodic gatherings of students from theological seminaries and colleges before which labor leaders and other representatives of workingmen's organizations were invited to speak. The "free floors" of those days at various settlements also constituted a continuous conference which attracted people from all over the city.

The *College Settlement News*, *Kingsley House Record*, the *Chicago Commons*, and the *Neighborhood News* of Brooklyn Guild, reached beyond the immediately contributing constituency to a considerable reading public. By far the most influential figure in spreading the settlement point of view by means of journalism is Graham Taylor. As one phase of his many-sided activities, he developed the *Chicago Commons* from a house news sheet into an organ of the settlement, then merged it into the original *Charities and the Commons*, and was until recently one of the contributing editors to the fully developed *Survey*. Here, regularly and frequently, he reviews the progress of the labor movement. From week to week also he presents in the Chicago *Daily News* to a great newspaper constituency a practical and aggressive interpretation of the city's public life. His articles in several of the religious journals have reached large numbers of persons who are moved by the ethical interpretation of current events. (See p. 388.)

NOTE XXVII.—ORGANIZATIONS TO PROMOTE LOCAL WELFARE

Departments of the National Government Concerned in the Well-being of Villages and Towns:

- Department of Agriculture—States Relation Division.
- Department of Interior
  - Bureau of Education: Education Extension; Americanization Division.
- Department of Labor
  - Bureau of Naturalization; Children's Bureau; Commission on Living Conditions; Homes Registration Service; Negro Economics Division; United States Employment Service.
- Treasury Department
  - War Savings Division; United States Public Health Service.
- Council of National Defense—Field Division.
- Department of Agriculture—Bureau of Markets.
- Department of Commerce—Waste Reclamation Service.
- Bureau of Efficiency.
- United States Post Office Department.

Wartime Organizations Engaged in Local Community Welfare:

- Community Service has succeeded War Camp Community Service.
- The Red Cross is in many places carrying on a constructive local program.
- The Y. W. C. A., notably the Y. M. C. A. and the Knights of Columbus, are continuing several phases of such broader service.

The Churches and the Local Community:

- Information concerning the work of the different denominational social service commissions can be obtained from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

(See p. 404.)

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